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The Papyrological Navigator is by now a fundamental part of our daily research and teaching, and it would be easy to take it for granted, especially since users have never been charged a fee. But a complex resource like this did not come into being without cost, and sustaining it is not going to be free, either. The basic technology support is provided by Duke University's Duke Collaboratory for Classics Computing, but at present there is no long-term management of the content of the Duke Data Bank of Documentary Papyri, and there is no permanent funding for the Heidelberger Gesamtverzeichnis either. The long-term usability of the PN is thus far from guaranteed.

We need a permanent position to manage the PN, and a fund to endow such a position has now been started. It is held by the Society for Classical Studies, which will invest it along with the rest of its endowment (which supports, i.a., the American Office of *L'Année philologique*), but it is up to us to raise the money. We will need at least \$2.5 million (in current dollars) to support a research associate, who would eventually be housed in one of the institutions responsible for components of the PN, whether in the US, Europe, or elsewhere. Over \$150,000 has already been contributed, with a promise of up to \$500,000 over the next decade to match contributions by others. The ASP has appointed a committee to lead the effort to raise the money.

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A NEW GREEK NOVEL? P.MICH. INV. 4912B

Thomas A. Wayment *Brigham Young University*

Abstract. — This article presents the *editio princeps* of a first/early second century fragment of an unidentified Greek narrative, possibly a novel.

Keywords: narrative, Osiris, temple

P.Mich. inv. 4912b H × W = 10.1 × 7.1 cm First/early second century CE¹

Physical Description

P.Mich. inv. 4912b preserves on the front fifteen partial lines from a first or early second century papyrus fragment that is written in a fine literary hand. The acquisition record notes that it was purchased in Upper Egypt by H.I. Bell in early 1927 through a Cairo dealer, but no other information about its provenance is available. The papyrus is broken off along all four sides, and it is uncertain how many letters have been lost for each line. The ink is black in color and abraded in a few places, particularly along the periphery. The papyrus may have been folded along its vertical axis at one time, as evidenced by two vertical folds that are approximately 4.0 cm apart. There is no writing on the reverse side.

The handwriting is in a freely serified upright style found in other first and second century CE papyri. In this example, the serifs are added somewhat clumsily and are particularly noteworthy in the adornment of *α* and *β*. Comparanda for the handwriting are found in *P.Oxy.* 21.2303 + *P.Köln* 2.59 (first century)² and *P.Oxy.* 32.2618 (first century). A more refined version of this style of writing is found in *P.Ryl.* 3.458 (second century). Given the paleographical comparanda, our papyrus should probably be dated to the first century CE and in any case no later than the early second; its unrefined

¹ The Michigan APIS database lists the papyrus as having been purchased by H.I. Bell, but no specific information is given regarding its provenance.

² L. Koenen, “Alkaios P.Köln II 59 und P.Oxy. XXI 2303,” *ZPE* 44 (1981) 183–184; G. Liberman, “Quelques remarques sur la jonction de P.Köln inv. 2021 11ss. à P. Oxy. XXI 2303 Fr. 1A+B 25ss = Alcée 298 Voigt,” *ZPE* 77 (1989) 27–29; R.L. Fowler, “Reconstructing the Cologne Alcaeus,” *ZPE* (1979) 17–28.

attempt at the style inclines one to an earlier date. On lines 2–3, the scribe set off the words ὀλβίωι and βασιλέωι by leaving spaces, which were perhaps meant to impart a visual impression of formality or lavishness. As far as it is possible to tell, they do not appear to mark sentence or section breaks.

P.Mich. inv. 4912b as Narrative

These lines, although incomplete, preserve enough clues to show that they come from a previously unattested narrative. Possibly it is a fragment of a lost Greek novel. In the opening lines, the fragment begins with a reference to “a holy magnificent temple” followed by mention of “king Osiris,” perhaps connecting the temple and Osiris, and “the throne of the lord king,” likely in reference to Osiris also. A second feature of the text, also compatible with a novel, is what appears to be an exchange between two characters, which includes a narrative exchange: “he/she speaks to someone being carried off ... for me to the one summoned.” Other, less certain clues include a fragmentary dialogue where the interlocutors speak, “you prayed to” or “you took interest in” and “you knew.”

The fragmentary narrative and mythical staging can be broadly and tentatively outlined. The narrative setting may have taken place in Egypt, or at least in the context of a retelling of the Osiris myth.³ An unidentified temple provides the physical setting for the exchange, although the temple could be connected to the retelling of the Osiris myth. Following the mention of the throne of the lord king, unidentified characters pray to those from heaven (πόλου), a context that remains particularly uncertain. From that point, which appears to set the narrative stage, a character speaks in the present tense to someone being carried off. In logical sequence, the narrative then mentions a female character that was summoned whereupon the speaker appears to know something that he also says was known to another participant in the narrative, perhaps the person who was summoned. At that point the story is too fragmentary to reconstruct in outline.

³ E.L. Bowie and S.J. Harrison, “The Romance of the Novel,” *JRS* 83 (1993) 171–172 discuss the possibility of Isis parallels in Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*. The Tinouphis romances are similarly set in Egypt; see S.A. Stephens and J.J. Winkler, *Ancient Greek Novels: The Fragments* (Princeton 1995) 400–408.

Tentative Parallels

Although this fragmentary narrative may belong to an unattested Greek novel, the surviving section has no direct parallels in any existing novels. Known first-century Greek novels include *Ninos* and *Metiochus and Parthenope*, each of which is partially preserved on papyrus. Antonius Diogenes' *Incredible Things* is dated to the early second century, and a Greek version of the Sesonchosis legend developed sometime in the first through third centuries, although the dating of Sesonchosis is a matter of significant debate.⁴ The second century and later attest the complete text of Chariton's *Chaereas and Callirhoe*, Xenophon of Ephesus' *Ephesiaca*, and Heliodorus' *Aethiopica*.⁵ In the surviving Greek novels, the presence of temples, altars, and shrines is commonplace, and thus, if this fragment preserves a snippet of a novel, it may be that the first lines mentioning "a holy magnificent temple" are part of a similar narrative setting.⁶ Comparison of the fragment under consideration with the attested Greek novels offers another possible context, namely that the lines mentioning Osiris may, in fact, function as a reference to the idealized sense of loss in Isis' search for Osiris. This conjectured interpretation could explain the context for the summons of two or more individuals later in the fragment.⁷

Parallels between Plutarch's *De Iside et Osiride* and the opening lines of our fragment that mention Osiris are quite generic. Plutarch specifically uses the titular "king and lord" in reference to Osiris, and he refers to him as a "great and beneficent king," although these parallels do little to provide context for the ensuing fragmentary narrative.⁸ The text under examination does not appear to be a direct praise of Osiris, or his counterpart Isis, because it quickly shifts away from what could be considered objects of

⁴ Stephens and Winkler (n. 3) 118, 173–175 (for a discussion of papyrus witnesses of Antonius Diogenes) and 246–251 (for discussion of the Sesonchosis texts). E.L. Bowie, "The Chronology of the Earlier Greek Novels Since B. E. Perry: Revisions and Precisions," *Ancient Narrative* 2 (2002) 47–63 dates Chariton much earlier, as early as the mid-first century CE.

⁵ Stephens and Winkler (n. 3) 4–5. For the dating of and text of Chariton, see B.P. Reardon (ed.), *Collected Ancient Greek Novels* (Berkeley 1989) 21–124; B.P. Reardon, "Chariton," in G. Schmeling (ed.), *The Novel in the Ancient World* (Leiden 1996), 312–317.

⁶ Among the many examples that could be noted, see Xenophon, *Ephesian Tale* 5.109–110.

⁷ A. Tagliabue demonstrates a similar phenomenon in Xenophon. See *Xenophon's Ephesiaca: A Paraliterary Love-Story from the Ancient World* (Groningen 2017) 139–150. K. Dowden, "The Gods in the Greek Novel," in A. Erskine and J.N. Bremmer (eds.), *The Gods of Ancient Greece: Identities and Transformations* (Edinburgh 2010) 366.

⁸ τὸν γὰρ βασιλέα καὶ κύριον Ὅσιριν ὀφθαλμῷ καὶ κνήπτρῳ γράφουσιν (Plut. *Moralia* 9.354f); ὅτι μέγας βασιλεὺς εὐεργέτης Ὅσιρις γέγονε (9.355e).

praise, from “the throne of the lord king,” to a narrative about characters being carried away. The Isis hymns likewise provide only a few weak parallels. Conjecturally, the lines mentioning Osiris may convey to the reader a general sense of location or intent to invoke the help of the deity in the upcoming ordeal of departure or return, or perhaps a priest of Osiris participates in some way in the narrative.⁹

Heliodorus’s mention of Egyptian worship of Osiris demonstrates how Greek authors employed the myth in novels: “This much they disclose to the public, but to the initiates they reveal that the land is Isis and the Nile Osiris, under alternative names.”¹⁰ Heliodorus’s intent was to draw the reader’s attention to Isis and Osiris as a type of a celebrated reunion. The parallels to Apuleius are weaker, although in Apuleius Osiris appears as the revealer who “appeared to me in a dream,” and who is referred to as *deus deum magnorum potior, et maiorum summus, et summorum maximus, et maximorum regnator Osiris* (Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 11.30).

Tentatively, the temple, the invocation of the Osiris myth, and a noted return of individuals may represent the reunion of characters in a novel. A possible reconstruction of the fragment might look similar to the reunification of Leucippe and Clitophon when the latter was imprisoned and awaiting death only to discover that Leucippe was still alive and nearby in the temple of Artemis. Clitophon, overwhelmed with joy at her return, rushed from his jailors in an attempt to be reunited with her.¹¹ Little more can be said with confidence, however, about this fragmentary narrative, which appears to have its most significant parallels in the Greek novel.

Diplomatic Transcription

] . ξω[
] . ciωι ολβιωι νεωι[
]τῖ βασιλεωc οcειρει[

⁹ The papyrus lacks many of the features that would formally categorize it as a hymn. See the hymns published in L.V. Žabkar, “Six Hymns to Isis in the Sanctuary of Her Temple at Philae and their Theological Significance,” *JEA* 69 (1983) 115–137; H. Kockelmann, *Praising the Goddess: A Comparative and Annotated Re-edition of Six Demotic Hymns and Praises Addressed to Isis* (Berlin 2009) 6–36. Versnel offers a concise discussion of the key elements of an Isis hymn. See H.S. Versnel, *Ter Unus: Isis, Dionysus, Hermes: Three Studies in Henotheism* (Leiden 1998) 45. Cf. J. Whitehorne, “Pagan Cults in Roman Oxyrhynchus,” in *ANRW* 2.18.5 (1995) 3050–3091 for a discussion of eclectic tendencies to worship multiple Egyptian deities in diverse settings.

¹⁰ Heliodorus, *Aeth.* 9. The translation is from T. Whitmarsh, *Narrative and Identity in the Ancient Greek Novel: Returning Romance* (Cambridge 2011) 130–133.

¹¹ Achilles Tatius, *Leucippe et Clitophon* 7.15–16.

]θρονουκυριουβασιλ[
 5]ηρασθεασπολουερμ . [
]ριτηςκαιτωναπαντω[
]ταδελεγεικομικ[.]με[
]ςκυμοιπεμφθεισαν[.]πι[
]γαγνουσκαιειδης . [
 10]παντααπεντ[. [
]υπ[.]ρεθομεν[
]χοντων[
]λευσαμε[
]ναηνκυ[
 15] . ησασθα[

Edited Text

] . ξω[
]όσιωι όλβίωι νεώι [
]τι βασιλέωσ Όσειρει[δοσ
]θρόνου κυρίου βασιλ[έωσ
 5]ήρασθε ἄσ πόλου έρμ . [
 ές]περίτης και τών άπάντω[ν
] τάδε λέγει κομικ[α]με[ν
]ς κύ μοι πεμφθεῖσαν [.]πι[
]γαγνοῦς και ειδης . [
 10]πάντα άπεντ[εῦθεν
] ύπ' []ρεθ' ό μέν [
]χοντων[
]λευσαμε[
]να ήν κυ[
 15]ησασθα[ι

“at a holy magnificent temple ... of king Osiris ... the throne of the lord king ... you pray to those from heaven ... western, and the entire ... This he/she says upon receipt of ... for me to the one summoned ... the one who knows certainly and you knew ... everything, at this point.”

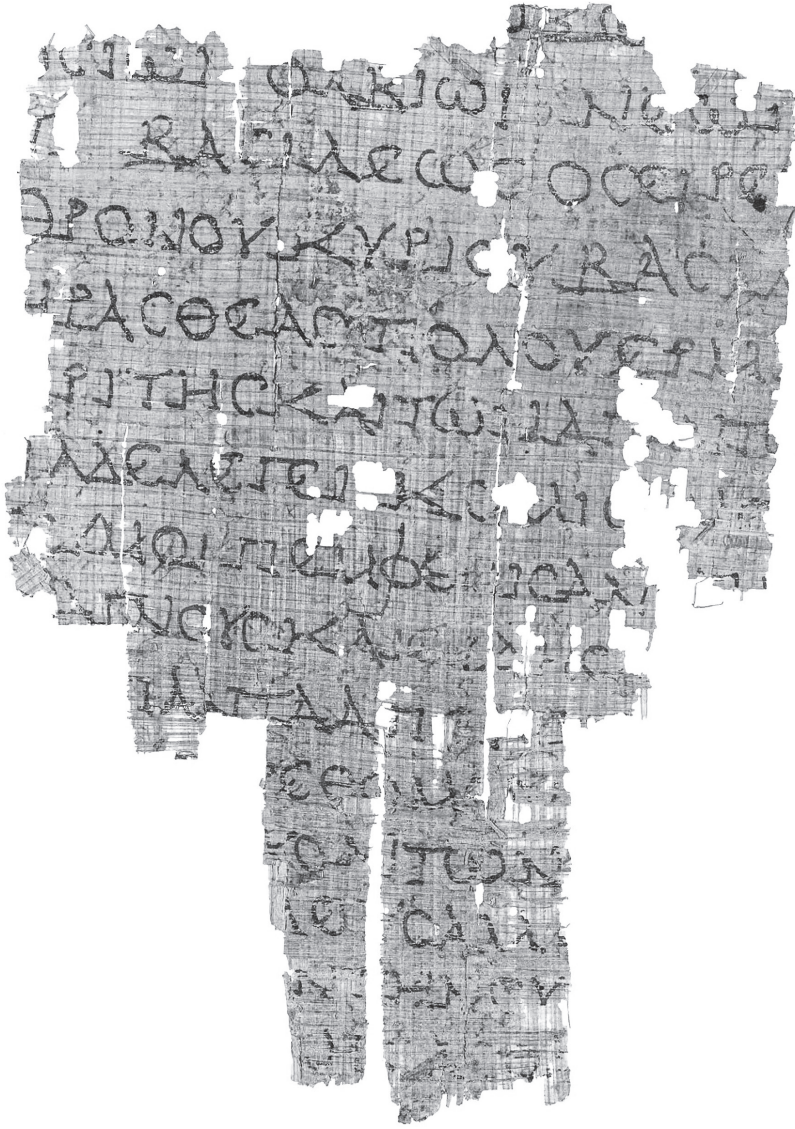
1 A possible reconstruction of the first line, δι]ώξω[, would add an additional clue to the identification of the fragment. A first-person pronoun is evident in l. 8, and this conjectured reconstruction may signal the pursuit of individuals.

2 The first partially visible letter has traces of curvature at the bottom, similar to ο or ω, although it remains inconclusive, and therefore the possibilities for restoring the first word are limited.] ὀσίω is the most obvious restoration in this context, but a place name is possible given the mention of a temple, but no place name recommends itself. περιωσίω “immense” would fit the context later in 1.5, which mentions “heaven” but Ῥωσίω, or Κνωσίω are possibilities. An alternate reading is possible] . σίω ὀλβίων εῶ[. Compare Plutarch’s retelling of the Osiris birth story *Moralia* 9.355e, ὅτι μέγας βασιλεὺς εὐεργέτης Ὀσίρις γέγονε, “that the great and beneficent king has been born.”

3 1. Ὀσίρι[δος. The genitive following βασιλέως is likely. A verbal parallel is found in A. Salač, “Inscriptions de Kymé d’Éolide, de Phocée, de Tralles et de quelques autres villes d’Asie Mineure,” *BCH* 51 (1927) 379; compare S.K. Heyob, *The Cult of Isis Among Women in the Graeco-Roman World* (Leiden 1975) 48, Ἐγὼ εἰμι γυνή καὶ ἀδελφὴ Ὀσεΐριδος βασιλέως. Plut. *Moralia* 13.356 mentions the “reign of Osiris” (ἐκεῖνο βασιλεύοντος Ὀσίριδος), but there is no explicit parallel to the wording attested here. The first two letters,]τι, present a number of possible restorations: ὀνόμα]τι, ὅ]τι, or the participle ending ον]τι, and therefore cannot be restored with confidence.

4 An alternate reading is]θρον οὐ κυρίου βασιλ[, but its meaning remains similarly obscure. Compare *P.Oxy.* 11.1380.265, an Isis aretology, which contains similar phraseology, π[άν]τ]ων θρόνου κύριον· καὶ χρησιμὸν βασιλέα κατέ[ε]τησας ἐπὶ τοῦ πατρίου οἴκου εἰς τὸν ἀπ[αν]τα χρόνον.

5 The first word may be a form of several different possible verbs (θηράω, τεκμαίρομαι, συνείρω, καταράομαι, ἔραμαι, αἶρω, or ἀράομαι) and the accusative plural pronoun does little to clarify the meaning. Tentatively, the meaning in context is close to ἀράομαι “you pray to those from heaven” or “you take for yourselves those of heaven,” while acknowledging that other possible reconstructions cannot be ruled out. An alternate reading is also possible,] Ἦρας θεᾶς πόλου Ἑρμα[ι, but its meaning is similarly obscure and would require an expansion of the mythological reading of the opening lines. There are a number of examples of Θεᾶς Ἦρας known from inscriptions from Samos, see *IG* 12.6.324, 332, and 355 in K. Hallof (ed.), *Inscriptiones Graecae, XII. Pars I. Inscriptiones Sami Insulae* (Berlin-New York 2000).



6 Two readings of the line are possible, ἐξ]περίτης and]περί τῆς. The latter would in most cases require a genitive noun following τῆς although some Koine authors do employ the construction περὶ τῆς with a resumptive meaning “concerning which.” The genitive plural, τῶν ἀπάντων, is restored based on the faint traces of ink at the end of the line, but the noun ἀπάντησις, also rare, would fit the narrative context also.

7 A feminine/masculine participle (κομικ[ά]με[voc or κομικ[α]μέ[νη]) would follow the narrative structure. The feminine participle in l. 8 (πεμφοθεῖσαν) may encourage the reconstruction of a feminine participle here.

8 The meaning of this line is unclear, but the passive participle, whether plural or singular, carries the sense of a female character being summoned.

9 Only the left bottom foot of a letter remains, similar to α, μ, or λ. The aorist participle ἀ]γαγνούς, from ἀναγιγνώσκω, is possibly an attributive participle and signals a shift in the developing narrative to a male character. The adjective ἄναγνος, unclean, would make little sense in this position.

10 The adverb is not certain, and the traces of ink following απεγ are restored with more caution.

11 Possibly]ρετο, ὁ μὲν [was intended.

12 Possibly ἐχόντων but ὑπαρχόντων is also possible.

15 The traces of ink could fit ι, suggesting πο]ιήσασθα[ι, but the traces are too faint to make any positive identification.

TREATING SWOLLEN GLANDS AND SKIN CONDITIONS:
A SMALL SHEET OF MEDICAL RECIPES
(P.MICH. INV. 6803B)

Anna Monte *Università degli Studi di Udine* and
W. Graham Claytor *University of Warsaw*

Abstract. — Edition of a small papyrus sheet with four medical recipes for the treatment of inflamed glands and of carbuncle, dating to the second half of the first century BCE – early first century CE. The recipe against carbuncle can be identified in a passage of Pliny the Elder’s *Natural History*, whereas the other recipes share similarities with preparations ascribed to the physician Apollonios Mys and with one prescription included in Aelius Promotus’ *Dynameron*.

Keywords: medical recipes, medicine, poultices, parotid glands, tonsils, carbuncle

P.Mich. inv. 6803b is a small sheet of papyrus from around the second half of the first century BCE to the early first century CE containing three medical recipes on the *recto* and a fourth on the *verso*, which are intended to treat inflammations of glands (in particular the parotid glands and tonsils) and carbuncle, a skin condition.¹

Recto and *verso* have two different layouts. The three recipes on the *recto* are separated by *paragraphoi* and are introduced by a heading (*prographie*), followed by a list of the ingredients written in a “run-on”

¹ We would like to thank the anonymous readers for their helpful comments, which improved this contribution. On medical prescriptions in general see M.-H. Marganne, “Étiquettes de médicaments, listes de drogues, prescriptions et réceptaires dans l’Égypte gréco-romaine et byzantine,” in F. Collard and É. Samama (eds.), *Pharmacopoles et apothicaires. Les «pharmaciens» de l’Antiquité au Grand Siècle* (Paris 2006) 65–68 and I. Andorlini, “Prescription and Practice in Greek Medical Papyri from Egypt,” in H. Froschauer and C. Römer (eds.), *Zwischen Magie und Wissenschaft. Ärzte und Heilkunst in den Papyri aus Ägypten* (Wien 2007) 25–30 (= I. Andorlini, *Πολλὰ ἱατρῶν ἐστὶ συγγραμματα. Scritti sui papiri e la medicina antica*, vol. 1 [Milano 2017] 3–14, <http://www.papirologia.unipr.it/ERC/files/andorlini-ks1.pdf>). Some examples of prescriptions on single papyrus sheets are: SB 14.12074 (first half of the third century BCE, probably the oldest medical prescription on papyrus known so far), SB 28.17142 (third-second century BCE), GMP 2.4 (first half of the second century CE), MPER N.S. 13.1 (second-third century CE), P.Grenf. 1.52 (third century CE), PSI Congr. XX 5 (third century CE), GMP 1.13 (third century CE), GMP 1.14 (fourth-fifth century CE).

format. The recipes are basic: quantities are not provided, nor instructions to prepare the compounds.² They cover the upper half of the sheet, whereas the lower half has been left blank and contains only parts of two Demotic lines from an earlier use of the papyrus. The recipe on the *verso* lacks a heading,³ while the ingredients and corresponding quantities are listed in two columns.⁴ This change of format, along with the fact that the writer penned the fourth recipe on the back of the papyrus, instead of using the blank space on the *recto*, likely indicates that the writer was copying down the recipes from at least two distinct sources, which used different layouts.⁵

The first prescription on the *recto* is intended to treat *παρωτίδες*, inflammation and swelling of the parotid glands, which are located beside the ears. The recipe consists of leek, powdered antimony, and goose fat and is not attested elsewhere in the papyri nor in the medical literature. Although none of the ingredients is attested in recipes specifically intended for inflammations of the parotid glands, leek and goose fat occur in recipes for general inflammations⁶ and for earache; the addition of powdered antimony, however, is peculiar, since this ingredient is well attested to cure eye ailments but does not occur in recipes for ear conditions.⁷ We know at least three recipes to soothe earache ascribed to the physician Apollonios Mys (first century CE) with leek or goose fat, which were criticized by Galen for not working properly.⁸ Apollonios Mys' preparations are in liquid form

² This concise type of recipe is defined by C. Fabricius as a "Kurzrezept:" see C. Fabricius, *Galens Exzerpte aus älteren Pharmakologen* (Berlin 1972) 29–30. Cf. also I. Andorlini, "Il 'gergo' grafico ed espressivo della ricetta medica antica," in A. Marcone (ed.), *Medicina e società nel mondo antico. Atti del convegno di Udine (4–5 ottobre 2005)* (Firenze 2006) 142–167 (= Andorlini, *πολλὰ ἱατρῶν* [n. 1] 15–36). On the difficulty of distinguishing lists and recipes, cf. A. Ricciardetto, "Inventaire et typologie des listes grecques et latines de produits pharmaceutiques," in T. Derda, A. Łajtar, and J. Urbanik (eds.), *Proceedings of the 27th International Congress of Papyrology. Warsaw 29 July–3 August 2013*, vol. 2 (Warsaw 2016) 677–698.

³ On the lack of a heading in medical recipes cf. R. Luiselli, introduction to *GMP* 2.11, p. 170 with n. 4.

⁴ "Run-on" format and column format are the two "mainstream" layouts of medical recipes on papyrus, cf. J. Landon, introduction to *GMP* 2.4, p. 53 with n. 7.

⁵ A parallel example of a papyrus sheet bearing recipes written in different formats on the *recto* and on the *verso* is provided by *P.Grenf.* 1.52 (third century CE). In that case, however, the change of layout was probably due to reasons of space, as argued by I. Andorlini: the writer started writing the recipes in columnar format but could not complete the second recipe because he had reached the bottom edge of the sheet; he thus turned the papyrus and wrote the recipes again in "run-on" format (I. Andorlini, "P.Grenf. 1.52: note farmacologiche," *BASP* 18 [1981] 1–3 = Andorlini, *Πολλὰ ἱατρῶν* [n. 1] 49–50).

⁶ Cf. Ps.-Gal. *De remed. parab.* 2.5 = 14.417.14–15 Kühn.

⁷ See note on *recto* l. 2 μετὰ στίμιος.

⁸ The passages are quoted below, note on *recto* l. 2 πρᾶσα and on *recto* l. 3 χηνείου στέατο[ς].

and should be instilled in the ear. This could be also the case in the recipe of P.Mich. inv. 6803b, although we cannot exclude that it is a poultice, since poultices were the most common remedies against παρωτίδες.⁹

The second recipe concerns the treatment of ἄνθραξ, carbuncle, a skin condition that can affect the whole body, including the head and neck.¹⁰ The recipe consists of oak charcoal mixed with honey and is attested in a passage of Pliny the Elder's *Natural History* (36.203 *carbunculum ... querneus carbo tritus cum melle sanat*, "oak charcoal ground with honey cures carbuncle"), regrettably without mention of his source. The compound should probably be smeared on the affected area.

The third recipe is for παρίσθμια, tonsil inflammation. The recipe is otherwise not attested but its ingredients, tamarisk fruit, aloe, honey and myrrh, are found in prescriptions for ailments of the throat. It could be a poultice or a medicament in liquid form to be gargled.¹¹

The fourth recipe, written on the *verso*, lacks a heading, but we can still hypothesize what kind of ailment it might have been for. It consists of five drachmas each of goose fat, rose oil, and saffron and one drachma each of powdered white lead and white wax. Unlike the recipes on the *recto*, which use mostly simple ingredients easily accessible in Egypt, this recipe employs precious ingredients such as saffron, which was one of the most expensive substances of the ancient *pharmacopoeia*.¹² The prescription shares almost all its ingredients with a recipe for a plaster included in the *Dynameron* of Aelius Promotus (second century CE), in a section entitled πρὸς φύματα "against swellings:"¹³ σὺν κρόκου δρ. β' ψιμυθίου οὐγγ. α' κρόκου δρ. β' κηροῦ λευκοῦ οὐγγ. β' ροδίνου ἐλαίου οὐγγ. γ' χρῶ συνεχῶς ἐναλλάσσων (Ael.Prom. *Dyn.* 55.3), "with two drachmas of saffron: of white lead one ounce; of saffron two drachmas; of white wax two ounces; of rose oil three ounces; use, changing frequently."

The differences between the recipe of P.Mich. inv. 6803b *verso* and Aelius Promotus' prescription are: (1) Aelius Promotus' recipe lacks goose fat; (2) the proportions are different: in Aelius Promotus' recipe saffron is the "dominant" ingredient, as indicated also by the heading, while the

⁹ See note on *recto* l. 1.

¹⁰ See note on *recto* l. 4.

¹¹ See the commentary for references.

¹² Cf. I. Andorlini, *GMP* 2.12, note on l. 2 (= I. Andorlini, *Πολλὰ ἱατρῶν ἐστὶ συγγράμματα. Scritti sui papiri e la medicina antica*, vol. 2 [Milano 2018] 117–118, <http://www.papirologia.unipr.it/ERC/files/andorlini-ks2.pdf>).

¹³ According to Galen, φύματα are swellings of the glands: Gal. *Ad Glauc. de meth. med.* 2.1 = 11.77.8–11 Kühn and Gal. *De meth. med.* 13.5 = 10.884.1–2 Kühn; cf. also Paul. Aeg. 4.22 = *CMG* 9.1 343–344.

recipe of the Michigan papyrus instead requires the same amounts of saffron, rose oil, and goose fat. Both recipes prescribe a smaller amount of the metallic component (white lead). These differences, however, do not impair the conjecture that the recipe of P.Mich. inv. 6803b *verso* was also intended for treatment of φύματα. In fact, Aelius Promotus' chapter on remedies against φύματα includes three more recipes that share three or four ingredients with the prescription of the Michigan papyrus and with varying proportions.¹⁴

Furthermore, the recipe of the papyrus also shares similarities with the composition of "white plasters" (λευκαὶ ἐμπλάστροι), as described by Galen (*De comp. med. per gen.* 1.12 = 13.409–427 Kühn). "White plasters" are a broad group whose basic ingredients are white lead, litharge (λιθάργυρος), white wax, fat, with the addition of water or an oil.¹⁵ They treat various conditions, especially of the skin, depending on which substances are added to the basic formula. The recipe of the Michigan papyrus shares four ingredients with the basic formula of white plasters (white lead, white wax, rose oil, fat) but lacks litharge, which is a characteristic component of such plasters.¹⁶ In any case, the white lead and white wax should have imparted a white color to the mixture.

The writer of the Michigan papyrus took note of these recipes, copying them down perhaps from distinct *repertoires* of recipes (*receptaria*) with different backgrounds.¹⁷ The recipes on the *recto* employ common, domestic ingredients such as leek, tamarisk fruit, honey and charcoal, and may stem from a tradition of popular medicine, with magical overtones as in the case of the recipe against carbuncle.¹⁸ The recipe on the *verso*, instead, includes precious, expensive ingredients, such as saffron, and may originate from a source more linked to the proper medical *pharmacopoeia*.

¹⁴ *Dyn.* 55.2 and 4 (white lead, wax, rose oil) and 55.7 (white lead, saffron, rose oil and wax).

¹⁵ For the proportions of the ingredients cf. L.C. Youtie, *P.Mich.* 17.758, note on A.8–11.

¹⁶ Cf. Gal. *De comp. med. per gen.* 1.12 = 13.409.2–3 Kühn τῶν λευκῶν ἐμπλάστρον οὐ μόνον ψιμύθιον, ἀλλὰ καὶ λιθάργυρον ἔχουσιν "... the white plasters having not only white lead, but also litharge..." and 409.16–17 οἱ ἱατροὶ μίξαντες ψιμύθιον τῇ λιθαργύρῳ σκευάζουσι τὰς λευκὰς ἐμπλάστρους "by mixing white lead with litharge, the doctors prepare the white plasters."

¹⁷ It remains unclear why exactly the writer noted down recipes for swollen glands and carbuncle. It can be observed, however, that inflammations of glands and skin conditions often occur together in the headings of recipes: cf. e.g. the "Ikesios-plaster" (Gal. *De comp. med. per gen.* 5.3 = 13.787.12–788.17 Kühn), which is said to be effective against several inflammations such as φύματα, παρωτίδες and ἄνθραξ.

¹⁸ See note on *recto* ll. 4–5.

P.Mich. inv. 6803b H × W = 9.2 × 7 cm second half I BCE – early I CE
 Purchased in 1935¹⁹
 TM 977304

The *recto* of this small papyrus preserves upper, left, and lower margins, and the writing is with the fibers. Two partial lines of an earlier Demotic text (TM 977305) are written at the bottom of the sheet, across the fibers and perpendicular to the Greek, with further possible traces toward the top half.²⁰ The *verso* contains upper, right, and lower margins, and also contains two faded lines of Demotic perpendicular to the Greek. A *kollesis* is visible on the *verso* and runs ca. 1.5 cm from the upper margin.

The recipes are written in a lumbering hand that imitates the book script in use between the second half of the first century BCE and the beginning of the first century CE.²¹ Dated parallels include: *P.Wash. Univ.* 2.106 (13 January 18 BCE),²² *P.Oxy.* 41.2979 (Sept.-Oct. 3 BCE),²³ P.Mich. inv. 4447d (8/9 CE),²⁴ *SB* 18.13219 (8 July 15 CE);²⁵ cf. also P.Haun. inv. 326c and *P.Giss.Univ.* 4.45 (recipes, assigned to the late first century BCE by I. Andorlini, *GMP* 1.11).²⁶

The small script is not ligatured. There are small serifs at the end of strokes (cf. *tau* of στέατο[ς], *recto* l. 3, *rho* of ἄνθρακα, *recto* l. 4 and of ἄνθραχα, *recto* l. 5, *ypsilon* of κηροῦ λευκοῦ, *verso* l. 4). *Alpha* is executed either as a diagonal stroke with a rounded or angular “belly” (cf. the rounded version in ἀλόης, *recto* l. 7, or the angular versions in πράσα, *recto* l. 2) or as a capital with an angular middle stroke (ἄνθραχα, *recto* l. 5, has both kinds of *alpha*). *Mu* is written in four strokes.

¹⁹ The papyrus belongs to the group P.Mich. inv. 6752–6805, which were purchased by Enoch Peterson during the University of Michigan’s last season of excavation at Karanis and reached Ann Arbor in April, 1935 (Michigan Papyrology Collection, Inventory of Papyri).

²⁰ Wolfgang Wegner reports the following readings and notes that the rather small sums suggest that they are in silver, which would fit a date after the monetary reform(s) of 53/52 and 52/51 BCE. *Recto* (= Demotic *verso*), col. x+1, line x+1: [...] *dbn* 1 *qd.t* 2 1/2 1/12, “[...] 1 deben 2 1/2 1/12 kites” (= 25 drachmas, 1 obol); line x+2: [...] *qd.t* 2 1/3, “2 1/3 kites” (= 4 drachmas, 4 obols); col. x+2 (partially covered by the Greek text), line x+1: ρ. ρ. . . . [. . .] *qd.t* 2, “... 2 kites” (= 4 drachmas); *verso* (= Demotic *recto*), line x+1: ρ. ρ. . . . (s3?) *Hr* ρ=ω(?) “... (son?) of Herieus(?)”; line x+2: (s3?) *T3y-n.im*=w, “... (son?) of Samaus/Thamous.”

²¹ Cf. the examples in G. Cavallo and H. Maehler, *Hellenistic Bookhands* (Berlin-New York 2008) 112–133.

²² Image online: <http://omeka.wustl.edu/omeka/items/show/8104>.

²³ Image online: <http://163.1.169.40/cgi-bin/library?e=q-000-00---0POxy--00-0-0--0prompt-10---4---ded-0-11--1-en-50---20-about-2979--00031-001-1-OutfZz-8-00&a=d&c=POxy&cl=search&d=HASHec15da37c47f2cb4ef987c>.

²⁴ A short receipt dated to Epeiph 9 of Augustus’ 41st year (= 3 July, 12 CE; edition in preparation). Image online: <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/a/apis/x-15438/4447dr.tif>.

²⁵ Image online: https://www.ucl.ac.uk/GrandLatMisc/hawara/papydata/phaw_041.htm.

²⁶ Image online: <http://bibd.uni-giessen.de/papyri/images/pbug-inv154recto.jpg>.

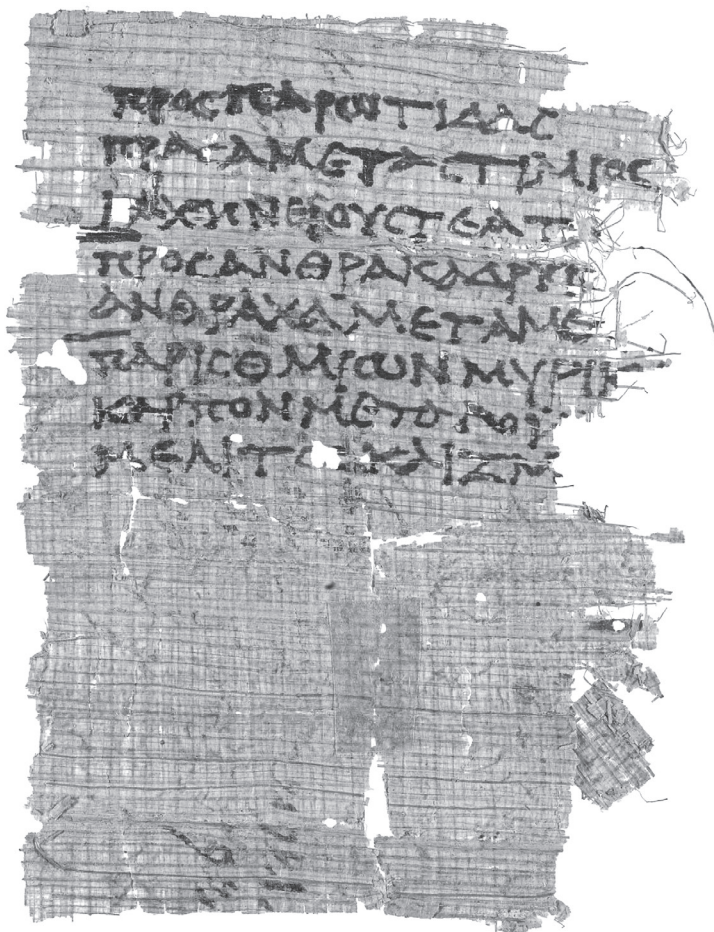
Recto

- 1 πρὸς παρωτίδας·
 2 πράσα μετὰ στίμιος
 3 καὶ χηνείου στέατο[ς]

- 4 πρὸς ἄνθρακα· δρύϊν[ον]
 5 ἄνθραχα μετὰ μέλ[ιτος]

- 6 παρισθμίων· μυρίκη[ς]
 7 καρπὸν μετ' ἀλόης [καί]
 8 μέλιτος καὶ ζμ[ύρης]

5 l. ἄνθρακα

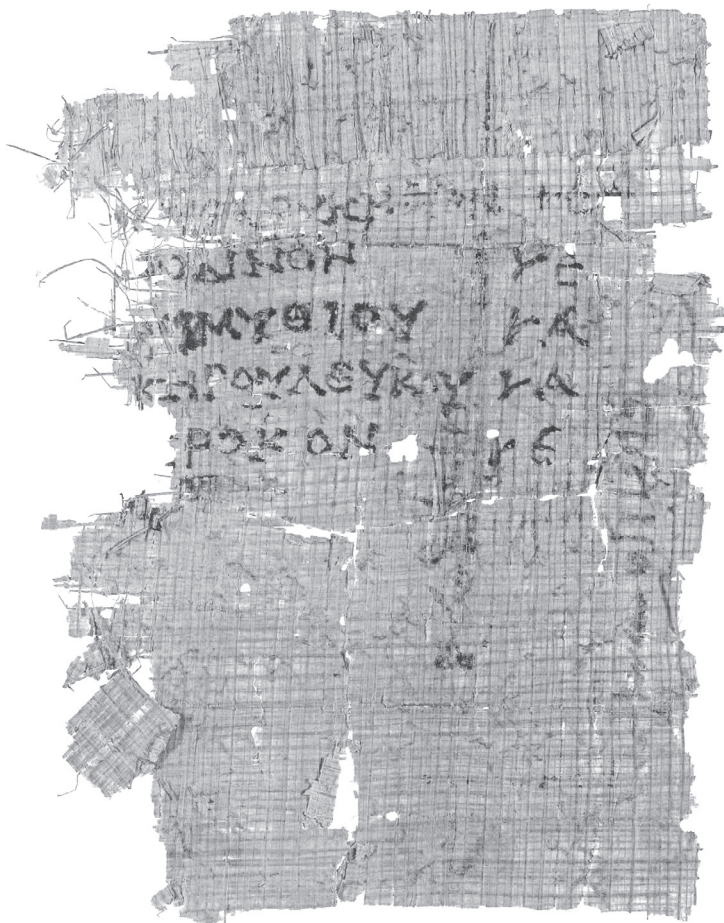


“Against inflammation of the parotid glands: leeks with powdered antimony and goose fat. Against carbuncle: oak charcoal with honey. For inflammations of the tonsils: tamarisk fruit with aloe [and] honey and myrrh.”

Verso

- | | | |
|---|-----------------|---------|
| 1 | [σ]τέαρ χήνειον | (δρ.) ε |
| 2 | ρόδινον | (δρ.) ε |
| 3 | ψιμυθίου | (δρ.) α |
| 4 | κηροῦ λευκοῦ | (δρ.) α |
| 5 | κρόκον | (δρ.) ε |

1-5 † = δραχμή / δραχμαί *par.*



“Goose fat, 5 drachmas; rose oil, 5 drachmas; of white lead, 1 drachma; of white wax, 1 drachma; saffron, 5 drachmas.”

Recto

1 πρὸς παρωτίδας: the first eight letters have been traced over a second time. According to the ancient medical writers, the condition called παρωτίδες is an inflammation and swelling of the glands located beside the ears (parotid glands), cf. Gal. *De comp. med. sec. loc.* 3.2 = 12.664.10–12 Kühn, Ps.-Gal. *Def. med.* 372 = 19.440.5–7 Kühn and Celsus 6.16 = *CML* 1.289.30–290.4. Remedies against παρωτίδες are usually poultices, as we learn from Galen, *De comp. med. sec. loc.* 3.2 = 12.664–678 Kühn, quoting recipes of Archigenes (first-second century CE), and Ps.-Galen, *De remed. parab.* 1.3 = 14.334.8–336.10 Kühn. For a discussion on παρωτίδες (including the papyrological attestations) see W. Furley, *GMP* 2.3, note on fr. 2.5–6 and I. Andorlini, “Riesame di PVindob. G 29368. Sulle ‘parotidi,’” in S. Boscherini (ed.), *Studi di lessicologia medica antica* (Bologna 1993) 26–27, note on fr. B *recto* 5–8 (= Andorlini, *Πολλὰ ἱατρῶν* vol. 2 [n. 12] 162–163).

2 πράσα: leek is not found in recipes against inflammation of the parotid glands but is prescribed in a number of remedies for pain in the area of the ears. In describing the various properties and medical uses of leek, Dioscorides notes that its juice works against earache (βοηθεῖ καὶ ὠταλγίαις ὁ χυλός, *Mat. med.* 2.149 = 1.215.15 Wellmann). It should be instilled in the ear, alone or mixed with another ingredient such as animal bile, as we learn from two recipes ascribed to Apollonios Mys: cf. Gal. *De comp. med. sec. loc.* 3.1 = 12.615.3 Kühn and *P.Oxy.* 2.234.2.43–44 (late second – early third century CE). Another recipe against earache with leek juice and honey is quoted by Ps.-Galen, *De remed. parab.* 2.4 = 14.404.1–2 Kühn. On leek in papyrological documentation see V. Gazza, “Prescrizioni mediche nei papiri dell’Egitto greco-romano II,” *Aegyptus* 36 (1956) 94.

– μετὰ στίμιος: the simplification of the geminate *mu* of στίμμι > στίμι was widespread in medical prescriptions on papyrus, cf. J. Landon, *GMP* 2.4, note on col. 2.18. Variant genitives recorded in LSJ include -εως and -ιδος. The substance στίμι, powdered white oxide of antimony, is a common component of eye-salves thanks to its astringent and drying properties, as specified by Galen, *De simpl. med. temp. ac fac.* 11.2 = 12.236.8–12 Kühn. Its use here in a recipe against παρωτίδες is peculiar. Ancient medical writers do not ascribe to the substance any specific

property against conditions of the ear or of its area. The substance does not seem to be attested in other recipes against earache or *παρωτίδες*. Moreover, the term is attested in several medical recipes on papyrus, all of which are recipes for eye-salves.

3 *χηνείου στέατο[ς]*: like other animal fats, goose fat is employed in the preparation of compound drugs, in particular of poultices and salves for external application, thanks to its emollient and soothing properties: cf. Gal. *De simpl. med. temp. ac fac.* 11.2 = 12.323.16–331.16 Kühn on animal fat in general and 12.325.18–326.2 Kühn on goose fat. Some plaster recipes for *παρωτίδες* prescribe the use of pig fat: cf. for example Gal. *De comp. med. sec. loc.* 3.2 = 12.677.16 Kühn. Goose fat does not seem to be attested in recipes against *παρωτίδες*, but it is prescribed to sooth earache in at least two occurrences: (1) instilled in the ear alone in a prescription of Apollonios Mys: cf. Gal. *De comp. med. sec. loc.* 3.1 = 12.615.1–616.5 Kühn; (2) mixed with other ingredients such as onion juice in two prescriptions quoted by Pliny the Elder, *NH* 29.133 and 134.10–11.

4 *πρὸς ἄνθρακα*: ἄνθραξ, “carbuncle,” is defined by the ancient medical literature as an ulceration of the skin, whose margins become heavily inflamed. On the inside, the ulceration becomes very dark, like charcoal, hence the name ἄνθραξ / Lat. *carbunculus* (cf. Cass.Fel. 22.2 Fraisse *et in medio suae regionis nigri ut carbones efficiuntur, unde ipso nomine carbunculi vocantur*). For ancient definitions of ἄνθραξ cf. Gal. *De comp. med. per gen.* 5.15 = 13.854.15–17 Kühn, Ps.-Gal. *Def. med.* 337 = 19.434.15–16 Kühn and Scrib.Larg. *Comp. med.* 25 Sconocchia. Carbuncles can occur everywhere on the body, including head (especially around eyes and lips) and neck: cf. Orib. *Ecl.* 105.2 = CMG 6.2.2 284.6–16 (quoting the physician Herodot, first century CE) and I. Andorlini, *PSICongr.XXI* 3, note on l. 11 (= Andorlini, *Πολλὰ ἱατρῶν* vol. 2 [n. 12] 20). They can be treated by applying external remedies such as poultices (*καταπλάσματα*), cf. Gal. *De comp. med. per gen.* 5.15 = 13.854.15–858 Kühn. In this passage Galen points out the need for an aggressive treatment against carbuncle; the recipe on the Michigan papyrus, however, consists only of two ingredients without much effectiveness, and may stem from a tradition of popular medicine (see general introduction).

4–5 *δρύϊν[ον] ἄνθραχα* (l. ἄνθρακα): for the exchange of *kappa* with *chi* between two vocals cf. F.T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods, Vol. I: Phonology* (Milano 1976)

92. It is curious that the writer wrote the first ἄνθρακα with *kappa* and the second with *chi*. The use of oak charcoal in medical recipes is rarely attested. Besides the prescription for carbuncles quoted by Pliny the Elder in *NH* 36.203, which provides a Latin parallel for the recipe on P.Mich. inv. 6803b (see introduction), oak charcoal occurs in a passage from Dioscorides, where it is said to be effective against hemorrhoids (*Mat. med.* 1.108 = 1.101.23–24 Wellmann), and in a recipe against stomachache quoted by Ps.-Galen (*De remed. parab.* 3.1 = 14.521.9–10 Kühn). The use of charcoal to treat a condition that bears the same name (ἄνθραξ) likely stems from the principle of “curing similar with similar” (*similia similibus*), widespread in the medico-magical tradition, on which see M. de Haro Sanchez, “Magie et pharmacopée: l’utilisation des végétaux dans les papyrus iatromagiques grecs,” *Mythos* 9 (2015) 157 and P. Gaillard-Seux, “Sur la distinction entre médecine et magie dans les textes médicaux antiques (I^{er}-V^e siècles),” in M. de Haro Sanchez (ed.), *Écrire la magie dans l’Antiquité. Actes du colloque international (Liège, 13–15 octobre 2011)* (Liège 2015) 201–223.

– μετὰ μέλι[ιτος]: one of the most common excipients used in ancient medicine, particularly appreciated for its numerous therapeutic properties, cf. S. Byl, “La thérapeutique par le miel dans le Corpus Hippocraticum,” in I. Garofalo, A. Lami, D. Manetti, and A. Roselli (eds.), *Aspetti della terapia nel Corpus Hippocraticum. Atti del IX^e Colloquio internazionale hippocratico* (Firenze 1999) 119–124. For its use to treat carbuncle cf. Scrib.Larg. *Comp. med.* 25 Sconocchia and Marc.Emp. 7.21 = *CML* 5.108.8–11.

6 παρίσθμιων: the term παρίσθμια is used metonymically to indicate both the tonsils and their inflammation: cf. V. Langholf, *Syntaktische Untersuchungen zu Hippokrates-Texten* (Mainz-Wiesbaden 1977) 104 and J. Jouanna, *Hippocrate, X.2: Maladies II* (Paris 1983) 165, n. 2; for a discussion of παρίσθμια see I. Andorlini, *P.Bagnall* 1, note on l. 6 (= Andorlini, *Πολλὰ ἱατρῶν* vol. 2 [n. 12] 125). Remedies against *paristhmia* should be gargled or smeared; sometimes both usages are possible: cf. Gal. *De comp. med. sec. loc.* 6.6 = 12.929.3–6 Kühn and Ps.-Gal. *De remed. parab.* 2.11 = 14.436.6–10 Kühn. Dioscorides recommends treating tonsil inflammations with so called ἀναγαργαρίσματα (“gargles”) or with poultices made of honey and various substances, including aloe, which also occurs in the recipe of P.Mich. inv. 6803b *recto* (cf. Dsc. *Eup.* 1.81 = 3.182.16–183.2 Wellmann).

6–7 μυρίκη[ς] καρπόν: on tamarisk and its several uses attested in the papyri see V. Schram, “Ἐρίκινον ξύλον, de la bruyère en Égypte?” in A. Nodar and S. Torallas Tovar (eds.), *Proceedings of the 28th International Congress of Papyrology (Barcelona August 1st-6th, 2016)* (Barcelona 2019) 761–770 (<https://repositori.upf.edu/handle/10230/41902>). Tamarisk fruit can be used to prepare compound drugs for various ailments, including medicaments for the mouth and throat (so-called στοματικά, cf. Dsc. *Mat. med.* 1.87 = 1.82.6–21 Wellmann). Tamarisk fruit, however, is not attested in other recipes specifically for παρίσθμια nor in other medical recipes on papyrus.

7 μετ’ ἀλόης: aloe mixed with honey is used to treat inflammation of the tonsils and other ailments of the mouth: cf. Dsc. *Mat. Med.* 3.22 = 2.28–30.8 Wellmann. For the medical use of aloe see I. Andorlini, *GMP* 1.11, note on fr. A.13 (= Andorlini, *Πολλὰ ἱατρῶν* vol. 2 [n. 12] 39); cf. also Gazza (cited above in the note on *recto*, l. 2) 77–78.

8 ζμ[ύρνης]: ζμύρνα (instead of σμύρνα) is the common spelling in papyri: cf. Gignac (cited above in the note on *recto*, ll. 4–5) 121–122. Dioscorides ascribes to myrrh various therapeutic properties, noting that it alleviates conditions of the throat and thorax, such as chronic cough, orthopnea, thorax pain and hoarseness (*Mat. med.* 1.64 = 1.58.14–17 Wellmann). For a description of the substance and for its attestations in the papyrological sources see I. Andorlini, “Ricette mediche nei papiri: note d’interpretazione e analisi di ingredienti (σμύρνα, καδμεία, ψιμύθιον),” *Atti e Mem. Accad. Tosc. Sc. Lett. La Colombaria* 46, n.s. 32 (1981) 61–65 (= Andorlini, *Πολλὰ ἱατρῶν* [n. 1] 37–48).

Verso

1–5 Although the recipe lacks a heading, we can hypothesize that it might have been intended to cure φύματα, “swellings” (probably of the glands), since it shares almost all its ingredients with a recipe against φύματα quoted by Aelius Promotus (*Dyn.* 55.3): see the introduction. The ingredients are listed both in the accusative (σ]τέαρ, ῥόδινον and κρόκον) and genitive (ψιμύθιου and κηροῦ λευκοῦ): the genitive is the regular case for lists of medical ingredients followed by a quantity; for medical prescriptions mixing genitive and accusative cf. the later examples of *MPER N.S.* 13.8 (second half of the fifth century CE) and *MPER N.S.* 13.12 (sixth-seventh century CE) and cf. I. Andorlini, *PSI Congr. XVII* 19, note on l. 5 (= Andorlini, *Πολλὰ ἱατρῶν* vol. 2 [n. 12] 5–6).

2 ῥόδινον: generally, the adjective implies the nouns μύρον or ἔλαιον: rose essence and rose oil differ in the production process (Gal. *De simpl. med. temp. ac fac.* 2.27 = 11.537–538 Kühn); moreover, rose oil is credited with therapeutic properties and is particularly indicated for the preparation of poultices and salves (Dsc. *Mat. med.* 1.43 = 1.42.7–43.18 Wellmann). We can thus assume that rose oil is meant in this recipe. On ῥόδινον and the use of roses in ancient *pharmacopoeia*, see Gazza (cited above in the note on *recto*, l. 2) 95, I. Andorlini, *BKT* 10.25 ↓ note on l. 5 (= Andorlini, *Πολλὰ ἱατρῶν* vol. 2 [n. 12] 61) and J.-L. Fournet, “Un papyrus médical byzantin de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres,” *T&MByz* 12 (1994) 317–318.

3 ψιμυθίου: this white powder obtained from lead is employed in the preparation of cosmetics and salves. Because of its white color, it is well-suited to the preparation of the so-called “white plasters” (λευκαὶ ἐμπλαστοί, see introduction). On this substance see Andorlini (cited above in the note on *recto*, l. 8) 70–76 (= Andorlini, *Πολλὰ ἱατρῶν* [n. 1] 44–48).

4 κηροῦ λευκοῦ: wax is a common thickening agent in poultices and salves and has warming and softening properties (Dsc. *Mat. med.* 2.83 = 1.167.10–168.17 Wellmann). White wax in particular is recommended for the production of the white plasters (cf. Gal. *De comp. med. per gen.* 1.12 = 13.410.18–411.1 Kühn ὅπως δὲ τὸ χρῶμα τῆς ἐμπλάστρου λευκὸν φυλάττοιτο, λευκὸν εἶναι προσήκει τὸν κηρόν).

5 κρόκον: saffron was used in different kinds of recipes, such as eye-salves, plasters and medicinal beverages. On its properties see Dsc. *Mat. med.* 1.26 = 1.29.9–31.10 Wellmann and Gal. *De simpl. med. temp. ac fac.* 7.10 = 12.48.3–12 Kühn. On this substance see Andorlini (n. 12) and F. Reiter, “Medizinische Rezepte auf einem Heidelberger Papyrus,” in B. Kramer, W. Luppe, H. Maehler, and G. Poethke (eds.), *Akten des 21. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses* (Stuttgart-Leipzig 1997) 808, note on l. 3.

A NICENO-CONSTANTINOPOLITAN CREED FROM BALA'IZAH

Nikolaos Gonis *University College London*

Abstract. — Edition of a papyrus of the Bodleian Library with parts of the beginning of the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed.

Keywords: Bala'izah, Creed

In his introduction to *Bala'izah*, Kahle notes the presence of “four Greek literary texts” in this large, mostly Coptic textual find from the monastery of Apa Apollo: the well-known *Euchologium*, two items published in *Bala'izah*, and one that has remained unpublished.¹ For some unknown reason, Kahle did not mention six other Greek papyri, all part of the same lot and catalogued in the MS. Gr. Liturg. series of the Bodleian Library,² even though he recorded them by their inventory numbers elsewhere in his book.³ One of these papyri, preserving parts of the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed, is published below.

The papyrus is broken on all sides; we cannot tell whether anything preceded the first extant line, which contains the beginning of the Creed. The text is written across the fibres and the back is blank. This was probably a single sheet, like most papyri of the Creed, to be used in a liturgical service or for private prayer.

¹ P.E. Kahle, *Bala'izah. Coptic Texts from Deir el-Bala'izah in Upper Egypt* (Oxford 1954) 8. The references are to C.H. Roberts and B. Capelle, *An Early Euchologium: The Dêr-Balizeh Papyrus Enlarged and Reedited* (Louvain 1949); *P.Bal.* 2 (LXX *Exodus*); *P.Bal.* 29 (prayers); and *Ms Gr. Class.* d 77 (P).

² These papyri are listed among the accessions of 1908 in F. Madan and H.H.E. Craster, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, vol. 6 (Oxford 1924) 306, nos. 34149–34157, with the note: “All the above were given by prof. Flinders Petrie in 1908.” The descriptions of the other three items in this lot on p. 305 call for comment. S.C. 34148 is *Ms. Gr. Class.* (not “liturg.”) g, 53 (P); it is a documentary text, not a “prose fragment.” The same applies to S.C. 34146 = *MS. Gr. Class.* f 77 (P), a fragment of a letter. S.C. 34147 = *MS. Gr. Class.* g 52 (P) joins *MS. Gr. Class.* f 86 (P) to form *P.Bal.* 130 = *SB* 28.17257.

³ Kahle (n. 1) 3, n. 5. Cf. Á.T. Mihálykó, *The Christian Liturgical Papyri: An Introduction* (Tübingen 2019) 110.

The script is of the kind exemplified by the familiar hand of Dioscorus (cf. Cavallo–Maehler, *GB* 32a). It could be placed in the second half of the sixth century, but a date in the earlier seventh could also be considered, in view of its similarity to later Coptic hands and of the dates of most Bala'izah papyri. Among notable letter forms, ε and c have their cap added separately as downward obliques; that of ε is short, but that of c plunges well below the top. The arms of κ are split from its upright.

There are *nomina sacra* in lines 3 (ιϛ̄ χϛ̄) and 4 (θ̄ϛ̄), but θεον is not contracted in line 1. I have supplied the uncontracted forms of the divine name in the lacunas in lines 4 and 6 by reason of space, but I cannot rule out that *nomina sacra* were used instead.

As is common in late liturgical texts in Greek, including the unpublished ones from Bala'izah. There are some phonetic spellings, all of a common kind (αι > ε, ll. 2 and 5; γ > κ, ll. 2 and 6), as well as morphological errors (ll. 3, 4). A Coptic graphic convention, the addition of trema over medial *iota* (ll. 3, 6, 9), is indicative of the milieu of the copyist.

The (Nicene or, more often, Niceno-Constantinopolitan) Creed in Greek is found in several papyri, ostraca, and wooden tablets from Egypt; a list is given in *P.Gen.* 4, p. 58, supplemented by A. Delattre, “Un symbole de Nicée en copte sur ostracon. Édition de O. Berol. Inv. 20892,” *Journal of Coptic Studies* 13 (2011) 113, n. 3.

The basis for the collation is the text printed in G.L. Dossetti, *Il simbolo di Nicea e di Costantinopoli. Edizione critica* (Rome 1967) 244–251. There is a variant reading in l. 7.

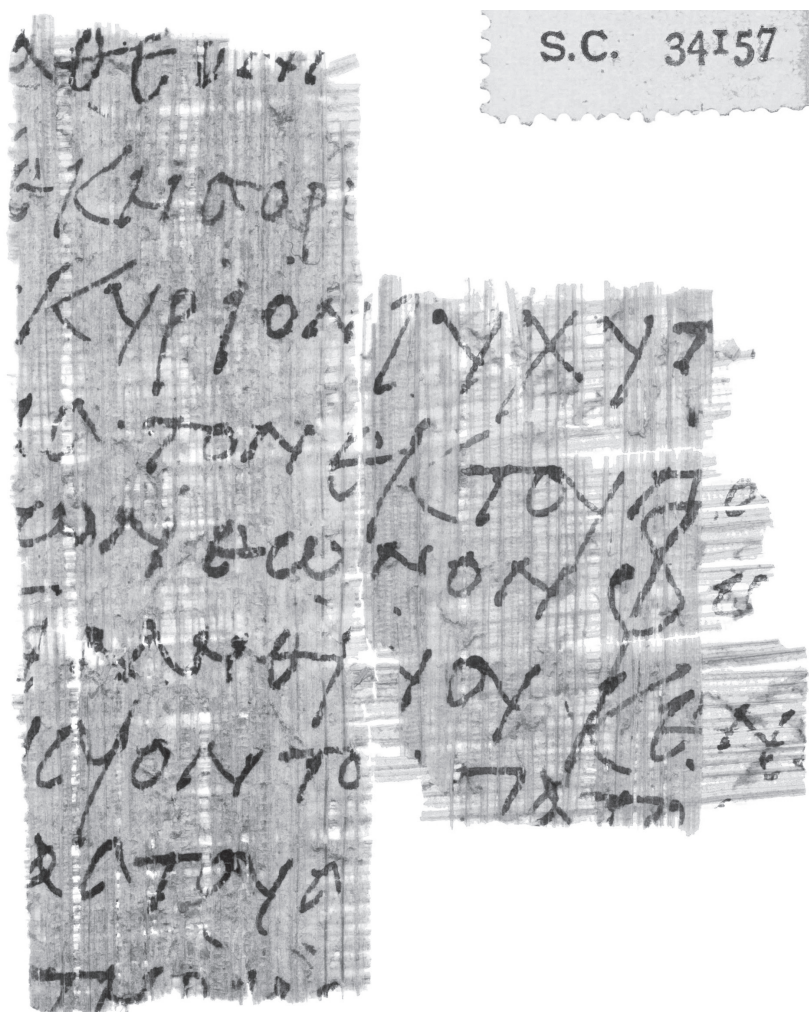
Bodl. MS. Gr. Liturg. g 2 (P)

H × W = 7.6 × 6 cm

VI/VII

- [πιςτευομεν εις εν]α θεον π[ατερα παντοκρατορα]
 [ποιητην ουρανου] κε κης ορα[των τε παντων και]
 [αορατων και εις εν]α κυριον ιϛ̄ χϛ̄ τ[ον υιον του]
 4 [θεου τον μονογεν]ης · τον εκ του πα[τρος γεννη]
 [θεντα προ παντων] των εωνων φω[ς εκ φωτος]
 [θεον αληθινον εκ θ̄ϛ̄] αληθινου κενν[ηθεντα ου]
 [ποιηθεντα ομο]υσιον του πατρ[ος δι ου τα παντα]
 8 [εγενετο τον δι ημ]ας τους [ανθρωπους και δια]
 [την ημετεραν ω]τηρῖαν [κατελθοντα εκ των]

2 l. καὶ γῆς 3 l. Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν 4 l. μονογενῆ 5 l. αἰώνων 6 l. γεννηθέντα



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1 πιστευομεν rather than πιστευω is suggested by spacing.

3–4 κυριον $\overline{\omega}$ $\overline{\chi\upsilon}$ τ[ον . . . τον μονογεν]ης. We find the erroneous $\overline{\omega}$ $\overline{\chi\upsilon}$ and μονογενης also in T.Med. inv. 71.00, l. 4 (ed. O. Montevecchi, “Il simbolo costantinopolitano in una tavola lignea della Collezione dell’Università Cattolica di Milano,” *Aegyptus* 55 [1975] 58–69).

4 There is unexplained ink, a mere dot, in the space between τ in the line above the π of πα[τρός. I doubt that πα[τρός was overlined.

7 ὁμοούσιον τοῦ πατρ[ός. The use of the genitive instead of the dative (τῷ πατρί) has not been recorded in any other papyrus or ostrakon of the Creed, nor is such a variant recorded in Dossetti's apparatus. However, the phrase ὁμοούσιον/-ος τοῦ πατρός is well attested in patristic literature, already in the fourth century; see Ath. *ep. Epict.* 4, Epiph. *haer.* 69.7.6 (= Ath. *syn.* 16.3), 77.6.2, etc. In the corresponding Latin version, *consubstantialis patri*, G transmits *patris*, but this variant is probably not due to the Greek construction with the genitive.

A NEW CHRISTIAN TEXT FROM LIVERPOOL'S WORLD MUSEUM

Marco Perale *University of Liverpool*

Abstract. — Edition of an eighth-century papyrus fragment transmitting a Christian *adespoton*. The text mentions “the Father,” “God,” and a certain Severus. The fragment appears to be written *transversa charta*. It is tentatively argued that the text is either a hymn or the copy of a Festal Letter.

Keywords: Christian *adespoton*, hymn, Festal Letter

Liverpool, World Museum H × W = 14 × 4 cm Provenance unknown, VIII AD
inv. 56.21.433

A narrow strip of papyrus (not a codex leaf), glued on a piece of card, written in a fine pointed sloping majuscule datable to the eighth century (Fig. 1).¹ Among dated examples of the sloping majuscule, *PSI Com.XI 2* (743–767) and *P.Lond.Copt.* 1.513 (793–817) provide the best parallels. Notable features are η with high middle bar and the contrast between narrow round letters and the long uprights of τ, ρ, and ψ reaching into the large interlinear space.² The writing on the *recto* runs across the fibers, which suggests a text written *transversa charta*, that is, extended vertically, with sheets glued along the horizontal *kolleseis* and one long column of writing running down the roll. We can assume that the *verso*, which is entirely glued onto the card, was blank. There are signs of folding on the *recto*, at progressively larger intervals: two folds on the lower margin, about one fold per line in ll. 7–10, and one fold every two lines in the upper half. The lower margin of ca. 2 cm indicates either that the fragment belonged to the bottom of a *rotulus* (a single sheet cut in whatever size was necessary to receive the text)³ or, less likely, that the text was followed by another text after a break of two or more lines.

¹ I wish to thank N. Gonis, M. Stroppa, the two anonymous referees, and the editorial board of *BASP* for their valuable comments on earlier versions of this article. On the sloping majuscule, see P. Orsini, *Studies on Greek and Coptic Majuscule Scripts and Books* (Berlin 2019) 133–164.

² See Á.T. Mihálykó, *The Christian Liturgical Papyri: An Introduction* (Tübingen 2019) Figs. 21 and 24, and nos. 155 and 191 in the appendix.

³ M. Stroppa, “Testi cristiani scritti *transversa charta* nei PSI: alcuni esempi,” *Comunicazioni dell'Istituto Papirologico G. Vitelli* 9 (2011) 61–72, and “L'uso di rotoli per testi

Due to the highly fragmentary character of the text (no more than 8 letters per line survive) and its anonymous status, the column width cannot be ascertained or inferred from the content. The text is an *adespoton*. It contains two abbreviations, one with the *nomen sacrum* Θ(εός) in l. 5 and one of an uncertain nature in l. 10 (on which see the commentary).⁴ It mentions “the Father” (ll. 3, 10), “God” (l. 5), and a certain Severus (l. 2), likely Severus of Antioch, who lived between 465 and 538.⁵ Severus was a proponent of miaphysitism, a Christological doctrine that conceived the nature of Jesus as one, that is, divine and human at the same time, or rather two natures united through the Incarnation into a single nature. This interpretation of the nature of Christ clashed with the views of the Chalcedonian Christian orthodoxy enforced by the Emperor Justin I (518-527). After they were banned by Justinian, Severus’ writings were translated from Greek into Syriac and Coptic.⁶ His ideas were popular in Egypt, the seat of many miaphysite churches. *PLond.Lit.* 237 preserves a hymn in his honour which is also dated to the eighth century and written in a similar hand across the fibres.⁷ His name is further mentioned in a seventh-century liturgical diptych from Egypt, *SB* 20.14591.⁸

In the Liverpool fragment, ll. 4 and following contain a (“mixed”?) conditional sentence, with an imperfect in the *apodosis* (l. 6, εἰπόμεν?). The verb of the *protasis* (l. 4, ὄν εἰ ψ[]) is lost, but the subject appears to

cristiani di carattere letterario,” *APF* 59 (2013) 348–349. To the lists in Stroppa we can now add *P.Bastianini* 4 (sixth century; *Apophthegmata Patrum*), an isolated sheet of papyrus written *transversa charta* or an opistograph *rotulus*, and A. Camplani, “A Pastoral Epistle of the Seventh Century Concerning the Eucharist (Pap. Berlin P. 11346),” in V.M. Lepper (ed.), *Forschung in der Papyrussammlung. Eine Festgabe für das Neue Museum* (Berlin 2012) 377–386, with corrections in Á.T. Mihálykó, “The Thrice-Blessed Pesynthios of Koptos and the Presanctified Holies: Some Notes on a Coptic Pastoral Letter (P.Berol. 11346),” *Adamantius* 24 (2018) 143–149.

⁴ For abbreviations in Christian papyri, see Mihálykó (n. 2) 180–182.

⁵ On Severus, see J. D’Alton and Y. Youssef (eds.), *Severus of Antioch: His Life and Times* (Leiden 2016). For profiles of other eminent Severi in Late Antiquity (of Malaga, of Minorca, al-Muqaffa, Sebokht, the Tetrarch), see O. Nicholson (ed.), *The Oxford Dictionary of Late Antiquity* (Oxford 2018) 2.1367–1368. The Severus mentioned in *PSI Com.XI* 2, a list of intercessions for clergy also written *transversa charta*, is not, as initially thought, Severus of Antioch, but the bishop of Antinoopolis, in office in or after 751: M. Stroppa, “Patriarch and Bishops in Greek Papyri with Prayers,” in T.M. Muhammad and C. Römer (eds.), *Thought, Culture, and Historiography in Christian Egypt, 284-641 AD* (Cambridge 2020) 168–171.

⁶ Y. Moss, “Saving Severus: How Severus of Antioch’s Writings Survived in Greek,” *GRBS* 56 (2016) 786, 808.

⁷ For this date see Mihálykó (n. 2) 338, no. 208.

⁸ See H. Brakmann, “Severos unter den Alexandrinern. Zum liturgischen Diptychon in Boston,” *JbAC* 26 (1983) 54–58.

be God (l. 5, δ Θ(εό)ς), with a masculine noun on the receiving end of the (missing) verb. The first person in ἵπτομην in l. 6 (possibly also) . ακημεν in l. 9) suggests that the text could be a Festal letter, sent by the bishop of Alexandria to the other bishoprics, churches and monasteries around Egypt to announce the date of Easter in a given year. The use of large capital letters to begin a sentence (see the ο in ðν in l. 2) is also present in two other papyri transmitting Festal Letters, namely *PSI* 16.1576 (421) and P.Berol. inv. 10677 (713 or 719). A Festal letter could have contained theological or ecclesiological considerations (and may have cited Severus of Antioch).⁹ However, Festal Letters are not normally copied on *rotuli* and are usually written in a style closer to the Alexandrian majuscule.¹⁰ One may then posit that the Liverpool fragment is the copy of a Festal Letter, purposely written in a different style and format to mark its distance from the Alexandrian chancery, transcribed for purposes of duplication and conservation, or to be used in the catechesis.¹¹

Alternatively, capitals are also found in hymns, which continued to be written in Greek until the tenth century. For eighth-century exemplars, written in a hand similar to that of the Liverpool fragment, see P.Berol. inv. 13220.8, 29 and *P.Heid.* 4.292.4, 6, 8, 10.¹² The former is also written *transversa charta* and contains abbreviated *nomina sacra*. In addition, in the Liverpool fragment the scribe appears to indicate, albeit inconsistently, word break through small blank spaces (ll. 2, 3, 5). This can also be seen in late hymns, such as *P.Mich.* 19.799 (seventh century), the above-mentioned P.Berol. inv. 13220 (eighth century) and P.Berol. inv. 11633 (late eighth/ninth century). Such texts tend to display an irregular orthography. Hymns would not typically contain first person singular verbs, but in l. 6 a misspelling for πο<ι>μήν “shepherd” cannot be excluded.

The provenance of the fragment is unknown. The papyrus was part of Norwich Castle Museum's foreign archaeology and ethnology collections and was sold to Liverpool in 1956. It was originally donated to the Norwich Castle Museum by the sister of Flaxman Spurrell (1842–1915);

⁹ On the content of Festal Letters, see A. Camplani, *Atanasio di Alessandria. Lettere festali*. Anonimo. *Indice delle Lettere festali* (Milan 2003) 25–34.

¹⁰ Exceptions in A. Camplani, “Coptic Fragments from a Festal Letter of the Late Sixth Century (John Rylands Library, Coptic Suppl. n. 47–48): Damian or Eulogius?” in M. Immerzeel and J. van der Vliet (eds.), *Coptic Studies on the Threshold of a New Millennium* (Leuven 2004) 1.318–319. See also M. Stroppa, “Lettere festali su papiro,” *Comunicazioni dell'Istituto Papirologico G. Vitelli* 14 (forthcoming).

¹¹ Cf. *P.Oxy.* 76.5074 (middle of fifth-early sixth century). I owe this point to M. Stroppa.

¹² See Mihálykó (n. 2) 325, no. 155 and 334, no. 191, respectively.

Spurrell had acquired material from a range of sites excavated by his friend William Flinders Petrie.¹³ Spurrell's collection of Egyptian antiquities initially went to Norwich Castle Museum in two accessions, before the World Museum purchased about 5,000 objects from the Norwich collections in 1956.¹⁴ Among these were also two as yet unpublished fragments, namely a Ptolemaic document (inv. no. 56.21.431 + 56.21.432) and a demotic text (56.21.434). The contents of Spurrell's collection come mainly from field-work carried out by Petrie between 1886, the year in which Petrie resigned from the Egypt Exploration Fund, and 1894, when he founded the Egyptian Research Account. In 1889, Spurrell assisted Petrie with unpacking and arranging the contents of 101 cases coming from the Fayum excavations¹⁵, but the artefacts do not necessarily come from there.¹⁶

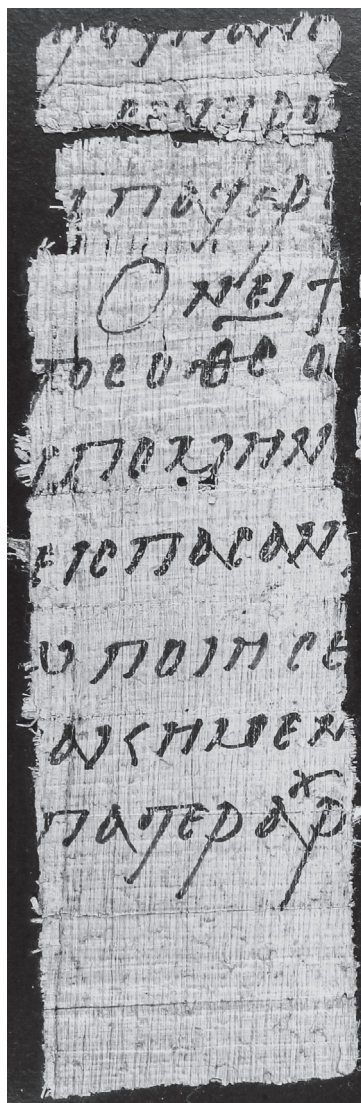
] τοῦ πανα[
] vac. Σξυηρο . [
] . πατερρα[
] vac. ὄν εἰ ψ[
 5]τος ὁ Θ(εὸς) ο[
]ιπομην . [
]εις πασαν . [
]ωποιησε[
] . ακημεν[
 10]πατερρα^ζρ[

¹³ F. Kalloniatis, *The Egyptian Collection at Norwich Castle Museum. Catalogue and Essays* (Oxford 2019) 11–12: “Flaxman Spurrell, who made the single, largest, donation to the museum, gave it in two separate ‘instalments’: part of it came during his lifetime in 1904, while the remainder came via his sister as a bequest in 1919 (four years after Spurrell’s death).” On Spurrell see W.M.F. Petrie, “Flaxman Spurrell,” *Ancient Egypt* 2 (1915) 93–94; B. Scott and A. Shaw, “The Quiet Man of Kent: The Contribution of F.C.J. Spurrell to the Early Years of Palaeolithic Archaeology,” in R.T. Hosfield, F.F. Wenban-Smith, and M.I. Pope (eds.), *Great Prehistorians: 150 Years of Palaeolithic Research, 1859–2009* (London 2009) 55.

¹⁴ See A. Cooke, “Flaxman Spurrell’s Experimenting with Painting Materials,” in C. Graves-Brown (ed.), *Egyptology in the Present: Experiential and Experimental Methods in Archaeology* (Swansea 2015) 3.

¹⁵ W.M.F. Petrie, *Seventy Years in Archaeology* (New York 1932) 114–115.

¹⁶ A. Cooke, *per litteras*: “I would hazard a guess at the Faiyum region but there is no record in the files to back this up. The Petrie Museum have similar cards (UC14877) for flint tools from Hierakonpolis pasted on with glue that Petrie sent to Spurrell to process.”



Courtesy of National Museums Liverpool (World Museum)

“... (of?) Severus ... father ... whom if ... God ... all ... made(?) ... father ...”

- 1 Either] τοῦ πανα[γίου πνεύματος or] τοῦ πανθ[έπτου.
- 2 A dot at top level after o would seem to suggest Σευήρου.

3]ι or γ, then πατέρα or πάτερ α-.

4-6 These three lines may be filled in as follows: ὃν εἰ ψυχώσας ἔφυσεν αὐ]τὸς ὁ Θ(εό)ς, οἷκ ἂν εἰ]πόμην “even if God himself had created him (Christ), I would still not follow [these precepts, or adhere to this view].” For the turn of phrase, see Clem.Alex., *Paed.* 3.3.20.1: ὃν (Christ) εἰ ἐνοικοῦντα ἤδειμεν, οὐκ οἶδ’ ὅπως ἂν αὐτὸν λωβᾶσθαι τετολμήκειμεν “whom, if we had known as dwelling in us, I do not know how we could have dared to dishonour.” Assuming a scribal error, l. 4 could be supplied as ὁ νείψ[ας (l. νίψας), of Jesus washing the apostles’ feet at the Last Supper, followed in l. 5 by εὐλογη]τὸς ὁ Θ(εό)ς ὁ [(or ὅ[ς), a phrase frequent in the Septuagint, as well as Christian hymns and liturgical prayers.

6 Before π, an upright curling slightly to the right at its upper extremity: εἰ]πόμην or ἐλ(ε)ἰπόμην are preferable to ἐ]σπόμην, although ι consistently curls to the left, cf. ει in l. 4, εις in l. 7, and ποιησε in l. 8. A compound form of λείπω in a similar context is found in Athan., *Exp. Ps.* 72: ὅμως οὐκ ἀπελιπόμην σοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ, οὐδὲ ἐξέπιπτον τῆς ἐκ τῆς χάριτος “nevertheless I was not abandoned by you, God, and I did not fall out of your grace” (cf. l. 7, χ[άριν?). With εἰ]πόμην the sentence would acquire the sense of “follow someone’s ideas or precepts”; cf., e.g., Clem.Alex., *Strom.* 5.5.31.2: μὴ δεῖν ταῖς τῶν πολλῶν ἐπεσθαι γνώμαις; Iren., *Haer.* 4.37.4: τὸ εὐαγγέλιον εἰ μὴ βούλοιτό τις ἐπεσθαι.

7 . [: a dot at top level and the lower part of an oblique ascending to the right: probably χ. I would suggest either χ[άριν (cf. 2 Cor. 9:8 and 13:13; 1 Pet. 5:10) or χ[ρείαν, with εις either as the end of a verb in the 2nd person, “you (God) will [meet, etc.] all of our needs” or εις as a proposition, “[will work] towards [meeting, etc.] all of our needs”; cf. Phil. 4:19.

8 ἐξ]ωποίησε? In John 5:21, ζωιοποιέω is used of Christ resurrecting the dead: ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ ἐγείρει τοὺς νεκροὺς καὶ ζωιοποιεῖ, οὕτως καὶ ὁ υἱὸς οὗς θέλει ζωιοποιεῖ, which is commented on as an aspect of the Son’s divinity in later Christological discussions. Severus uses ζωοποιός to describe the union between Word and flesh in his “Orders to the *cubicularius* Eupraxius” reported in *Cat. Jo.*, p. 255.17–20. However, Severus’ name in the papyrus precedes the blank space in l. 4, so the content of ll. 4 and following may not have anything to do with him. The verb could also be applied to the life-giving force of the Holy Spirit (cf. l. 1, πανα[γίου πνεύματος?), as in John 6:63: τὸ πνεῦμα ἐστὶν τὸ

ζωιοποιούν, ἡ σὰρξ οὐκ ὠφελεῖ οὐδέν· τὰ ῥήματα ἃ ἐγὼ λελάληκα ὑμῖν πνεῦμά ἐστιν καὶ ζωὴ ἐστιν. The form ζωποιέω (for ζωιοποιέω) is attested in P.Jena inv. 18.r + 21.r (third/fourth century, Iren., *Haer.*); cf. ζωποιόν on an ostrakon transmitting the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed from the Council of Chalcedon in the Israel Museum (inv. 69.74.312, sixth/seventh century). However, other articulations are possible such as]ω (-ωι?) ποιήσε[- or]ω ποιῆι (ποίηι) σε[.

9 ἐπ]λάκημεν is precluded by the position of the spot of ink at top level after the break: either] κακή μέν or ἐ]τάκημεν. If the latter, the sense may be that God sent his Son to redeem men from sin: “we were consumed” by it; cf. Job 42:6: διὸ ἐφάυλισα ἑμαυτὸν καὶ ἐτάκην. We should not rule out an orthographical mistake for ἀ]γακειμεν[-.

10 α̅ρ[̅: if this is an abbreviation, it is not a standard one. χ̅ is placed in the interlinear space between α̅ and ρ̅. ἀρχ̅(άγγελος) is abbreviated in this way in an inscription from a house in Emirli, Phrygia (*MAMA* 1.434). In papyri, the word is usually abbreviated as ἀρχ̅() (see e.g. *P.Rain.Cent.* 145.3, sixth/seventh century), with χ̅ always following, not preceding ρ̅. ἀρχ̅ι-ἐπίσκοπος is abbreviated as ἀρχ̅(ι)επισκ̅(οπ̅) in *SPP* 8.1255.1 (sixth century). Πατέρ̅ ἀρχ̅[ιἐπίσκοπον may have referred to one of the archbishops of Alexandria (e.g. Athanasius, who is called “father” in Alexander II’s Festal Letter, or possibly Benjamin I in *P.Köln* 2.215.3.2) or the theological authority of Archbishop Severus of Antioch himself. If instead χ̅ remedies an omission, then we may have πάτερ followed by e.g. a form of ἄχραντος “undefiled” or ἄχρι.

P.TEXAS INV. 1: AN *ENTEUXIS* CONCERNING A DISPUTE OVER LAND BOUNDARIES

David G. Martinez *University of Chicago*

Abstract. — In this new *enteuxis*, dated to 220 BCE, a certain Lastratos documents a dispute with his neighbor Pantauchos concerning the position of their *kleroi*. He requests that the king direct the *strategos* Diophanes to have the royal scribe send a surveyor to determine the boundaries of their two plots and the exact position of a public road (βασιλική δόδος) in relation to their lands.

Keywords: *enteuxis*, Diophanes, boundary disputes, *basilike hodos*, royal scribe, surveyors

This papyrus is housed among the small collection of Ptolemaic documents from mummy cartonnage acquired by the Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center at the University of Texas at Austin in 1986 from Michael Fackelmann.¹ It preserves a new *enteuxis*,² and, as is characteristic of most such texts from the third century BCE, it is nominally addressed to the king, but lodged with the *strategos*,³ in this case

¹ For permission to publish this text I thank the staff of HRHRC and the Department of Classics at the University of Texas, where I had the pleasure of teaching for 11 years. I am also grateful to Arthur Verhoogt and other colleagues at the 28th International Congress of Papyrology in Barcelona, who offered many helpful comments both before and after my presentation of this papyrus, and to the editor of *BASP* and two anonymous referees for their astute corrections and suggestions. Thanks are also due to my students in two papyrology courses at the University of Chicago, who worked on this text with me and offered their insights. More specific acknowledgements will be made in the commentary. Finally, my thanks to Brian Muhs, Associate Professor of Egyptology at Chicago's Oriental Institute, for his help with the Demotic on the *verso*.

The abbreviations TmGeo, TmPer, and TmArchID refer respectively to the “Places,” “People,” and “Archives” sections at the Trismegistos website: <https://www.trismegistos.org/index.php>.

² The most exhaustive accounts of the nature, structure, and formulae of the *enteuxis* remain O. Guéraud in *P.Entreux.*, pp. xix–xcii and A. Di Bitonto, “Le petizioni al re,” *Aegyptus* 47 (1967) 5–57. See now G. Baetens, *A Survey of Petitions and Related Documents from Ptolemaic Egypt* (Leuven 2020) 19–52, 224–235; more briefly, B. Palme, “The Range of Documentary Texts,” in R. Bagnall (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology* (Oxford 2009) 377–378.

³ The third-century practice, mainly in the Arsinoite nome, of addressing *enteuxeis* to the king but directly submitting them to the *strategos* apparently ceases to be attested in

Diophanes,⁴ who served the Arsinoite nome in that capacity from 225/224–218 BCE.⁵ Two large (and possibly related) archives contain *enteuxeis* that document his service, most notably the Magdola archive edited by Octave Guéraud⁶ in the justifiably esteemed volume, *P.Entreux*.⁷ Another substantive archive, that of Glaukos, the policeman of Mouchis, edited by K. Robic in *P.Sorbonne* 3, preserves 12 *enteuxeis* (103–112, 127–128) which address Diophanes as *strategos*.⁸

Both Clarysse and Guéraud note that the archives have distinctive patterns of writing on the reverse (where such writing exists and is legible).⁹ The Magdola archive employs a standard notation on the lower left corner, beginning with the double date identical to that in the subscript on the front side. In the next lines follow the names of the petitioner (sometimes followed by a brief descriptor) and, if a complaint, the name of the accused after *πρός*, and finally a few words introduced by *περί*, summarizing the subject of the petition. The *enteuxeis* of the Glaukos archive evince a simple structure, organizing the data into two columns. For two of the petitions (*P.Sorb.* 3.103, 107) the first column contains the name of the plaintiff in the nominative and in the second the name of the *epistates* Demetrios

the second and first centuries BCE, during which royal *enteuxeis* were submitted directly to the sovereign or to the *chrematistai* as his representatives. See Baetens (n. 2) 224–235 and cf. U. Wilcken in *UPZ* 1, p. 122.

⁴ *Pros.Ptol.* 1 and 8.247; Diophanes is by far the best attested *strategos* of Ptolemaic Egypt. See N. Lewis, *Greeks in Ptolemaic Egypt* (Oxford 1986) 56–68, and cf. W. Clarysse's pdf on TmArchID 71 at <https://www.trismegistos.org/arch/archives/pdf/71.pdf>. As of 8/17/2021 TmPer lists a total of 192 attestations of Diophanes in *enteuxeis* and many other documentary types, dating from 225/24 to 218 BCE (<https://www.trismegistos.org/per/detail.php?pnr=7452>).

⁵ The typical dates for Diophanes' tenure as *strategos* are 222–218, but the earliest papyrus that mentions him, *P.Sorb.* 3.134.1–2, a letter of Glaukos dated to the 23rd year of Euergetes (225/224), addresses him as *strategos*.

⁶ On Guéraud (1901–1987) see J. Scherer, *Aegyptus* 68 (1988) 199–204.

⁷ TmArchID 80. When the documents mention the *strategos* (many are very fragmentary) it is always Diophanes (76 out of the total 97 texts). Guéraud's editions are standard for all of the texts in the archive except *P.Entreux*. 5, for which F. Piejko has provided an improved edition in *BASP* 23 (1986) 131–135 (= *SB* 18.13312). For an excellent discussion of the archive in general see W. Clarysse's accompanying Tm pdf: <https://www.trismegistos.org/arch/archives/pdf/80.pdf>.

⁸ TmArchID 384. Also belonging to this archive is the *enteuxis* P.Vindob.Barbara inv. 34, published by H. Harrauer and R. Pintaudi in *Aegyptus* 92 (2012) 3–12. Two other papyri in this group, which are correspondence, mention Diophanes: *P.Sorb.* 3.129 and 130. For a discussion of the archive see W. Clarysse at <https://www.trismegistos.org/arch/archives/pdf/384.pdf>. There are also 14 small fragments of *enteuxeis* (*P.Sorb.* 3.113–126) in the group, none of which in their present state preserve Diophanes' name, but which likely did in their original form.

⁹ Clarysse (nn. 7 and 8) and Guéraud (n. 2) xxvii–xxix. Di Bitonto (n. 2) 56–57 is in essential agreement, but without quite the same archival focus.

in the dative. Five others (104, 105, 108, 109, 110) have the same arrangement but beneath the plaintiff add the name of the accused in the accusative preceded by $\pi\rho(\acute{o}\varsigma)$.¹⁰

We can also distinguish a third style. Guéraud's *P.Entreux* volume, in addition to the majority of the texts from Magdola, also includes 16 found at nearby Ghoran.¹¹ Six (possibly 8) of these form a small archive dating from 222–217 BCE.¹² Two of them (80 and 97) on the back follow a pattern similar to the Glaukos archive, but 4, 25, 100, and probably 104 preserve remnants of a report of the reconciliation session. In 4 and 25 at the end of this report is the name of the addressee (the one who is to take action on the petition) in the dative, which in these texts is the *epistates*. Similarly, the *enteuxis* *P.Heid.* 6.376 preserves extensive writing on the back that is only partially legible but probably incorporates some kind of a report of action taken on the plaintiff's request.¹³

The reverse of P.Texas inv. 1 is not identical with any of the archives mentioned above, but most closely reflects aspects of the Glaukos papyri. At the top we see three lines of writing, the first two Greek in a third hand, apparently to the left of the break between the papyrus' two fragments (on which see further below), and a third line in Demotic, apparently to the right of the break. The existing traces of writing do not support the Greek or Demotic being continuous across the papyrus, but there was at least one line preceding the first line of Greek and there may have been more Demotic above the one surviving line (see commentary below ad loc., and B. Muhs's comments at the end of this article). The first line of Greek employs a formula similar to the dockets on the *recto* side of two of the Glaukos texts, *P.Sorb.* 3.112.22 (διασάφησον ἡμῖν περὶ [τούτων]) and especially 108.11 (Δημητρίῳ· ἐπισκεψάμενος διασάφη[σον ἡμῖν περὶ τούτων]). The bottom of the reverse preserves the two-column notation that we see in the Glaukos archive and two of the Ghoran pieces, consisting of the name of the plaintiff, Lastratos, followed on the next line by $\pi\rho(\acute{o}\varsigma)$ and the name of the accused, Pantauchos. In the second column in faint but large letters is Ὡρωι, the βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς who is to take action on the request of the petition. This final notation may be in the

¹⁰ 106 and 112 on the reverse preserve Demetrios in the second column but only traces in the first; 111, 127, and 128 have no legible writing on the back.

¹¹ For the Ghoran texts see Guéraud (n. 2) xxvii–xxix.

¹² *P.Entreux*. 4, 25, 80, 97, 100–101; uncertain 104–105 (TmArchID 79 “Petitions from the office of the village head (epistates) of Arsinoe” and cf. the accompanying pdf of W. Clarysse: <https://www.trismegistos.org/arch/archives/pdf/79.pdf>). The oldest of these, 25, mentions Diophanes (on this text see Guéraud [n. 2] xxviii).

¹³ See R. Duttenhöfer's discussion in *P.Heid.* 6, p. 102.

first hand. Whatever the affinities the reverse of P.Texas inv. 1 has to those of the archives above mentioned, this arrangement on the reverse of Greek and Demotic is unique among *enteuxeis* to my knowledge. It may be that the Demotic was entered later in the office of the royal scribe.

As is typical of *enteuxeis* and some other early Ptolemaic papyri, the body of our text is written on the *recto* side, but perpendicular to the fibers, that is, with “the sheet having been turned” (*transversa charta*) 90°. ¹⁴ Its width of 34 cm is at the high end, judging by the average range of published examples of this genre: the width of *enteuxeis* typically remains within the common height of the papyrus roll: 32–33 cm. ¹⁵

The scribe employs a flowing, late third-century Ptolemaic script with characteristic width, flatness, and uniformity, displayed often in letters such as μ, ν, τ, and ω. ¹⁶ ν is usually formed quickly and simply, but often also with small hooks on one or the other of the two extremities or on both. *Omicron* is formed in two movements and enclosed, but sometimes in one quick movement and open at the top, giving the appearance of a hook. *Alpha* appears both in the angular wedge style and with a loop. *Iota* adscript is written throughout. There are no itacistic spellings (see below on ν[υ]νεί, line 6). Blank spaces occur after (-απούρου) in line 2, γῆι in line 6, and [ὁ]δόν in line 11, indicating pauses or periods. ¹⁷

Our efforts to understand the narrative of the petition are frustrated by damage sustained by the papyrus at the beginnings of lines 6, 7, and 8, where there is breakage and badly faded ink. The basic plot line is clear: Lastratos, the plaintiff, finds himself in conflict with his neighbor Pantauchos. The two have been assigned plots in the fields connected with two villages that are near each other and have agreed on (or have been assigned) a public road (*basilike hodos*), as a marker between the boundaries of their allotments. Pantauchos, however, has violated the arrangement by extending his cultivating into the road itself, limiting Lastratos’ access to it.

¹⁴ See illustration and discussion in Guéraud (n. 2) xix; cf. also A. Bülow-Jacobsen, “Writing Materials in the Ancient World,” in R. Bagnall (ed.), *Oxford Handbook of Papyrology* (Oxford 2009) 21–22.

¹⁵ Guéraud (n. 2) xix–xx; R. Duttonhöfer in *P.Heid.* 6, p. 101.

¹⁶ For the history and development of this scribal tradition, closely related to the chancery scripts of the Zenon archive, see G. Cavallo and H. Maehler, *Hellenistic Bookhands* (Berlin-New York 2008) 11–14. The style is typical of *enteuxeis* of the period; e.g., *P.Enteux.* 74 pl. 10 (221 BCE), 85 pl. 12 (221 BCE), and especially *P.Heid.* 6.376 pl. 20–21 (220 BCE) with R. Duttonhöfer’s discussion of “Kanzleischrift,” p. 101.

¹⁷ For blank spaces indicating punctuation, see Turner, *GMAW*² 8 and examples cited in index 173 s.v. “spaces.” Cf. also B.M. Metzger, *Manuscripts of the Greek Bible* (Oxford 1981) 64 (with respect to the New Testament Pauline codex \mathfrak{P}^{46}). More generally see the full discussion of blank spaces in papyri and their interpretation by A. Martin in N. Carlig, G. Lescuyer, A. Motte, and N. Sojic (eds.), *Signes dans les textes* (Liège 2020) 187–200.

We gain further insight from the better-preserved end of the petition (lines 8–11) where the author frames his request: δέομαι οὖν σου, βασιλεῦ, προστάξει Διοφάνει τῷ στρατηγῷ γράψαι Ὡρωι τῷ[ι] βασιλικῷ γραμματεῖ συναποστεῖλαί μοι γεωμέτρην ὃς παραδείξει ἡμῖν τὰ [ὄρ]ια τῶν κλήρων καὶ διαστελεῖ τὴν βασιλικὴν [ὁ]δόν; “Therefore I entreat you, king, to order Diophanes the *strategos* to write Horos the royal scribe that he should commission me a surveyor to show us the boundaries of our plots and demarcate the royal road.” Compared with other *enteuxeis* and petitions, Lastratos’ request is remarkably benign.¹⁸ He does not ask that Pantauchos be sent to the *strategos* and punished appropriately for the injustices that he has suffered, nor does he seek restitution for any damage done his property or person. He simply asks that Horos send a surveyor to define the boundaries of their lands in relation to the *basilike hodos*. This must be kept in focus for our general interpretation of the document and as we do what we can regarding the three difficult lines 6, 7, and 8.

Given the date of our papyrus, this conflict between the neighbors does not surprise us. 18 September falls around the peak and end of the yearly Nile flood, when the river’s water and alluvial deposits may reshape farmland, obscuring the borders of plots and most likely roads as well.¹⁹

¹⁸ Although he frames his petition as a complaint with ἀδικοῦμαι ὑπὸ rather than a request (Guéraud [n. 2] xxiii–xxiv). More generally, for this formula and its variants, see Di Bitonto (n. 2) 12–15.

¹⁹ Water from the Nile flood was channeled into the Fayum by way of sluice gates (θύραι) at Ptolemais Hormou (now al-Lāhūn), and distributed through canals, from which water was let into the basins; sluice gates are also connected with canals in some villages. See especially B. Van Beek’s excellent discussion in *P.Petrie Kleon*, pp. 18–25 (in particular on the sluice gates 21–22); many texts in this volume focus on various aspects of irrigation. See also O.M. Pearl, “Ἐξάθυρος: Irrigation Works and Canals in the Arsinoite Nome,” *Aegyptus* 31 (1951) 223–230, esp. 228–230; D.J. Thompson, “Irrigation and Drainage in the Early Ptolemaic Fayyum,” in A.K. Bowman and E. Rogan (eds.), *Agriculture in Egypt from Pharaonic to Modern Times* (Oxford 1999) 107–122; B.J. Haug, *Watering the Desert: Environment, Irrigation, and Society in the Premodern Fayyūm, Egypt* (Dissertation UC Berkeley, 2012; <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/1f48984v>) passim, esp. 76–88. More generally, see Herodotos 2.19 with A.B. Lloyd, *Herodotus, Book II* (Leiden 1976) 1.93–94; Seneca *Nat.* 4a.2.9–11; J.G. Manning, *Land and Power in Ptolemaic Egypt* (Cambridge 2003) 147; N. Lewis, *Life in Egypt under Roman Rule* (Oxford 1983) 108–109. I am also grateful to J.G. Manning for personal communication on this subject.

Regarding P.Texas inv. 1, there were three sluice gates connected with canals at Sebennytyos (see below on lines 2–3). *P.Petrie Kleon* 21 (255 BCE) documents the order of 30 ropes for their “repair” (ἐπισκευή; see B. Van Beek’s n. on lines 6–7 [p. 64]; Thompson 121; Pearl 229). Regulating the water flow of the Nile flood was no easy business and breaches in dikes and sluices occurred regularly (*P.Petrie Kleon* 88.97–112 (c. 242 BCE) with nn. on p. 163 and p. 22 (intro); Thompson 114–116).

P.Texas inv. 1 H × W = 12 × 34 cm Arsinoite nome, 18 September 220 BCE

Medium brown papyrus, preserved in two large fragments, with one or two letters lost in the split between the two parts.²⁰ The right fragment has suffered a little damage at the end of the first two lines; the left fragment however has various degrees of breakage at the beginning of lines 1, 2, 6–9, as well as lacunae near its center. Margins: right: 0–1cm; left: 0.5cm; top: 1–1.5cm; bottom 1–2cm. Writing *transversa charta*. One interlinear insertion above line 4 (*recto*). *Kollesis* below line 12 partially intersecting the last word of that line. *Verso* preserves faint and partly illegible traces of Greek and a single line of Demotic.

Recto

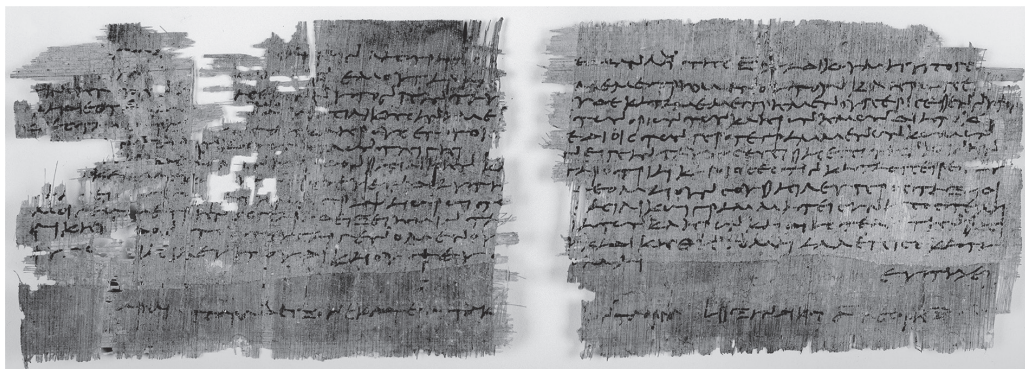
- 1 [βασιλ]εῖ Πτολ[εμαίωι] χαίρειν Λάστρατος Μ[α]κεδὼν (τριακον-
τάρουρος) τῆς (ἑκτης) χι(λιαρχίας). ἀδικοῦμαι ὑπὸ Παγ-
[ταύχο]υ traces ± 11 (? αρούρου). (vac. 1) ἐμοῦ γὰρ κατ[α]μεμετρη-
μένου τὸν κλῆρον περὶ [Ἀρ-]
σινόην τὴν κ[ατ]ὰ Σεβέννυτον Πανταύχου δὲ καταμεμετρημένου
περὶ Σεβέννυτον,
4 καὶ διεσταλμέ[νης] ἡμῖν ὁδοῦ βασιλικῆς ἀνὰ μέσ[ο]υ τῶν ὁρίων
τῶν κλήρων ἡμῶν διὰ τὸ καὶ
διεστάλθαι ἡμῶν τοῦς κλήρους ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις τῶν προγεγραμμέ-
νων κωμῶν
[.]ντει . . . κοτων . μων τῇ γῇ (vac. 2) ὑ[υ]νεὶ Πάνταυχος
ἐπιβάς ἐπὶ τὴν κοινήν
[ἡμῶν .] μενη . ὁδὸν βασιλικὴν καταροτριᾷ καὶ οἷός ἐστιν
κατασπείρειν ἀν-
8 [τὴν .] . κεκ [. .]υ . [.] . . . δευειν δι' αὐτῇ[ς]. δέομαι οὖν σου,
βασιλεῦ, προστάξαι Δι-
οφάνει τῷ στρατηγῷ γράψαι Ὡρωι τῷ[ι] βασιλικῷ γραμματεῖ
συναποστεῖλαι
μοι γεωμέτρην ὃς παραδείξει ἡμῖν τὰ [ὄρ]ια τῶν κλήρων καὶ δια-
στελεῖ τὴν βασι-
λικὴν [δ]όν. (vac. 1) τούτου γὰρ γενομένου [ο]ὕκ ἀδικηθήσομαι
ἀλλ' ἐπὶ σὲ κατα-
12 φυγῶ[ν], βασιλεῦ, τοῦ δικαίου τεύξομαι.

εὐτύχει.

²⁰ The mounting of the papyrus is misleading, lending the impression that more has been lost between the two fragments than is the case.

(m2) Ὁρωι. Παράδειξον ἑκατέρωι τὰ κ[αθή]κοντα ὅρια. (ἔτους) β
Ξανδικοῦ ᾧ Μεσορῆ ζ̄

1 λ^κ pap., ζ̄ pap., χ^ι pap. 2 ^κ pap. 14 L pap.



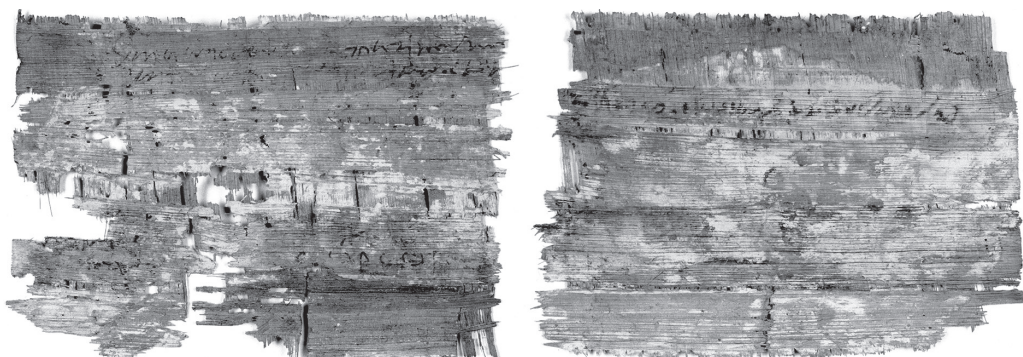
Verso

(m3) χαίρειν. ἐπισκεψάμενος διασάφησον ἡμ[ίν]
καὶ π[] c. 6 lett. [] φαλωνος . . . []
3rstrs (?; 3rytrs?) p3 . . .

(lower down)

(m1?) [Λ]άστρατο[ς]
[πρ(ὸς) Πά]νταυχον

ὉΡΩΙ



“To King Ptolemy, greetings, from Lastratos, Macedonian, a thirty-
arourai holder of the sixth chiliarchy. I am wronged by Pantauchos, ...,

a ... *arourai* holder. For with me assigned my allotment near Arsinoe-by-Sebennytos, and with Pantauchos assigned his near Sebennytos, and with a royal road demarcated for us between the boundaries of our plots, since our plots are also set apart in the fields of the aforesaid villages ... for the land; Pantauchos, having now encroached on the ... royal road shared by us, is ploughing it and intends to sow it ... through it. Therefore I entreat you, king, to order Diophanes the *strategos* to write Horos the royal scribe that he should commission me a surveyor to show us the boundaries of the plots and demarcate the royal road. For if this is done, I will suffer no injustice, but having resorted to you, king, I will obtain what is right. All best.”

(m2) “To Horos. Show to each the proper boundaries. Year 2, Xandikos 1 Mesore 7.”

(*verso*)

(m3) ... greetings. Once you have made your inspection inform us and ...

(m1?) Lastratos against Pantuachos

to Horos

1 Λάστρατος Μ[α]κεδών (τριακοντάουρος) τῆς (ἑκτῆς) χι(λιαρχίας): Lastratos (TmPer 3836) is generally a rare Greek name, attested only seven times in the volumes of the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* published to date.²¹ I find only two other occurrences in papyri, both from the Ptolemaic period: *P.Count* 46.236 (the Demotic part of a bilingual list of taxpayers arranged according to households; 230 BCE, Oxyrhynchite nome); the name Lastratos occurs after the names of his father and mother. Additionally, *P.Petr.* 3.54b new fragment 3.6 (c. 244–242 BCE; Fayum) also preserves the name. Willy Clarysse was kind enough to send me his transcript.

τῶν Εὐμ[ένους]

[Π]ανήμου . . [

ἰλ(άρχης) Φιλίππ[ίδ]ης Ἀ . . μ . [

/ε Διονύσιος Μακεδὼν

ἰλ(άρχης) Σῆμος Ἀχαιὸς μ[

ε Λάστρατος Λυσιμαχε[ῖ]ς

λο(χαγός) Δήμαρχος Αἰτωλός [

. μ δεξιῶι

²¹ <http://www.lgpn.ox.ac.uk/database/lgpn.php>.

The names in this unpublished fragment appear in *Pros. Ptol.*, including Lastratos (8.3992a; 10.E1368), here with the Thracian ethnic Λουσιμαχε[ύς] (on which see *Pros. Ptol.* 10 ad loc.).²² Thus the name in our text cannot be identified with either of those in the two papyri above mentioned. The fact that P.Texas inv. 1 provides one further example of this rare name is significant in itself.

τριακοντάρουρος is associated with infantrymen rather than cavalrymen, and until 150 BCE those so described almost invariably have a Macedonian ethnic.²³ There seem to be rare exceptions to the latter.²⁴

In χι(λιαρχίας), the *iota* in the abbreviation seems to be positioned above the right diagonal of the *chi*, as it is in *SB* 22.15559.11. The papyrus' abrasion at this point, however, makes the reading of *iota* doubtful. The abbreviation could be simply χ(ιλιαρχίας), which, however, seems elsewhere unattested. In general, the chiliarchy descriptor is rare; cf. Πέταλος Μα(κεδών) τῆς ζ χι(λιαρχίας) *P.Petr.* 3.112 hrp 2 (221–220 BCE; Uebel [n. 23] no. 1023; *Pros. Ptol.* 2.3536); τῆς ἑβδόμης χιλιαρχίας τριακοντά[ρουρος -ca.?-] *P.Tebt.* 1.137 (218/17 BCE); [-ca.?-] τῆς χι(λιαρχίας) *SB* 22.15559.11 (mid/late second century BCE). The last mentioned could be restored [τῆς ἑκ]τῆς, parallel with the Texas papyrus, but of course there are other possibilities. Up until now only the seventh chiliarchy has been attested.²⁵

1f., 3, 6 Πάνταυχος: our text provides the earliest example in papyri of this name known to me. Due to damage at the beginning of the second line, we know little about him, except that he was a cleruch. Like Lastratos, one of his identifiers was the size of his plot from the *aroura* sign that survives in line 2, but the number of *arourai* is not visible. If there is an ethnic following his name, as in the case of Lastratos, I have not

²² Cf. also P.M. Fraser and E. Matthews (eds.), *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, vol. 4: *Macedonia, Thrace, Northern Regions of the Black Sea* (Oxford 2005) 207.

²³ F. Uebel, *Die Kleruchen Ägyptens unter den ersten sechs Ptolemäern* (Berlin 1968) 120, 381–383; N. Quenouille and L. Willms, “Die Aufnahme des Herakleios in den Katökenstand (PUB Trier S 125–21),” *APF* 47 (2001) 67–68 (on l. 13); S. Scheuble-Reiter, *Die Katökenreiter im ptolemäischen Ägypten* (München 2012) 81–82; C. Fischer-Bovet, *Army and Society in Ptolemaic Egypt* (Cambridge 2014) 208–209, 212.

²⁴ Quenouille and Willms (n. 23) 68 cite Schäfer on *P.Köln* 5.218.18 (215–214 BCE), p. 139f.

²⁵ For the numbering system and in general see Fischer-Bovet (n. 23) 134–135. For the image of *SB* 22.15559 see <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/i/image/api/image/apis/X-1316/1090R.TIF/full/large/0/native.jpg>. S. Scheuble-Reiter (n. 23) suggests that four texts in *CPR* 18 (10.201; 13.262; 19.393; 32.6) may read χι(λιαρχίας) instead of ιπ(παρχίας) (based on the emendation of Clarysse and Van 't Dack in the last mentioned). If correct, we would also have a second and third chiliarchy attested.

been able to read it. We do know from the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* that “Pantauchos” has strong roots in Macedonia and generally northern Greece.²⁶ Tm documents only 6 other persons in the papyri with the name, accounting for 36 occurrences.²⁷ Two of the persons named Pantauchos, a father (TmPer 232712) and son (TmPer 11420) from the same second-century BCE family in Kerkeosiris, account for 25 of the occurrences. If this elder Pantauchos is the same as Pantauchos (TmPer 232406) father of Artabas, this Kerkeosiris family accounts for 33 of the 36 occurrences.²⁸

2 ἐμοῦ γὰρ κατ[α]μεμετρημένου τὸν κλῆρον: For καταμετρέω as a *terminus technicus* for allotting land to cleruchs, see Sijpesteijn and Verdult on *P.Erasm.* 1.1.7–8 (p. 11); C.B. Welles, *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period* (London 1934) 342–343. For the construction with τὸν κλῆρον as a quasi-cognate acc. (since the verb by itself can mean “assign an allotment”) see Mayser, *Gram.* 2.2.325f., *P.Mich.* 1.33.7, *P.Petr.*² 1.13.2–3).

2-3 Lastratos states that Pantauchos’ *kleros* is near Sebennytyos and his own is near Arsinoe-by-Sebennytyos. Although neither village has been securely located, we do have information regarding their approximate site, especially that of the more frequently attested Sebennytyos.²⁹ From *P.Sorb.* 1.32 we know that Sebennytyos was among the villages in the *nomarchia* of Aristarchos, which is positioned in the south-eastern part of the *meris* of Herakleides and includes the villages Boubastos, Pharbaita, Persea, Sebennytyos and others.³⁰ We find further evidence in *P.Petr.* 3.32g, a complaint about cattle trespass and illegal grazing, involving the interaction of persons from Sebennytyos, Persea, and Krokodilon Polis. Based

²⁶ <http://www.lgpn.ox.ac.uk/database/lgpn.php>; see esp. vol. 4 (n. 22) 269; cf. also J. Ma, “Hellenistic Empires,” in P.F. Bang and W. Scheidel (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the State in the Ancient Near East and the Mediterranean* (Oxford 2013) 325.

²⁷ Persons: TmNam 4969; Occurrences: https://www.trismegistos.org/nam/detail.php?nam_id=4969.

²⁸ For the family and the possibility that this Pantauchos is both the father of the younger Pantauchos and of Artabas see D.J. Crawford, *Kerkeosiris: An Egyptian Village in the Ptolemaic Period* (Cambridge 1971) 59 with n. 4.

²⁹ TmGeo 2103 and Calderini, *Diz.geogr.* with refs there listed; cf. also K. Vandorpe and W. Clarysse, in A.M.F.W. Verhoogt and S.P. Vleeming, *The Two Faces of Graeco-Roman Egypt. Greek and Demotic and Greek-Demotic Texts and Studies Presented to P.W. Pestman* (Leiden 1998) 138; H. Verreth, *A Survey of Toponyms in Egypt in the Graeco-Roman Period* (2013 version: <http://www.trismegistos.org/top.php>) 680.

³⁰ See W. Clarysse’s map, *P.Sorb.* 3, p. 54. On Aristarchos, his archive, and his *nomarchia* see B. Van Beek, <http://www.trismegistos.org/arch/archives/pdf/23.pdf>.

on this and other evidence, K. Mueller suggests plausibly that Sebennytyos must have been close to Persea in the southwest of the *meris* Herakleides, probably west of that village towards Krokodilon Polis.³¹ For the sluice gates at Sebennytyos and their significance, see above n. 19.

The village where Lastratos' *kleros* was near, also of uncertain location, is Arsinoe-by-Sebennytyos, usually called Arsinoe-by-Ammonias.³² For such refinements of villages named Arsinoe (e.g., Ἀρσινόη ἡ ἐπὶ τοῦ χώματος) see Guéraud's n. on *P.Entreux*. 25.10–11, p. 69.

3 Σεβέννυτον extends beyond the normal right margin almost to the edge of the papyrus. The writer may have been reluctant to divide the proper name, but such a scruple does not appear elsewhere; cf. Παγ-[ταύχο]υ 1–2; [Αρ]-σινόην 2–3; Δι-οφάγει 8–9.

4 ἡμῖν: very doubtful. The remnant of the η stands over a lacuna, and all that is left is its connecting stroke to the following letter (for its shape see the second η in ἀδικηθήσομαι, line 11). Additionally, most of the ν is completely faded, so that all that remains is a tick. If correct, probably “for us,” but “by us” is also possible. For the limited use of the “dative of agent” with perfect passive and other passive forms in Ptolemaic papyri, see Mayser, *Gram.* 2.2.273.³³

4, 7, 10f. ὁδὸς βασιλική (or (ἡ) βασιλική ὁδός): This phrase, describing a public road, occurs 29 times in the papyri in 19 different texts, of which the majority (12) are Ptolemaic. The far more common phrase is ῥύμη βασιλική (or (ἡ) βασιλική ῥύμη) which occurs 158 times in 120 different texts, of which the vast majority (103) date from the Roman period. ὁδὸς βασιλική occurs in 5 texts in the first century CE and in only one text each in the second and third centuries CE. ῥύμη βασιλική is plentiful throughout the first and second centuries CE, occurs in only three texts certainly dated to the third century, and in only one text dated certainly to the fourth. During the Roman period both phrases compete with and are eventually usurped by ὁδὸς/ῥύμη δημοσία during the third century and beyond.

³¹ K. Mueller, “Mastering Matrices and Clusters: Locating Graeco-Roman Settlements in the *meris* of Herakleides Fayum/Egypt by Monte-Carlo-Simulation,” *APF* 49 (2003) 246. For Persea and environs, see TmGeo 1701 and link to map there listed.

³² TmGeo 326 and Calderini, *Diz.geogr.*, refs there listed; K. Mueller, *Settlements of the Ptolemies: City Foundations and New Settlement in the Hellenistic World* (Leuven 2006) 34–35, 202 no. 15; Verreth (n. 29) 107.

³³ More generally see the thorough and nuanced discussion of C.H. George, *Expressions of Agency in Ancient Greek* (Cambridge 2005) 78–102, for late Greek esp. 94–102.

4, 5, 10 διεσταλμέ[νης], διεστάλθαι, διαστελεῖ: The restoration of these forms of διαστέλλειν in lines 4 and 5 seems secure based on its certain occurrence in 10. The base, concrete meanings in the active voice are “send-apart,” “set apart,” “separate,” “distinguish.” Applied to land: εἶρον ὑπ’ Ἀρείου διεσταλμένας ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς τὰς κρατίστας (ἀρούρας) καὶ μεμισθωμένας τισὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, “I found that the best 21 *arourai* had been separated from the land by Areios and leased to certain Greeks” (*P.Amh.* 2.40.4–8, second-century BCE Soknopaiou Nesos; see also the noun διαστολή in line 25 of this papyrus; I thank P. Arzt-Grabner for this reference); τοῖς κατὰ τὴν χῶραν βασιλικούς γραμματεῖς τῶν νομῶν ἀπογράφειν ἕκαστον ... τ[ὸ] τε πλῆθος τῶν ἀρουρῶν τῆς ἀμπέλου [καὶ] παρα[δ]είσων καὶ τὰ ἐκ τούτων γενήματα, ... διαστέλλοντας τῇν ἰερὰν γ[ῆ]ν καὶ {ταυ}τὰ ἐκ ταύτης γενήματα, “The royal scribes of the nomes throughout the country should each register ... the number of *arourai* of the vineland and the orchards and the produce from them, ... distinguishing (= listing separately) temple land and those crops grown from it” (*P.Rev.* 36.3–8); ἀπολογισμὸς ὑπολόγου διεσταλμένου, “Account of land designated unproductive” (*P.Teht.* 1.74.2–3, 113 BCE).³⁴

In the Texas papyrus διεσταλμέ[νης] in line 4 and διαστελεῖ in line 10 apply to the βασιλικὴ ὁδός; I translate both “demarcate.” διεστάλθαι in line 5 has as its subject the plots belonging to Lastratos and Pantauchos; here I translate “are set apart.”

4–5 ὁδοῦ βασιλικῆς ... κωμῶν: “... and with a royal road having been demarcated for us between the boundaries of our plots, since our plots are also set apart in the fields of the aforementioned villages.” In other words, since the two *kleroi* were in unpopulated areas and other

³⁴ See Mayser, *Gram.* 2.1.94. Similarly ἀποδιαστέλλειν: [ὁ δὲ προσέταξεν Τύχωνι ἀποδιαστεῖλαί μοι τὴν γῆν, “He instructed Tychon to set apart the land for me” (*P.Mert.* 1.5.13–14, and cf. 34; 149–137 BC Ptolemais); Ἀθηνοδόρωι ... παραγγείλαντι τῷ Πλουτάρχῳ καὶ τοῖς ἐλθοῦσι ἐπὶ τὸ πεδῖον ἀποδιασταλῆνα[ι] τὰ ἡμέτερα ὡς καθήκει, “... to Athenodoros ... who ordered Ploutarchos and those who came to the field that my property be set apart as is proper” (*PSI* 15.1512.4–9; second century BC[?]). Extended meanings of διαστέλλειν include “to define or express in no uncertain terms what one must do, order, give orders” (F.W. Danker, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* [3rd ed., Chicago 2000] 236); this is the meaning in all the occurrences in the New Testament (mid.) and pap. (μου ... μετὰ κραυγῆς τε διαστελλομένου μεθ’ ἡσυχίας ἀναλύειν, “... when I ... loudly ordered them to go away peacefully” [*UPZ* 1.8.16–17]; see *WB* 1 s.v. 2 and *WB* 4 s.v. 4; Mayser, *Gram.* 2.1.102, rarely act., 115). Another important extended meaning, again emphasizing the separative force of the prefix δια, is “pay,” i.e., dis-burse or dis-tribute for payment, esp. in kind (διάστειλον εἰς λόγον μου τοῖς ὑπογεγραμμένοις πράκτορσι ... ἀρτάβην μίαν ἡμισυ, “Pay on my account to the below-mentioned collectors ... 1 1/2 *artabai*, *P.Oxy.* 17.2140.4–9 [third century CE]; *WB* 1 s.v. 4, *WB* 4 s.v. 3; I find no Ptolemaic examples).

markers could not be used to define the boundaries, such as houses, court-yards, and the like, the ὁδὸς βασιλική served as the sole marker (other documents dealing with sales and purchases of property frequently list a royal/public road as one marker along with others: *BGU* 6.1259.8, *SB* 6.9109.13, etc.). In addition to its demarcating function, the ὁδὸς βασιλική likely also served as a κοινὴ εἴσοδος καὶ ἔξοδος for the two landholders. See further below, 7–8.

With διὰ τὸ καὶ διεστάλθαι ἡμῶν τῶν κλήρους ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις, cf. a similar construction (but with a different meaning) in *P.Lond.* 7.2066.14–15: διὰ τὸ ἐν τοῖς λόγοις μηθὲν τοιοῦτον διεστάλθαι, “since in the accounts no such thing has been defined.”

6 [.]ντει . . . κοτῶν . μων τῇ γῇ: possibly a continuation of the genitive construction of the preceding line or part of the sequence of genitive absolutes which begin in line 2 with ἐμοῦ γὰρ καρ[α]μεμετρημένου. The letters κοτῶν could suggest a gen. plural perfect active participle; possibly [καὶ οὐκ ἀ]ντειρηκῶτων ἡμῶν τῇ γῇ, with τῇ γῇ as a dative of reference: “... and although with regard to the land we have raised no dispute” (i.e., “although we accept the positioning of the specified plots”). ἀντιλέγειν occurs frequently in *enteuxeis*, esp. in formulae such as εἰάν δέ τι ἀντιλέγηι, ἀπόστειλον αὐτὸν πρὸς ἡμᾶς (*P.Enteux.* 25.15–16 and cf. *WB* 4 s.v.). This interpretation of τῇ γῇ however is difficult.

The main construction of the long sentence begins at the end of this line with γ[υ]νεί Πάνταυχος ἐπιβάς, the primary finite verbs coming in the next line. Before γ[υ]νεί there is a space of c. two letters, most likely indicating a pause between the genitive absolutes and the main clause, or possibly a new sentence beginning with γ[υ]νεί.³⁵

– γ[υ]νεί may be considered itacistic for γυνί. But this variant is so common that it should possibly be taken as an alternate spelling (*WB* lists it as such). *Tm Text Irregularities* cites 116 cases in the papyri, 16 Ptolemaic.

– ἐπιβάς: for the verb with the sense of “advance upon” (with a view to questionable or illegal activity), “encroach,” cf. *P.Enteux.* 66.3, 9 (perhaps also 68.16; see Guéraud’s note); *P.Tebt.* 1.5.38 = *C.Ord.Ptol.* 53; *P.Oxy.* 1.67.21.³⁶

³⁵ On spaces as pause/punctuation indicators see above (n. 17); on genitive absolutes introducing the narrative as a typical stylistic feature of petitions, cf. J.L. White, *The Form and Structure of the Official Petition: A Study of Greek Epistolography* (Missoula, MT 1972) 28–30.

³⁶ Cf. Mayser, *Gram.* 2.2.288; J.H. Moulton and G. Milligan, *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament* (London 1930) 235.

6–7 ἐπὶ τὴν κοινὴν [ἡμῶν] μὲνη . ὁδὸν βασιλικήν: For ἐπὶ τὴν κοινὴν ἡμῶν ... ὁδόν, see the exact phrase in *P.Entreux*. 66.10 (on this text see further below) and for κοινός with gen., see Mayser, *Gram.* 2.2.120. A restoration such as π[ρ]ογεγραμμένην makes excellent sense: “the above-mentioned royal road shared by us.” δ[ι]εστ[α]λμένην might also be possible: “the demarcated royal road” etc. Neither reading, however, is fully supported by the traces.

7–8 καταροτριᾷ καὶ οἷός ἐστιν κατασπείρειν ἀ[τ]τὴν κεκ [. . .] υ . [. . .] δειν δὲ αὐτῇ[ς]: The antecedent of ἀ[τ]τὴν, the object of the verbal complex καταροτριᾷ καὶ οἷός ἐστιν κατασπείρειν, is likely the ὁδὸν βασιλικήν. We know from line 4 that Lastratos and Pantauchos were assigned or agreed upon this road as the boundary between their plots. Thus the object of Pantauchos’ encroachment (ἐπιβάς) must have been that road, not Lastratos’ property (otherwise that would have been reflected in the actual request in 8–11; see the introduction above). In line 8 -δειν is clear, suggesting ἐξοδεύειν or διοδεύειν. The point being that Pantauchos has extended his cultivating into the royal road itself, and this has blocked Lastratos from using it to come and go (I owe the latter insight to A. Verhoogt). If κεκ- near the beginning of the line is rightly read (see below), we may have some form of the perfect of κωλύειν (perhaps a participle; e.g., κεκωλυμένου μου) with δι/ἐξοδεύειν; cf., e.g., *P.Cair.Zen.* 3.59367.26–27 (= *CPJ* 1.5), Σαμοῦλ[ις καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ca. ?] κωλύόμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν πα[τρ] . . . ?] διοδεύ[ειν διὰ τῶν κτημάτων], “Samoelis and Alexander being prevented by the ... from passing through the vineyards...” Some such understanding is likely implicit in our text, but I cannot reconstruct a reading which accommodates the existing traces of ink.

For the motif of blocking access to a common road, cf. *P.Entreux*. 66 (Magdola; 218 BCE) in which a certain Maron files a complaint concerning his son Euktos’ lease of a plot of land jointly with a certain Theodosios. Before the parties made a fair division of the property, Euktos died, prompting Theodosios quickly to start building a structure on the choicest part of it, next to an adjoining road, which effectively blocked Maron, who took over his son’s part of the lease, from using it. He thus asks the king to instruct Diophanes to write the *epistates*, instructing him to see to the proper division of the property, including making Theodosios reposition part of the structure he has built, and to provide εἴσοδον καὶ ἔξοδον ἕως ἐπὶ τὴν κοινὴν ἡμῶν ὁδόν (l. 10).³⁷

³⁷ On this papyrus, see the translation and brief discussion by Lewis (n. 4) 65–66. For more parallels and generally on legalities involving εἴσοδος καὶ ἔξοδος see R. Taubenschlag, *The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt in the Light of the Papyri* (2nd ed., Warsaw 1955)

7 καθαροτριᾶι: *addendum lexicis*. The simplex occurs in papyri (e.g., *P.Petr.* 3.31 = *SB* 20.14183.7). Cf. also καταρώ, which I do not find in papyri.

7-8 καὶ οἶός ἐστιν κατασπείρειν αὐ[τὴν]: “... and he intends to sow it.” Mayser (*Gram.* 2.3.43 with n. 1) cites Harpocration of Alexandria (second century CE; cf. ed. J.J. Keaney [Amsterdam 1991] 189) on the distinction between οἶος εἶ and οἶός τε εἶ: τὸ μὲν χωρὶς τοῦ τέ σημαίνει τὸ βούλει καὶ προήρησαι, τὸ δὲ σὺν τῷ τέ τὸ δύνασαι. “The one without the τε has the meaning, ‘you wish’ and ‘you purpose’; the one with the τε means, ‘you are able’”; and similarly other late-antique and Byzantine lexicographers (cf. *P.Enteux.* 26.3–4 [= *Sel.Pap.* 2.268] with Guéraud’s full discussion; 48.7 [= *Sel.Pap.* 2.270]).

8 κῆκ: possibly κᾱκ or κᾱι; but ε seems more likely. See that letter in τεύξομαι line 12.

– δέομαι ... προσταῖναι is the standard ἐντευξις formula, whereas ὑπομνήματα tend to use ἀξιῶ ... συντάξαι. But there are several exceptions and variations.³⁸ Of the twelve recently published Diophanes *enteuxeis* in *P.Sorb.* 3 all but two have δέομαι ... προσταῖναι (in some of the texts however part of the formula is restored).

9 Ὡρωι τῷ[ι] βασιλικῷ γραμματεῖ: We have full information on this Horos (*Pros Ptol.* 1 and 8.481) from about 22 attestations in Greek and Demotic Papyri.³⁹ He served the Arsinoite nome as royal scribe (in Demotic, “the scribe of Pharaoh”) between 223–214/213 BCE. The next royal scribe for whom we have record is Τεῶς (*Pros.Ptol.* 2.404; *TmPer* 7512; *P.Gur.* 8.1, 16–17 [= *Sel.Pap.* 2.334; *CPJ* 1.21]; 210 BCE). The following year Imouthes, Horos’ son (*Pros.Ptol.* 1 and 8.440; *TmPer* 9306), assumed the post, apparently holding it until 203, and possibly later.⁴⁰ Demotic texts establish the father–son relationship between Horos and Imouthes (*P.Bürgsch* 1.5, 2.9, 3.5, 4.2, restored in 5.1). We also now know from a Demotic papyrus that Horos’ father had the name Imouthes (P.Macquarie inv. no. 332 [Fayum 215 BCE] 10–12).⁴¹

256–259 and R. Taubenschlag, “Das Recht auf εἴσοδος und ἐξοδος in den Papyri,” *APF* 8 (1927) 25–33.

³⁸ Guéraud (n. 2) xxv–xxvi; cf. Di Bitonto (n. 2) 15–16, 18–19.

³⁹ <https://www.trismegistos.org/person/15303>.

⁴⁰ For these three see the chart and notes in C. Armoni, *Studien zur Verwaltung des ptolemäischen Ägypten. Das Amt des Basilikos Grammateus* (Paderborn 2012) 251–252.

⁴¹ M. Depauw, “Controlling the Perfume Monopoly. A Demotic Letter in Macquarie Referring to a Proxy in Duke,” *ZPE* 171 (2009) 201–208; see Depauw’s note on 10–12,

It makes good sense that Lastratos asks Diophanes to write the *basilikos grammateus* rather than the usual *epistates*, since the competence of the former focuses on all that concerns the measurement and registration of land (*P.Rev.* 36.3–11).⁴²

9–10 συναποστεῖλαί μοι γεωμέτρην: Possibly “to send a surveyor with me”; that is Lastratos goes to the site and asks that the surveyor come along with him. More frequently, however, with the simple dative the verb means “send me (a ...)” or “commission me (a ...),” as Guéraud notes with respect to (passive forms of) the verb in other *enteuxeis*, “L’idée ‘avec’ ne subsiste pas plus que dans notre mot ‘commis,’ équivalent étymologique exact de συναποσταλείς.”⁴³ So also Mayser, *Gram.* 2.2.293: with συναποστέλλω “der Dativ ist selten komitativ = mit einem ... Häufiger als beim einfachen ἀποστέλλω = an oder für jemand.”

For the connection of surveyors to the office of the royal scribe, see *UPZ* 1.117.2. 4–9, Ἀσκληπιιάδης ὁ π[ρο]κεχειρισμένος πρὸς τῇ γεωμετρίᾳ ὑπὸ Σαρ[α]πίωνος τοῦ συγγενοῦς καὶ στρατηγοῦ ... ὃν δὲ παρὰ Δωρίωνος τοῦ ἀντιγρ(αφέως) καὶ βα(σιλικοῦ) γρ(αμματέως), “Asclepiades who is appointed for the land survey by Sarapion, cousin and strategos ... and who is the agent of Dorion the copy clerk and royal scribe.”⁴⁴ Cf. *P.Enteux.* 68.12–13, with Guéraud’s plausible supplement, δέομαι οὖν σου, βασιλεῦ, εἰ σοι δοκεῖ, προστάξα[ι] Ὡρωι τῷ βασιλικῷ γραμμ)ματεῖ γράψαι τῷ γεωμέτρῃ.⁴⁵

14 (ἔτους) β Ξανδικοῦ \bar{a} Μεσορῆ $\bar{\zeta}$: The relationship between the Egyptian civil calendar and the Macedonian calendar, as documented in double dates such as this one, continues to be a contentious problem in Ptolemaic papyri studies. The consensus of scholars such as A.E. Samuel trends toward optimism that the 25-year cycle of P.Carlsberg 9 governs the double dating of documents from the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphos. That optimism decreases for the subsequent reign of Euergetes and even more so for the beginning of the reign of Philopator, where our papyrus is dated.⁴⁶ On the other hand A. Jones has called into question the entire

p. 205. For further discussion on Horos, see J. Oates, *The Ptolemaic Basilikos Grammateus* (Atlanta 1995) 58–61.

⁴² See Oates (n. 41) 23–30; Armoni (n. 40) 172–178, esp. 174–175; Manning (n. 19) 52; M.R. Falivene, “Geography and Administration in Egypt,” in Bagnall (n. 2) 527.

⁴³ Guéraud (n. 2) lxvi.

⁴⁴ On this text see Armoni (n. 40) 175 n. 16.

⁴⁵ See Di Bitonto (n. 2) 33 with n. 1.

⁴⁶ A.E. Samuel, *Ptolemaic Chronology* (München 1962) 54–61, who revises and augments the work of R.A. Parker, *The Calendars of Ancient Egypt* (Chicago 1950), and cf. the review of Samuel’s book by P.M. Fraser, *Classical Review* 14 (1964) 318. Cf. also

premise of the use of the Carlsberg cycle (especially with regard to speculation on the beginning points of the Egyptian and Macedonian day),⁴⁷ as has C. Bennett.⁴⁸ L. Depuydt also argues that the use of the Carlsberg cycle was far more limited than what earlier scholars thought.⁴⁹

The docket date of P.Texas inv. 1 (= 18 September 220) does not conform to Samuel's modified Carlsberg cycle nor does it reflect the system of direct equivalences between the two sets of months proposed by L. Koenen for early in the reign of Philopator (e.g., P.Mich. inv. 6957.6, ἔτους ε Αὐδναίου δ Παῦνι δ).⁵⁰ With regard to the former, if one charts the 25-year cycle, the last year of a cycle, which began 257–256 BCE⁵¹ is 233–232. The first year of the next cycle begins with 232–231. Year 220 is cycle year number 13, which should have a lunar month beginning on Mesore 17, not Mesore 7, the date of our papyrus.⁵² On the other hand, L. Koenen has observed,

Under the reign of Philopator at least three different systems of equations between the Macedonian and the Egyptian months were used: the first was a direct equation beginning with Thoth = Xandikos and assigning the same numeral to the Macedonian as to the Egyptian day; the second determined the precise beginning of each month by observation of the first appearance of the moon after new moon; and the third was a system (or systems) which seems to have followed calculations similar to the Carlsberg cycle, in which, however, the Macedonian date was ahead of the Egyptian date by 22/23 or, in one case, by 16 days (depending on whether a day date or evening date was compared).⁵³

If Xandikos was reckoned as the first Macedonian month of the year, following Egyptian Mesore as the last, our double date conforms to Koenen's third system perfectly.

L. Koenen, *Eine agonistische Inschrift aus Ägypten und frühptolemaische Königsfeste* (Meisenheim am Glan 1977) 87–98; P.W. Pestman, *A Guide to the Zenon Archive*, Vol. A (Leiden 1981) with its chronological tables of Macedonian/Egyptian month correspondences (pp. 215–263) and specifically for Euergetes and the first year of Philopator (pp. 216, n. 6 and 247–263); T. Caulfield, A. Estner, and S. Stephens (*ZPE* 76 [1989] 242–244) who digest further unpublished research of L. Koenen, and cf. a precis of that research by Koenen himself in *Proceedings of the XVIII International Congress of Papyrology, Athens* (Athens 1988) 2.209, and also L. Koenen, “The Double Date of P.Sorb. Inv. 2407,” *ZPE* 76 (1989) 255–256.

⁴⁷ A. Jones, “On the Reconstructed Macedonian and Egyptian Lunar Calendars,” *ZPE* 119 (1997) 157–166.

⁴⁸ C. Bennett, *Alexandria and the Moon: An Investigation into the Lunar Macedonian Calendar of Ptolemaic Egypt* (Leuven 2011) passim, esp. 10, 42–44.

⁴⁹ L. Depuydt, *Civil Calendar and Lunar Calendar in Ancient Egypt* (Leuven 1997) 198–202.

⁵⁰ See T. Caulfield, A. Estner, and S. Stephens (n. 46) 243.

⁵¹ Samuel (n. 46) 59–60.

⁵² According to Samuel (n. 46) 59, Table 3.

⁵³ Koenen (n. 45, Congress, Athens 1988) 209.

*Verso*⁵⁴

1 χαίρειν. ἐπισκεψάμενος suggests that at least one line preceded, with the names of an addressor and addressee. Cf. Δωρίων Ἀριστεύ[ωνι] χαίρειν. ἐπι[σκ]εψάμενος, *P.Hib.* 2.201.11 (250–240 BCE); Νικανορι (l. Νικάνωρ) Ἀχώραπει χαίρειν. ἐπισκεψάμενος, *P.NYU* 2.45.17 (212 or 237 or 195 BCE).

διασάφησον ἡμ[ῖν]: This must be right, although the first two letters are very difficult. See *P.Sorb.* 3.108.11; 112.22 (both from the Glaukos archive, cited and discussed in intro. above); cf. also *P.Enteux.* 14.11; *P.Tebt.* 3.1.703.214; all 16 examples of the phrase are Ptolemaic, mostly third century).

2 φαλῶνος: possibly the name Κεφάλωνος (genitive). φάμενος is also possible.

3 *ʒrstrs* (?; *ʒrytrs*?) *pʒ* . . . : I am grateful to my University of Chicago colleague Brian Muhs for examining the line of Demotic and providing his expert analysis. That analysis I digest and summarize below. He notes at the outset: “Based on photo provided, one cannot exclude the possibility that there were preceding lines of Demotic that have been lost.⁵⁵ There is a considerable margin of papyrus above the preserved line, but it looks like it might only consist of the lower layer of vertical papyrus strips, meaning that the upper layer of horizontal strips has been lost for a space, and with them any text that was written on them. This could explain why the Demotic text on the right side of the verso seems to start below the Greek text on the left side of the verso.”

He then continues: “The surviving Demotic text appears to start with a foreign name transcribed phonetically. I hesitantly transcribe the name as *ʒrstrs*, which (if read correctly) would represent something like Aristeros. Many of the signs are unclear, however, so one could potentially also transcribe *ʒrytrs*, or less likely *ʒrsntrs* or *ʒryntrs*. The most obvious reading of the first sign is *ʒ* = *aleph*. There is however a possibility that it could also be read as a diagonal stroke ligatured to *p*, or to the verb *in*, ‘to bring.’ The first possibility would give a name *Prstrs* (?), possibly preceded by a masculine filiation marker *sʒ*, ‘son of Peristeros (?),’ which would be very odd at the beginning of a text. The second possibility would allow a reading *r.in Rstrs*, ‘Bring (imperative?) Lastros (or similar),’ which is (somewhat but not very) close to one of the names that occurs in the Greek text.

⁵⁴ For the layout and nature of the *verso*, see intro.

⁵⁵ Note that at least one line of Greek is lost. See above on *verso* line 1.

“The second sign, consisting of a diagonal stroke is clearly written *r*, which could stand for *l*, particularly in the Fayum. The third sign, consisting of three vertical strokes one after another ligatured together, is most likely *s* or *y*, which are often indistinguishable. The fourth sign is *t*, which is not distinguished in writing from *d*. The fifth sign is another diagonal stroke, which should probably be read *r* or *l* again. The sixth sign consists of three vertical strokes again, though only the second and third are ligatured. Nonetheless, I tentatively read *s* or *y* again. The seventh sign looks to be a foreign name determinative, marking the end of the name.”

Regarding the rest of the line, Professor Muhs states by way of disclaimer that only the first sign is legible, but he does offer suggestions for the sign beyond it and for interpretation: “The first sign does look like the masculine definite article *p3*, which could introduce an epithet or a title of the individual whose name precedes it. It could also introduce a compound masculine filiation, *p3 sr*, ‘the son of,’ which sometimes replaces the regular masculine filiation marker (*s3*), in the way that Greek *υίός* sometimes strengthens the simple genitive. *P3* could also be the first element of an Egyptian patronym, assuming the masculine filiation marker *s3* was omitted, as it often is. However, a foreign name followed by an Egyptian patronym without a filiation marker seems less likely, though certainly not impossible. The second sign looks a little like *h*, which is the first sign of the word for surveyor, and many other words of course. It also looks the child sign *šr*, which would give a compound masculine filiation. It could also be the beginning of an Egyptian name, *P3-šr-DN*, ‘Psen-DN’, literally ‘The son of Divine Name.’ Unfortunately, after that the line becomes smudged and abraded, and thus I cannot confirm any of the possibilities suggested above.”

PSENKEBKIS, SON OF PAKEBKIS:
NEW AND OLD DOCUMENTS FROM THE CENTER FOR
THE TEBTUNIS PAPYRI*

Nathan H. Levine and Flavio Santini *University of California, Berkeley*

*A Federica Micucci,
in memoria*

Abstract. — Editions of two new texts from the Center for the Tebtunis Papyri at the University of California, Berkeley (P.Tebt.suppl. 1072 and 1073), as well as a re-edition of a third text (SB 22.15613). These documents enrich our knowledge of the life and affairs of Psenkebkis, son of Pakebkis (b. AD 60–65, d. after AD 134), a priest of the temple of Soknebtunis, and of his involvement in the exploitation of public land.

Keywords: lease, public land, sublease, deposit, Tebtunis, Psenkebkis son of Pakebkis

The edition of two new texts housed at the Center for the Tebtunis Papyri at the University of California, Berkeley (P.Tebt.suppl. 1072 and 1073), as well as the re-edition of a third text (SB 22.15613), sheds new light on the already rich documentary dossier concerning Psenkebkis, son of Pakebkis (TM Per 254261), a priest of the temple of Soknebtunis, who was active from the reign of Domitian to the reign of Hadrian.¹

Hitherto, the earliest attestation of Psenkebkis may have been SB 14.12192 (P.Tebt. 2.445 descr.), which contains the priest's subscription to a sublease of royal land (βασιλική γῆ), i.e. public land, in the name of his illiterate

* This paper began as a collaboration during the Fall 2020 papyrological seminar at Berkeley led by Todd M. Hickey, whom we wish to thank for this opportunity and for his continued guidance and encouragement. We would also like to thank the anonymous reviewers and the editor of *BASP* for their meticulous comments and suggestions, as well as Andrew Hogan and the late Federica Micucci for facilitating our access to the papyri.

¹ Hitherto the only comprehensive presentation of the evidence on Psenkebkis is C. Gallazzi, "P. Tebt. II 445 descr.: Subaffitto," *ZPE* 31 (1978) 89–95. Earlier papyri found in Tebtunis also refer to a Psenkebkis, son of Pakebkis: see P.Tebt. 2.401 (AD 14), 2.383 (AD 46), P.Mich. 5.329 (AD 40/41). Given the homonymy, we wonder if this is an ancestor of our Psenkebkis.

father, Pakebkis. This document may date to the summer of AD 92, though a date of AD 108 has also been proposed.² Thanks to P.Tebt.suppl. 1072, we now know that Psenkebkis was involved in some sort of contract with an individual named Marepsemis as early as the spring of AD 92.

P.Tebt.suppl. 1072 also bears a close relationship to a Florentine papyrus, *PSI* 10.1135, another fragmentary sublease of public land (here δημοσίων ἐδαφῶν, equivalent to βασιλική γῆ) between a Marepsemis and a Psenkebkis, dated to the autumn of AD 97.³ Both documents identify the two individuals by means of the same physical characteristics (Marepsemis with a scar on the left side of his brow, Psenkebkis with a scar on his right thumb), and their stated ages are consistent with the discrepancy of date between the two documents (thirty-five and thirty years of age in AD 92, forty and thirty-six years of age in AD 97). P.Tebt.suppl. 1072 therefore allows us to restore the alias and patronymic of Marepsemis in *PSI* 10.1135, ll. 4–5 (ὁ κ[αὶ] Ἀτρῆς Ἰ[ο]γγώ[φο]ρος).

In concert, these documents allow us to paint a more complete picture of Psenkebkis and his life. As regards his physical appearance, P.Tebt.suppl. 1072 and *PSI* 10.1135 both identify him by the scar on his right thumb, as do most of the other texts in the dossier. *SB* 14.12192, by contrast, identifies him by a scar on his right eyebrow.⁴ The relevant reading (ὀφρύι δεξιᾷ) is tentative, but it is supported by a more secure reading in *SB* 8.9642 (1), which is dated to AD 112.⁵ This detail might speak in favor of the later date proposed for *SB* 14.12192 (AD 108 instead of AD 92). Secondly, these documents allow us to revise previous estimates of Psenkebkis' date of birth. P.Tebt.suppl. 1072, which is dated to May 29, AD 92, gives his age as thirty; *PSI* 10.1135, which is dated to between Nov. 27 and Dec. 26, AD 97, gives his age as thirty-six. This would suggest that Psenkebkis was born between May 29 and Nov. 27, AD 61.

² Gallazzi (n. 1) 91.

³ On the findspot and chronology of discovery of this papyrus see below, note 19.

⁴ But cf. *SB* 22.15613, dating to AD 111, where Psenkebkis seems to be identified by the mark on his right thumb. On physical description in Greek papyri see G. Hübsch, *Die Personalangaben als Identifizierungsvermerke im Recht der gräko-ägyptischen Papyri* (Berlin 1968); S. Daris, "Il lessico fisionomico nei papiri greci," in S. Sconocchia (ed.), *Lingue tecniche del greco e del latino. Atti del 2° Seminario internazionale sulla letteratura scientifica e tecnica greca e latina* (Trieste 1993) 99–104; F. Reiter, "Daddy finger, where are you? Zu den Fingerbezeichnungen in den Signalements der römischen Kaiserzeit," in A. Nodar and S. Torallas Tovar (eds.), *Proceedings of the 28th Congress of Papyrology* (Barcelona 2019) 494–509.

⁵ See E.M. Husselman, "Donationes Mortis Causa from Tebtunis," *TAPA* 88 (1957) 135–154.

SB 22.15613, however, gives his age as forty-eight on Oct. 5, AD 111, suggesting a birth-year of AD 62 or 63. *P.Tebt.suppl.* 1073 further widens the discrepancy: if our dating of the document to AD 134 is correct, Psenkebkis' reported age of 6- (69 at the latest) would imply a birth-year of AD 65 at the earliest. Such discrepancies are nevertheless common, especially given the nearly half-century span of the documents in the dossier, and it is therefore reasonable to propose a birth-year between AD 60 and 65.⁶ This pushes the birth-year proposed by Gallazzi back by several years.⁷

Lastly, these documents bear witness to Psenkebkis' frequent involvement in a particular genre of contract pertaining to the exploitation of public land, which is consistent with our knowledge of the other priests of the temple.⁸ Because of its connections with *SB* 14.12192 (*P.Tebt.* 2.445 *descr.*) and *PSI* 10.1135, it is tempting to interpret *P.Tebt.suppl.* 1072 as a sublease of public land, suggesting that Psenkebkis was involved in the cultivation of public land for a continuous period of at least five years between AD 92 and 97. *SB* 22.15613, which can be dated to AD 111, the fifteenth year of Trajan's reign, suggests that Psenkebkis was still involved in this same activity in later stages of his life. In this document, Psenkebkis subleases four *arourai*, which he had leased from the state, to Kronion, son of Kronion in return for the sublessee's commitment to pay all the public charges on the land to the state; Kronion's payment to Psenkebkis of a sum of 180 silver drachmas has been interpreted as a present to the lessor.⁹ This sublease was intended to last eight years. Although we do not know the exact lengths of the previous subleases in which he was involved, Psenkebkis' rise in the

⁶ See R.S. Bagnall and B.W. Frier, *The Demography of Roman Egypt* (Cambridge 1994) 43: "Egyptians were not always absolutely accurate in reporting ages."

⁷ Gallazzi (n. 1) 91.

⁸ On the role of priests in the management of public land, see below p. 75; see also A. Monson, *From the Ptolemies to the Romans: Political and Economic Change in Egypt* (Cambridge 2012), esp. 117, 140–141, 287, and M. Langellotti, *Village Life in Roman Egypt: Tebtunis in the First Century AD* (Oxford 2020) 105–111, 183. Though the documents in this dossier reflect Psenkebkis' involvement in public land, it is illuminating to consider contemporary evidence for the management of other categories of land, such as temple land, in the Fayyūm. On the popularity of the long-term lease-sublease pattern and the role of priests in the management of temple land, see A.J. Connor, *Temples as Economic Agents in Early Roman Egypt: The Case of Tebtunis and Soknopaiou Nesos* (University of Cincinnati PhD thesis, 2015) 202–203, 217–219. We will revisit the question of priestly involvement in public land in our forthcoming publication of *P.CtYBR inv.* 1126, a sublease of public land from first-century AD Tebtunis.

⁹ *P.Sel.Warga* 7, 44–45.

priestly hierarchy in his middle age (see further below) may have contributed to the unusually long duration of the sublease recorded in *SB* 22.15613, since he may have become unable to handle extra duties such as the management of land.

The length of the contract in *SB* 22.15613 could well provide a context in which to understand the second of the two unpublished documents, *P.Tebt.suppl.* 1073. This document presents a fragment of a deposit-loan in which Psenkebkis and his sister-wife Thenmarsisouchos are involved as debtors to a Kronion.¹⁰ Unfortunately we do not possess Kronion's patronymic, so we cannot be sure whether it is the same Kronion as in *SB* 22.15613. If it is in fact the same Kronion, one could imagine a long history of dealings between Psenkebkis' family and Kronion. Dating to the latter part of Hadrian's reign, *P.Tebt.suppl.* 1073 illuminates some aspects, otherwise unknown, of Psenkebkis' life, such as the fact that he was engaged in financial transactions throughout his life until AD 134 (his late sixties), and that he was married to his sister.¹¹ According to François Lerouxel, the presence of husband and wife together in the role of debtors may reflect Egyptian tradition. Lerouxel indicates that this practice is characteristic primarily of the first century AD, especially in Soknopaiou Nesos and Tebtunis (more than half of all such cases come from the Fayyūm). Lerouxel does not cite a single example of the practice after AD 109, but *P.Tebt.suppl.* 1073 is evidence that it continued at least several decades into the second century.¹²

Later in life, Psenkebkis was appointed to the office of *presbyteros*, as attested in two different documents of our dossier: *P.Tebt.* 2.298 (July 29, AD 108) and *P.Tebt.* 2.309 (AD 116/117).¹³ According to Louise C. Youtie, the fact that both of these documents refer to Psenkebkis as a *presbyteros* suggests that he was between the ages of 40 and 49 at the signing of

¹⁰ For this kind of loan see B. Tenger, *Die Verschuldung im römischen Ägypten* (1.–2. Jh. n. Chr.) (St. Katharinen 1993) 61–79.

¹¹ See also S. Remijsen and W. Clarysse, "Incest or Adoption? Brother–Sister Marriage in Roman Egypt Revisited," *JRS* 98 (2008) 53–61.

¹² F. Lerouxel, *Le marché du crédit dans le monde romain. Égypte et Campanie* (Rome 2016) 72–79.

¹³ *P.Tebt.* 2.298.6–9 (Ψ)εγκ[ή]βκιος τοῦ Πακ[ή]βκιος τῶν πέντε πρεσβ(υτέρων) ἱερέων ἱεροῦ λογίμου Σοκνεβτύνεως τοῦ καὶ Κρόνου καὶ Ἰσ[ι]δος καὶ Σαρ[ά]πιδος καὶ Ἀρ[πο]χρ[ά]του καὶ τῶν συννάων θεῶν ὄντος ἐν κόμῃ Τεβτύνι τῆς Π[ο]λέμωνος μερίδος; *P.Tebt.* 2.309.4–10: Ψενκήβκι Πακήβκιος καὶ Μαρσισοῦχ(φ) [. καὶ Ὀννώφρι Πακήβκιος [καὶ Ὀννώ]φρεως καὶ Μαρσισοῦχφ [Πανετβηούιος τ]οῖς δέκα πρεσβυτέροις [ιερεῦσι ἀπὸ τ]οῦ ὄντος ἐν κόμῃ [Τεβτύνι ἱεροῦ] θεοῦ μεγάλου Κρόνου [καὶ τῶν συννά]ων θεῶν καὶ τοῖς λοιπ(οῖς) ἱερεῦσ(ι).

SB 8.9642 (1) at line 20 (AD 112).¹⁴ The evidence we present for Psenkebkis' age confirms this reading.

The body of *presbyteroi*, attested as early as the Ptolemaic period, usually consisted of between two and six priests.¹⁵ A large corpus of documents refers to five *presbyteroi*, one serving for each of the five *phylai* of the temple; numbers as high as nine or ten, however, are sometimes also found. A document pertaining to the priests of the Πενταφυλία dated to AD 114, *BGU* 1.16.5–7, suggests that the office of *presbyteros* was annual (τῶν εἰς πρεσβυτέρων ἱερέων πενταφυλίας θεοῦ Σοκνο[π]αίου τοῦ ἐνεστώτος κγ (ἔτους)). The fact that Psenkebkis is designated as *presbyteros* in multiple documents spanning nearly a decade further suggests that it was possible for a priest to hold this office more than once. The number of exempt (*apolysimoi*) priests from which we expect these officers to be drawn was fixed.¹⁶ In the present documents, the number of *presbyteroi* varies between five (*P.Tebt.* 2.298) and ten (*P.Tebt.* 2.309). One might theorize that *P.Tebt.* 2.309 features two *presbyteroi* from each *phyle*: the set of five *presbyteroi* currently serving and the set of five either who were appointed to serve in the following year, or who served in the year of the original lease.¹⁷ The limited state of the surviving evidence makes this scenario difficult to prove.

The question nevertheless remains as to why Psenkebkis is not mentioned as *presbyteros* in other documents dating to between AD 108 and 116/117 (*P.Tebt.* 2.356 and *SB* 22.15613). In the case of *P.Tebt.* 2.356, a receipt for transport dues (July 2, AD 108), Psenkebkis had likely already been designated *presbyteros*, since the document dates to only four weeks prior to his first mention as *presbyteros* in *P.Tebt.* 2.298. The nature of the transaction recorded in *P.Tebt.* 2.356 is consistent with the administrative duties known to have characterized the office of *presbyteros*;¹⁸ the absence of the designation may be attributed to the physical constraints of the document, which contains many other abbreviations and omissions.

¹⁴ L.C. Youtie, "Hypographeis and Witnesses of 2nd Century Tebtunis, I: Sammelbuch VIII 9642 (1)," *ZPE* 19 (1975) 194–195.

¹⁵ For the *presbyteroi* in Roman Tebtunis: A. Winkler, "Third Time's the Charm? The Councillor Priests and a Document from the Reign of Claudius, Redux," *JARCE* 51 (2015) 79 and note 33 (which collects relevant bibliography).

¹⁶ See C. Messerer, *Corpus des papyrus grecs sur les relations administratives entre le clergé égyptien et les autorités romaines* 3 (Paderborn 2020) 3.

¹⁷ If the Psenkebkis mentioned in *PSI.Com.* 12.4.2.5 is the same Psenkebkis as in the other documents of the dossier, this would suggest that he belonged to the first (α) *phyle*.

¹⁸ Cf. Monson (n. 8) 225–227.

Text	T-Number and <i>inv. nos.</i> ¹⁹	Date (AD)	Content
P.Tebt.suppl. 1072 (= text 1)	T115	92	Contract (sublease of public land?) between Psenkebkis (lessor?) and Marepsemis, son of Onnophrios (lessee?)
SB 14.12192 (<i>P.Tebt.</i> 2.445 descr.)	T98	92 (or 108)	Sublease of 5 <i>arourai</i> of public land at Tebtunis from Pakebkis, son of P[, to Orseus for one year, Psenkebkis being the subscriber for his father
PSI 10.1135	Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana inv. no. 19938	97	Sublease of public land from Psenkebkis to Marepsemis, son of Onnophrios
Messerer (n. 16), n° 119 (<i>P.Tebt.</i> 2.298)	T140	108	Declaration of priests and revenues of the temple at Tebtunis. Psenkebkis is listed as among the five <i>presbyteroi</i>
<i>P.Tebt.</i> 2.356	T104	108	Receipt for transport dues

¹⁹ T-numbers can be useful indicators for determining the chronology of discovery and the provenance of the papyri: see E.R. O'Connell, "Recontextualizing Berkeley's Tebtunis Papyri," in J. Frösén, T. Purola, and E. Salmenkivi (eds.), *Proceedings of the 24th International Congress of Papyrology* (Helsinki 2007) 2.814–819; C. Gallazzi, "I papiri del tempio di Soknebtynis: chi li ha trovati, dove li hanno trovati," in C. Gallazzi (ed.), *Tebtynis VI: Scripta Varia* (Cairo 2018) 116–118. As for the papyri strictly related to Psenkebkis, the range of the T-numbers is quite concentrated (T98–120). As noted by Gallazzi (n. 18) 118, a T-number between 1 and 228 does not prove that a papyrus was found within the temple enclosure. If the content of the papyrus suggests a relationship with the temple and its clergy, however, a T-number within this range is a solid indication that the find surfaced in the sanctuary or nearby, and not in the neighborhoods of the town or among the graves of the necropolis. This seems to be the case for the texts presented in this paper. Further confirmation might be provided by PSI 10.1135, which was discovered by Carlo Anti "in un ripostiglio attiguo al tempio di Soknebtynis, nell'inverno del 1931," the famous findspot of the "Temple Library." On the latter papyrus and its provenance cf. also Gallazzi (n. 17) 144–145. It is probable that the dossier we have gathered around the figure of Psenkebkis also contains an archive within it (to which, for example, SB 8.9642 (1), *P.Tebt.* 2.298, and *PSI.Com.* 12.4.2 would not belong), with this "ripostiglio" as its findspot.

Text	T-Number and <i>inv. nos.</i>	Date (AD)	Content
<i>SB</i> 22.15613 (= text 2; <i>P.Tebt.</i> 529 <i>descr.</i> ; <i>P.Sel.Warga</i> 7)	T108–110	111	Sublease of 4 <i>arourai</i> of public land from Psenkebkis to Kronion, son of Kronion
<i>SB</i> 8.9642 (1)	P.Mich. inv. 5589	112	<i>Donationes mortis causa.</i> Psenkebkis is mentioned among the witnesses
<i>P.Tebt.</i> 2.309	T120+181 (?)	116/117	Resignation of a lease of temple land. Psenkebkis is mentioned among the ten <i>presbyteroi</i> receiving the request of resignation
P.Tebt.suppl. 1073 (= text 3)	T116	134	Repayment of a deposit from Psenkebkis and his sister-wife Tenmarsishouchos to Kronion
Messerer (n. 16), n° 126, l. 5 (<i>PSI.Com.</i> 12.4.2)	Istituto Papirologico G. Vitelli, inv. no. 4182	1–200	List of priests, where a Psenkebkis, son of Pak[, is mentioned

Table 1: Dossier of documents concerning Psenkebkis, son of Pakebkis

1. Sublease of Public Land (?)

P.Tebt.suppl. 1072 H × W = 5 × 11.5 cm Tebtunis, May 29, AD 92

P.Tebt.suppl. 1072 is related to *P.Tebt.* 2.445 *descr.* (a lease of βασιλική γῆ) in its possible date of AD 92, and to *PSI* 10.1135 (a sublease of δημοσίων ἐδαφῶν) in its contractual parties (the same Marepsemis). These relationships suggest a possible interpretation of P.Tebt.suppl. 1072 as a sublease of public land (see introduction).

The document has an upper margin of ca. 1.5 cm, a right margin of ca. 0.5 cm, and several letters missing on the left margin. The text is written along the fibers; symmetrical holes on either side of horizontal fold-line through l. 3 indicate that the document was rolled from top to bottom.

- Ἔτους ἑνδεκάτου Αὐτοκρά[τ]ορος Καίσαρος Δομιτιανοῦ
 [Σεβ]αστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ μηνὸς Σωτηρίου δ' ἐν Τεβτύνι τῆς
 [Πολ]έμωνος μερίδος τοῦ Ἀρ[σ]ινοεῖτ[ο]υ νομοῦ. Ὁμολογεῖ
 4 [ὁ Μα]ρεψῆμις ὁ καὶ Ἀτρῆς Ὀννώφριος ὥς ἐτῶν τριάκον-
 [τα] πέντε οὐλήι μετώπωι ἐξ ἀριστερῶι Ψενκῆβκι
 [Πακ]ήβκιος ὥς [ἐ]τῶν τριάκ[ο]ντα οὐλήι[ι] ἀντίχειρι δεξιῶι

2 *l.* Τεβτύνει; υ corr. 5 *l.* οὐλή, μετώπωι, ἀριστερῶν 6 *l.* οὐλή

“The 11th year of the Emperor Caesar Domitianus Augustus Germanicus, the 4th of the month Sotereios (May 29, AD 92), in Tebtunis of the Polemon district of the Arsinoite nome. Marepsemis, also known as Hatres, son of Onnophris, about thirty-five years old, with a scar on the left side of his brow, and Psenkebkis, son of Pakebkis, about thirty years old, with a scar on his right thumb, acknowledges ...”

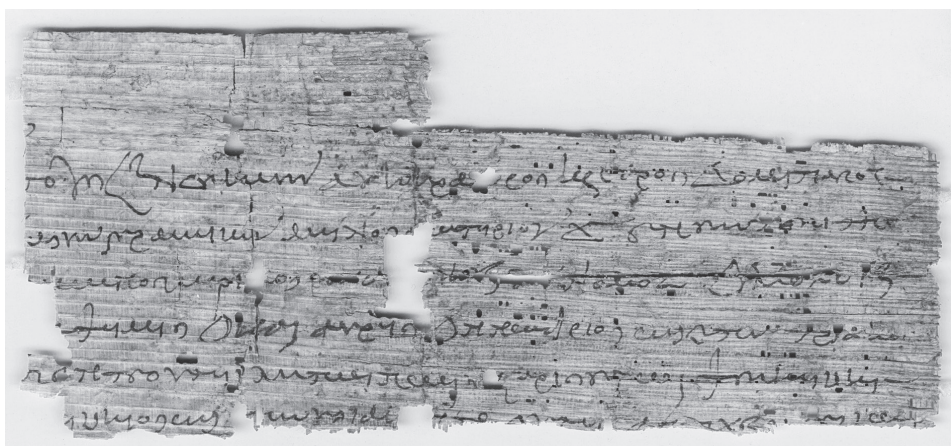


Fig. 1

1 The first ε of ἑνδεκάτου is written in ornamental form. A space-filler stroke falls at the end of the line; so also after ll. 3 and 5.

2 The honorific month of Σωτηρίου (also found as Σωτηρείου) is equivalent to Πᾶυνι; see K. Scott, “Greek and Roman Honorific Months,” *Yale Classical Studies* 2 (1931) 258–259 (“Just why Πᾶυνι was given this honorific name I cannot suggest”). The earliest attestations we have found for this month-name are *SPP* 22.173 and *SB* 16.12727, which date

to the reigns of Caligula (AD 40) and Nero respectively. The latest is *P.Meyer* 7, which the editor dates to the reign of Hadrian (AD 130), although J. Schwartz, *BL* 3.106 dates it to the reign of Domitian (AD 95). This possible exception aside, the vast majority of attestations fall during the reign of Domitian.²⁰

3 The first omicron of $\delta\mu\omicron\lambda\omicron\gamma\epsilon\tilde{\iota}$ is written in large form, as in δ and Ὅννώφριος in l. 5 and $\omicron\lambda\eta[\iota]$ in l. 6.

4–6 This Marepsemis is very likely the same as that of *PSI* 10.1135 (see introduction). We can therefore supplement δ καὶ Ἀτρὴς Ὅννώφριος in ll. 4–5 of *PSI* 10.1135 on the basis of this line. These lines specify the age of Marepsemis at thirty-five and that of Psenkebkis at thirty. This is in full agreement with *PSI* 10.1135, dated to between Nov. 27 and Dec. 26 of AD 97, which gives their ages as forty and thirty-six respectively. These texts are therefore consistent with a birth date for Psenkebkis between the end of May and the end of November AD 61. *SB* 22.15613, however, gives the age of Psenkebkis as 48 in Oct. 5, AD 111, indicating a birth-year of AD 62 or 63.

For the hypercorrect form $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\omega}\iota\pi\omega\iota$ (l. 5), cf. *PSI.Corr.* 1156.²¹ $\omicron\lambda\eta[\iota]$ (l. 6) is a hypercorrect form for $\omicron\lambda\eta$ reconstructed by analogy with l. 5.

2. Sublease of Public Land

SB 22.15613²² fr. a H × W = 10.1 × 6.7 cm Tebtunis, Oct 5, AD 111
 fr. b1 H × W = 1.5 × 1.1 cm
 fr. b2 H × W = 1.4 × 0.9 cm
 fr. c. H × W = 6.3 × 9.8 cm

These four fragments, first edited by Richard G. Waga (*P.Sel.Warga* 7), have been assigned the same inventory number. Between 14 and 24 letters are missing from the left part of fr. a (ll. 17, 19), whereas only 4 to 7 letters are missing from the left part of fr. c. This considerable variability in the number of missing letters presents several difficulties, as discussed in the

²⁰ See also C. Balconi, “Su alcuni nomi onorifici di mesi nel calendario egiziano,” *ZPE* 59 (1985) 88, and J.H.M. de Jong, “Celebrating Supermen: Divine Honours for Roman Emperors in Greek Papyri from Egypt,” in P.P. Iossif, A.S. Chankowski, and C.C. Lorber (eds.), *More than Men, Less than Gods: Studies on Royal Cult and Imperial Worship. Proceedings of the International Colloquium organized by the Belgian School at Athens, 1–2 November 2007* (Leuven 2011) 619–647.

²¹ See F.T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, vol. 1 (Milan 1976) 185–186.

²² *P.Tebt.* 2.529 descr.

notes below. A reconstruction of the crossing lines (χιασμός) helps determine the gap between fr. a and c, which according to our reconfiguration of the papyrus (Feb. 2022; Fig. 2 below) amounts to 6 lines. Fr. a and c display close T-numbers on their backsides, in black ink (fr. a: 108; fr. c: 110), indicating that they were processed at nearly the same time. What Warga refers to as fr. b (see Figs. 3 *recto* and *verso* below, which reflect the configuration available to Warga) is in fact two incorrectly joined fragments (b1 and b2; no T-number), which we decided to separate. Since we do not know whether fr. b1 and b2 were processed at the same time as fr. a and c, it is uncertain whether the two pairs belong together. Furthermore, fr. b1 and b2 could have been processed at the same time as fr. a and c, but simply stuck to the surface of either fr. a or fr. c; hence we do not attempt to read them as part of the main text (*pace* Warga). A *kollesis* is visible at the right edge of fr. a and c. Margins: top, 2.5 cm; bottom, 4 cm; in top and in right bottom margin, in red ink: 529.

The writing is parallel to the fibers; the back is blank. Four different hands can be detected: 1, body of contract (ll. 1–20); 2, subscription (ll. 28–33); 3, Kronion’s subscription (ll. 33–34); 4, registration (ll. 34–35). The text of the papyrus is canceled by *chiasmōs*, indicating that the terms of the contract were fulfilled or invalidated.

Following the usual structure of this kind of text, the document can be divided as follows: the dating prescript with the location; a description of the contracting parties; a description of the land involved (lines 6–13); the subscription of the contracting parties and the docket of the recording office (*grapheion*). The present document has its closest parallels in *P.Tebt.* 2.373, another sublease of public land from AD 110/111, which helps restore most of the *lacunae* posed by the text.

fr. a

- (m. 1) [(ἔτους) πεντεκαίδεκάτου Αὐτοκ]ράτορος Καίσαρος Νέρουα Τραι-
 ανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ
 [Γερμανικοῦ Δακικοῦ Φαῶ]φι ἑβδόμη ἐν Τεβτύνι τῆς Πολέμωνος
 μερίδος
 [τοῦ Ἀρσινοίτου νομοῦ. ἐ]μίσθωσεν Ψενκῆβκις Πακῆβκεως
 4 [Π ὥς ἐτῶν] τεσσ[α]ράκοντα ὀκτώι οὐλῇ ἀντίχειρι
 [δεξιῷ Κρονίωνι Κρο]νί[ων]ος τοῦ Κρονίωνος ὥς ἐτῶν τριάκον-
 [τα οὐλῇ δ]εξιῷ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀναγραφόμενων εἰς Ψεγ-
 [κῆβκιν περὶ τὴν προ]κείμενην κώμην Τεβτύνιν δημοσίων
 8 [ἐδαφῶν τὰς ἐν μιᾷ σφ]ραγίδι βασιλικῆς ἀρούρας τέσσαρε[ς] ἢ ὅσαι
 [ἐὰν ᾧσι ἐν τοῖς τό]ποις ἀπὸ λειβὸς ὑψηλοῖς, προσγιτ[νι]ῶντ[ω]ν

[ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς νότον μ]έρους Πανήσεως τοῦ Ὀννώφρεω[ς] γῆ ἀνὰ
 [μέσον καὶ] ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς βορρᾶ μέρους Εὐ . . . ς τοῦ
 12 [κ]αὶ ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς λίβα μέρους διόρυγι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ
 [πρὸς ἀπηλιώτην μέρους] Μαρενψήμιος τοῦ Μαρεπκέμιος γῆ. ἡ μίσθω-
 [σις ἦδε κυρία ἔστω] εἰς τὸ πεντεκαιδέκατον ἔτος Τραιανοῦ
 [Καῖσαρος τοῦ κυρίου καὶ ἐ]πι τὰ λοιπὰ ἔτη ἑπτὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἑπτακαίδε-
 16 [κάτου ἔτους Τραιανοῦ Καῖσ]αρος τοῦ κυρίου ἐφ' ᾧ ὁ Κρονίων
 μετρήσι
 [καὶ καθαρεῖ καθ' ἔτος ἐπὶ τὰ δη]λούμενα ἔτη ὀκτῶι εἰς τὸ δημόσιον
 τὰ ὑπὲρ
 [τῶν τεσσάρων ἀρουρῶν ἐκ]φόρια καὶ προσμετρούμενα καὶ μερισμοὺς
 [καὶ ἐπικλασμοὺς καὶ μονοδεσ]μίαν χόρτ[ο]υ καὶ χαλκοῦ ἐξικοσιδρά-
 20 [χμου καὶ δημόσια φόρετρα]
 [ca. 6 lines missing]

fr. c

(m. 2) [. . . υς καὶ δρα . . . [± 3] . εσ
 28 [± 4]ν ἀντὶ τῶν καθ' ἔτος δημοσίων καὶ ἀπέσ-
 [χον π]αρ' αὐτοῦ ἀργυρίου δραχμῶν ἑκατὸν
 [± 4]ήκοντα καθὸς πρόκειται, μὴ ἐλαττωμέν[ου]
 [τοῦ Κρον]ίωρος ὑπὲρ ὧν ὀφίλο αὐ[ο]τ<ω> καθ' ἡτέρων
 32 [δανείω]ν. (m. 3) Κρονίων Κρονίων[ος] μεμίσθωμαι τὴν γῆν
 [καθὼς] πρόκειται. *vac.* (m. 4) ἀναγράφεται διὰ τοῦ κόμης Τεβύνεως
 [γραφείου].

4 [τοῦ δεινός ὡς ἐτῶν], Warga; *l.* ὁκτῶ 5 [ἀριστερῶ], Warga 7 *l.* [πρ]οκειμένην
8 βασιλικῆς <γη>, Warga 9 [ἐὰν ὅσι ἐν τοῖς λεγομέ]νοις ἀπὸ λειβός Ψειλοῖς,
Warga; *l.* λιβός, προσγεγινώσας 10 Πανήλεως, Warga; .εγα-, Warga 11 Εὐ-.ις,
Warga 12 *l.* λιβός, διῶρυγι 13 *l.* Μαρεπκήμιος 14 [σις ἦδε κυρία εἰ]ς, Warga
16 *l.* μετρήσει 17 [καὶ καθαρεῖ ἐπὶ τὰ δη]λούμενα ἔτη ὁκτῶι, Warga 27–28 ἐπὶ
τοῖς προκειμή]νοις καὶ βα[τιβεῶ] [τὴν μί]σι[θωσι]ν, Warga 28 *l.* δημοσιῶν 29 corr. ex
aunou?; *l.* δραχμάς 30 *l.* καθὼς πρόκειται 31 *l.* ὀφείλω, ἐτέρων 32 Κρονίωνο(ς),
Warga 33 *l.* πρόκειται

“(hand 1) [The fifteenth year of] Emperor Caesar Nerva Traianus Augustus Germanicus Dacicus, the seventh of Phaophi at Tebtunis in the Polemon division of the Arsinoite nome. Psenkebkis, son of Pakebkis, grandson of ..., aged about forty-eight, with a scar on his [right] thumb, has leased to [Kronion, son of Kronion], grandson of Kronion, aged about thirty [with a scar on his] right ..., from the public lands registered under the name of Psenkebkis at the aforementioned village of Tebtunis, the four

arourae, or whatever be the number, in one parcel of public land in the western ‘high places’, which are bordered on the south-facing side by the land of Panesis, son of Onnophris, there being ... in the middle, and on the north by the ... of Eu[-]s, son of ..., and on the east by a canal, and on the west by the land of Marepsemis, son of Marepsemis. This lease [is valid] for the fifteenth year of the reign of Traianus Caesar the lord, and for the subsequent seven years from the seventeenth year of the reign of Traianus Caesar the lord, on the condition that Kronion shall measure out and sift for the appointed eight years to the state the rent for the four *arourae* and extra charges and rates and additional fees and payment for bundles of grass and copper at twenty drachmas [and the public transportation charges ...] ... (hand 2) ... in return for the annual state charges, and I have received from him one hundred and ... drachmas as stated, with Kronion suffering no loss concerning what I owe him in accordance with any other [loans]. (hand 3) I, Kronion, son of Kronion, have rented the land as stated. (hand 4) Registered through the record office of the village of Tebtunis.”

1 The restoration of line 1 is a bit longer than that of the other lines. According to Warga, this might suggest that the line extended farther into the left margin. We have not found any parallel for this phenomenon occurring in this kind of text, at least in the Arsinoite nome and in Tebtunis. To solve this problem, one might suggest that the word ἔτους was written as a symbol. If so, the number of letters in the first line would be consistent with that of the other lines.

3–7 These lines give information regarding the contracting parties and their identification. Kronion, son of Kronion, is otherwise unknown. On Psenkebki, son of Pakebkis, 48 years old at the time of the contract, see introduction. His grandfather’s name, here entirely in the *lacuna*, is partially preserved in *P.Tebt.* 2.445 *descr.* l. 3 (Πακήβκις Π[.]). If the number of missing letters is eight, as suggested by Gallazzi, then it is conceivable to think of Π[ακήβκιος], which could in turn be restored to *P.Tebt.* 2.445 *descr.* Based on a suggestion by Keenan, Warga restored ἀριστερῶ instead of δεξιῶ due to the number of letters in the *lacuna*. However, δεξιῶ seems to be the right choice: see *P.Tebt.suppl.* 1072.6; 1073.2; *PSI* 10.1135.7.

6 For the use of ἀναγραφόμενων to refer to land as opposed to persons registered, see e.g. *BGU* 3.915.14–15 (AD 49–54), *PSI* 10.1144.19–20 (AD 100), *P.Iand.* 3.27.5–6 (AD 101/102) and *P.Tebt.* 2.309.17–18 (AD 116/117). For a discussion of how state farmers had their lands

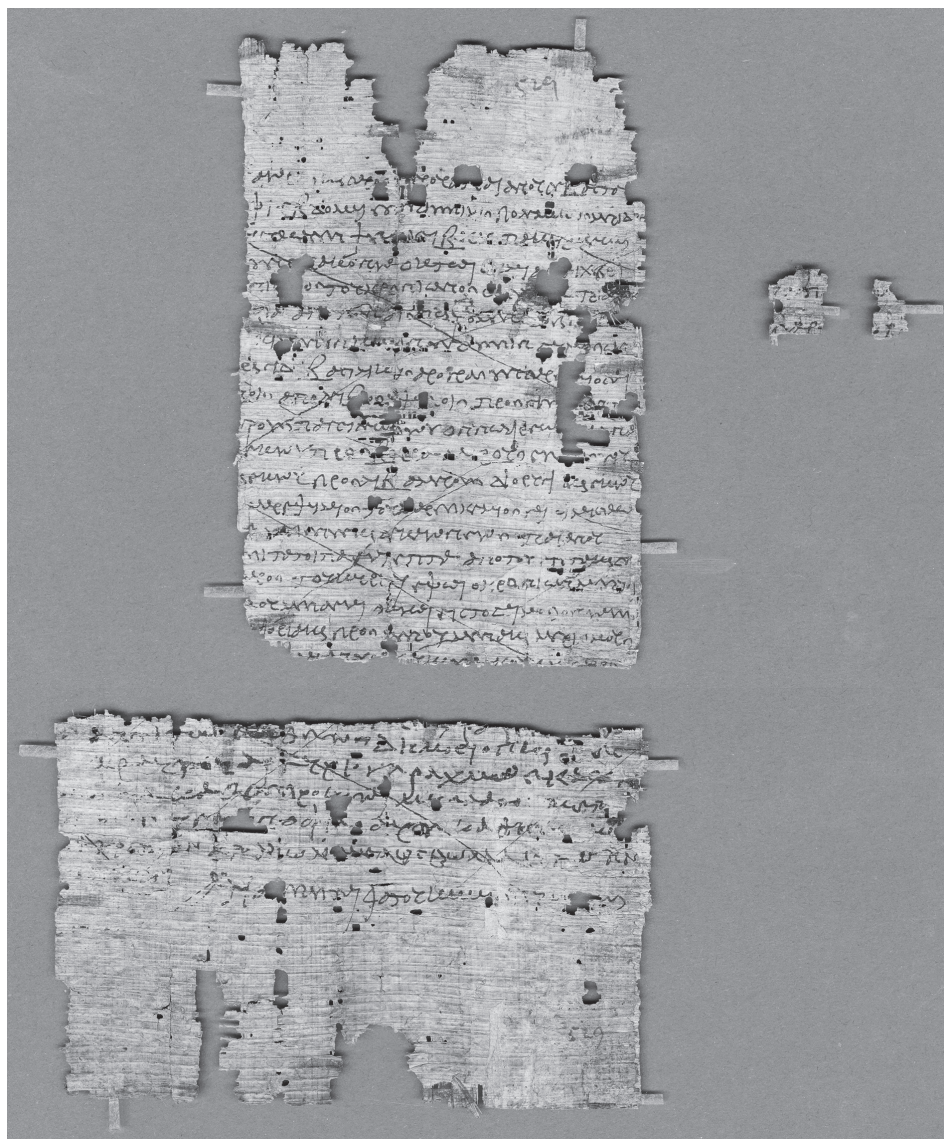


Fig. 2

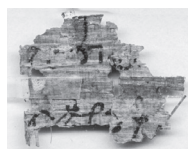


Fig. 3 recto

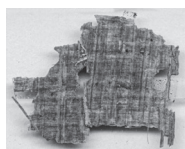


Fig. 3 verso

assigned and registered, see I.L. Forselv, “Affidavit of State Farmers: P. Osl. inv. no. 1468,” *SO* 78 (2003) 19–29 and J.L. Rowlandson, “The Organisation of Public Land in Roman Egypt,” *CRIPPEL* 25 (2005) 173–196.

7–13 These lines are dedicated to the identification of the object of the contract, i.e. the quantity and quality of land that Psenkebkis decided to sublease to Kronion. The restoration of this section of the text is based upon *P.Tebt.* 2.374.4–7. The plot of land under consideration belongs to the public lands registered under the name of Psenkebkis at the village of Tebtunis. The terms used are δημοσίων ἐδαφῶν and βασιλικῆς (γῆς), both terms for public land; see introduction and Rowlandson (previous note) 175–176.

9 The text provides geographical specification in order to identify the plot of land. The line was misread by Wurga, who proposed the restoration ἐν τοῖς λεγομέ]νοις ἀπὸ λειβὸς Ψειλοῖς, thus interpreting the text as: “in one parcel of royal land in the so-called western desert.” See also *BL* 13.226: “ἀπὸ Ψειλοῖς, l. Ψιλοῖς → Ἀποψειλοῖς, A. Calderini – S. Daris, *Dizionario*, Suppl. 3, S. 19.” However, some traces of a υ before the ψ are still visible, and what Wurga reads as a υ is more probably a π. For our restoration ἐν τοῖς τό]ποις ἀπὸ λειβὸς ὕψηλοῖς, cf. the usage in *P.Sakaon* 35.5–6 (Theadelphia): τῶν ἐδαφῶν [τῆς ἐδαφῶν] τῆς κώμης ἡμῶν ἐν ὕψηλοῖς τόποις ὄντων; cf. also *P.Tebt.* 3.1.703.172. This is a reference to land which was at a high elevation and therefore more difficult to irrigate (and less desirable), despite the presence of a canal (διώρυγι) bordering the plot of land to the east. In this regard, one may notice that many passages in al-Nabulusi’s 13th-century survey of the Fayyūm mention high-lying lands, which are always harder to irrigate. The clearest example is his entry for the village of Ṭubhār (still extant 13 km west of the capital, Madīnet al-Fayyūm): “[Ṭubhār] is a medium-sized village, with orchards, vineyards, date palms and figs. Winter crops [al-shatawī, i.e. flood-irrigated grains] are sown in it, but nothing else [i.e. no perennial irrigation for a second summer grain harvest]. Its lands are elevated [‘āliyya] and water does not reach them without additional effort.”²³

At the end of the line, Wurga reads προσγιτ[ν]ῶντ[α]ς (l. προσγειτνιώ-σας). However, the final letter of the line looks less like a σ than the right half of a ν. We therefore suggest reading προσγιτ[ν]ῶντ[ω]ν, referring to the “high places” mentioned earlier in the same line, though in the wrong case, rather than to the more distant *arourai*, in the wrong gender and case.

²³ Y. Rapoport and I. Shahar (eds.), *The Villages of the Fayyum: A Thirteenth-Century Register of Rural, Islamic Egypt* (Turnhout 2018) 185. We owe this reference to B. Haug.

10–13 These lines continue the specification of the land in question and indicate the names of the holders of the neighboring lands (γῆ) and man-made features of the landscape (διώρυγι). Here the text is not clearly preserved. For example, at the end of l. 11, Warga reads parts of a name followed by the genitive singular article: Εὐ . . ις τοῦ. Since the name should be in the genitive, the ending -ις is improbable; a reading of -ος (-εος, -ιος) is conceivable, if we assume a quasi-triangular ο, which would have a parallel earlier in the same line (μέρους). After Εὐ, it is possible to see the beginning of a τ (of the shape preserved in l. 5, τοῦ), with a sliver of the cross stroke preserved on the edge of the broken fiber. Since no attested name clearly fits the extant traces, we have not included these tentative readings in our edition. Another troubling instance is in l. 10, according to Warga's text: [ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς νότον μ]έρους Πανήλεως τοῦ Ὀννώφρεω[ς] . . εἰα-. What can we make of εἰα-? We are not entirely sure of the sequence ε+ν: in this papyrus, normally the upper stroke of ε ends at the bottom of the following ν (ll. 3, 17, 18). Here we are dealing more probably with an ἀνα- sequence. Moreover, the visible upper part of an η, preceded by a letter in ligature (possibly a γ), could suggest the following restoration: γῆ ἀγὰ ἰ[μέσον, which might have been followed by a reference to whatever was in between the land of Psenkebkis and the land of Paneles: cf. *P.Tebt.* 2 325.12–13; *P.Mich.* 5 285.6; *P.Mil.Vogl.* 2.98.61.

Warga reads Πανήλεως instead of Πανήσεως, although he notes that the name Πανήλεως is unattested.²⁴ The Πανήσις referred to here might be identical with the priest from Tebtunis mentioned in *P.Oslo* 3.115.6, whose son may be mentioned in *PSI* 10.1145, *P.Tebt.* 2.309, and *SB* 6.9642. Μαρεψῆμις τοῦ Μαρεπκήμιος, mentioned as one of the landowners, might be tentatively associated with the Μαρεψῆμις Μαρεπκαίμιος of *P.Tebt.* 2.298.16, in which Μαρεψῆμις is listed among fifty exempt (*apolysimoi*) priests. This supports the pattern already observed of priestly involvement in the management of public land.

14–16 Here we come to the chronological specification of the sublease. Warga's restoration of l. 14 is suspect (it seems too short). According to the text, the lease is valid for the fifteenth year of Trajan's reign, as well as for the subsequent seven years starting from the seventeenth year of his reign. Here the scribe seems to have made a mistake, in that the 16th year of Trajan's reign is skipped. What the scribe should have written is ἐκκαίδεκάτου (i.e. from the 16th year). A possible explanation

²⁴ We thank the anonymous reviewer at *BASP* for suggesting the reading Πανήσεως.

for this mistake is the presence of ἐπτά in the same line, which might have influenced the inattentive scribe. It may also suggest that he was copying from an exemplar.

16–20 The last lines before the big *lacuna* specify the duties of Kronion. Their reconstruction is heavily dependent upon *P.Tebt.* 2.373.10–12. On the taxes referred to, see F. Reiter, *Die Nomarchen des Arsinoites: ein Beitrag zum Steuerwesen im römischen Ägypten* (Paderborn 2004) 199–215; *P.Lips.* 2.219, comm.

17 For [καὶ καθαρεῖ καθ' ἔτος ἐπὶ τὰ δη]λούμενα ἔτη ὀκτώ (l. ὀκτώ), see *P.Tebt.* 2.373.10–11.

21–26 How many lines are missing between fr. a and c? The crossing lines which were made after the fulfillment of the contract allow us to estimate that the number of missing lines is six. Warga read the beginning of Psenkebkis' subscription in the *lacuna* before the third line of what he referred to as fr. b; we have determined, however, that Warga's fr. b in fact consists of two incorrectly joined fragments (fr. b1 and b2; see above). We are left with no hints as to where exactly Psenkebkis' subscription begins.

27–32 As Warga notes, l. 27 is very uncertain. His reconstruction hardly corresponds to the traces of letters still visible on the papyrus. We can distinctly see a ρα, the ρ resembling that of δραχμῶν (l. 29), likely preceded by a δ (only the lower horizontal bar is visible). After ρα, the lower-right part of a χ is perhaps visible. This strongly suggests a reading of δραχμ-, or the abbreviation δραχ. Before δρα, we suggest reading the ι of a καί ligature. What comes before and after is unclear. For instance, we would exclude Warga's reading -ενοις before καί. On palaeographic grounds, this cannot be the sequence ις; more likely it is υς (see υ in l. 29), suggesting a genitive singular or accusative plural ending. The end of l. 27 might contain the sequence -εσ. If this were the case, Warga's restoration of [τῇν μί]σ[θωσι]ν would be invalidated.

The terms of the lease are somewhat anomalous, given that Psenkebkis receives an additional payment unrelated to the other obligations between the contracting parties, probably as a διάπαισμα or "sweetener": cf. *P.Tebt.* 2.373.15–16: ὑπὲρ τῆσδε τῆς μισθώσεως [ἀρ]γυρικοῦ διαπίσματος; see also F. Reiter, "P.Prag. inv. Gr. I 1B: Kaisereid eines Schmugglers," *Analecta Papyrologica* 14–15 (2002–2003) 165–171 at 169–170. The exact sum of this monetary consideration is uncertain, however.

Given the number of letters missing, πεντ]ήκοντα or [ὀγδο]ήκοντα are plausible solutions (cf. *P.Sel.Warga*, p. 59). As suggested to us by Keenan *per litt.*, the latter might be a better fit, since the sum would be easily divisible by four, and the drachma is often used as a term of account for actual tetradrachms. Speculation aside, it is worth noting that the amount of the sweetener is not normally expressed in other kinds of contracts (cf. *PSI* 10.1143.22–23, *P.Tebt.* 2.311.28–29). Furthermore, as Warga has already noted, the presence of the formula μὴ ἐλαττουμένου is rather anomalous in this context. It occurs more typically in other kinds of documents (e.g. loans, repayments). See, for example, *P.Vars.* 10.3.21–24: μὴ ἐλαττουμένης τῆ[ς Λ]αμπροτύχης ὑπὲρ ὧν ἄλλων ὀφίλω αὐτῇ [κ]αθ’ ἕτερον δάνιον ἀργυρίου κεφα[λαίου] δραχμῶν ἐνα[κ]οσίων καὶ τῶ[ν] ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος μ[η]νὸς τ[ό]κων. The insertion of this formula reveals the intention of the two contracting parties to separate the present transaction from the other obligations between them.

32–34 If Psenkebkis’ writing has some problems, Kronion’s little contribution is even cruder. It appears as if Kronion had barely surpassed the level of “signature literacy.”²⁵ For example, the verb μεμίσθωμαι looks something like μειλωσθωμαι from a purely palaeographical standpoint (compare the first ω with that of Κρονίων[ο]ς). His pen seems to be quite shaky, especially in the sequence -μι-, in which a number of stray marks are apparent.

3. Repayment of a Deposit

P.Tebt.suppl. 1073

H × W = 6 × 6 cm

Tebtunis, AD 134

Midsection of a taller papyrus, complete on the right side only. The regularity of the other sides, which are incomplete, suggests that the original papyrus sheet may have been cut, perhaps to be reused, or that it was broken along fold lines. At least two vertical fold-lines are visible. The text is written along the fibers; the back is blank. Due to the probable restorations of ll. 9–10, we estimate that the average range of the *lacunae* on the left side of the document is ca. 16–18 letters.

²⁵ See H.C. Youtie, “Βραδέως γράφων: Between Literacy and Illiteracy,” *GRBS* 7 (1966) 239–261 and U. Yiftach, “Quantifying Literacy in the Early Roman Arsinoitēs: The Case of the Grapheion Document,” in D.M. Schaps, U. Yiftach, and D. Dueck (eds.), *When West Met East: The Encounter of Greece and Rome with the Jews, Egyptians, and Others. Studies Presented to Ranon Katzoff in Honor of his 75th Birthday* (Trieste 2016) 269–280.

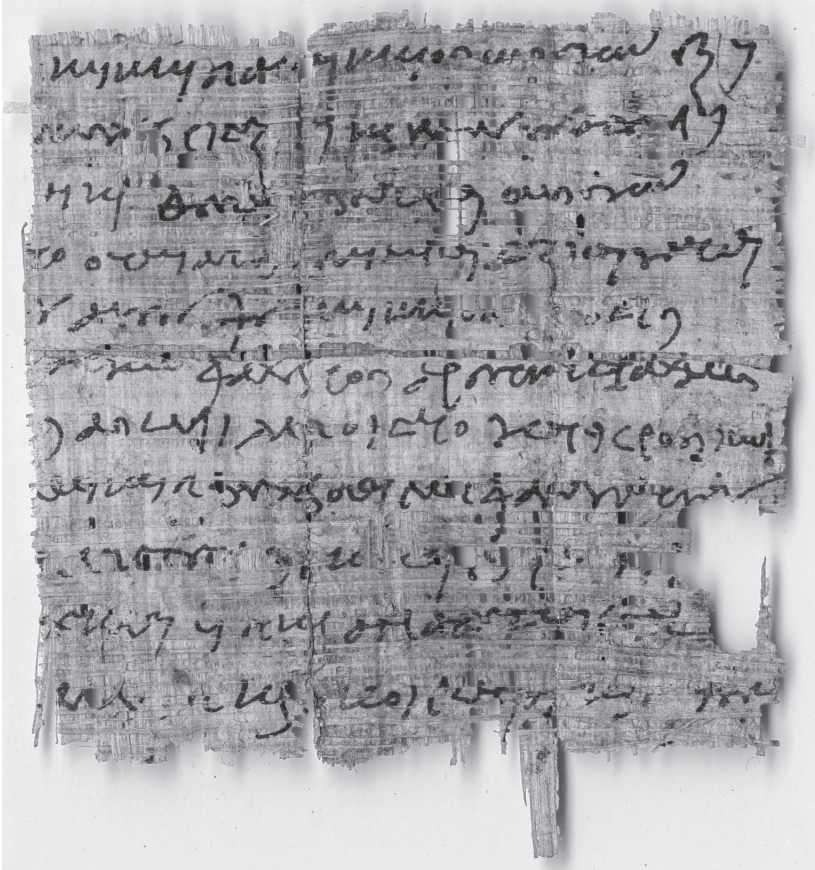


Fig. 4

but we cannot use them to triangulate a specific year (see introduction). If Psenkebkis reports his age as less than 70 years old in AD 134, the earliest birth-year we can extrapolate (i.e. assuming an age of 69) is AD 65. This is not impossible to reconcile with the evidence in *P.Tebt. suppl. 1072*, *PSI 10.1135*, and *SB 22.15613*, especially since it is reasonable to assume that Psenkebkis' reported age becomes less reliable as he grows older (see above n. 6). Nevertheless the evidence favors a supplement to l. 3 that puts Psenkebkis in his late 60s, if not 69.

3–4 Thenmarsisouchos is an uncommon name, appearing only in Tebtunis, primarily in the first century AD (*P.Mich.* 2.123, 2.128, 5.238, 5.240, 5.329, *P.Tebt.* 2.299), and only twice in the second century AD

(SB 12.11006a, 18.13118). For the reading in the lacuna of l. 4, we tentatively suggest the possibility of either τῇ ὁμοπατρίῳ καὶ γυν]αϊκί or τῇ ὁμομητρίῳ καὶ γυν]αϊκί (there is no space for both adjectives), which would make Psenkebkis and Thenmarsisouchos half-siblings, and comfortably fills out the lacuna to the range indicated above.

For the frequency of priestly brother-sister marriage: K. Hopkins, “Brother-Sister Marriage in Roman Egypt,” *CSSH* 22.3 (1980) 303–354; Bagnall and Frier (n. 6) 127–134; Remijsen and Clarysse (n. 11); R. Takahashi and J.L. Rowlandson, “Brother-Sister Marriage and Inheritance Strategies in Greco-Roman Egypt,” *JRS* 99 (2009) 103–139. For the joint appearance of husbands and wives in loan documents in the Fayyūm, Lerouxel (n. 12) 72–79 argues that the phenomenon is confined primarily to the first century AD, and to AD 109 at the very latest (see *P.Kron.* 11, *P.Fam.Tebt.* 11, *P.Fouad.* 57). The present document is evidence of the phenomenon at least a couple decades later.

4–5 In the nineteen cases of close-kin marriage analyzed by Bagnall and Frier (n. 6) 131, the average difference in age between the spouses is 5.4 years (about 3 years less than in an exogamous marriage). Given the additional fact that Egyptian husbands are as old or older than their wives (both exogamous and close-kin) in 88% of seventy-eight cases analyzed (cf. Bagnall and Frier [n. 6] 119), it is tempting to restore ἐξήκοντα in the *lacuna* at the beginning of l. 3, making the age of Thenmarsisouchos sixty-two. If our theory about Psenkebkis’ age is correct, this would make him about five to seven years older than his sister-wife, which is well within the normative range. We might, however, expect more letters in the *lacuna*.

5–6 The description of Thenmarsisouchos is followed by a sentence which designates Psenkebkis as her *kyrios*, i.e. acting as her guardian. We tentatively read ἡ γυνή; the unusual shapes of the *eta* and *gamma* are unparalleled elsewhere in the document. The reading nevertheless makes sense in its context. For a parallel for such a formula, although heavily dotted, cf. *P.Kronion* 8.10–11: α[ι] γυνᾱῖκες [με]τὰ κυρίων ἐκατ[έ]ρα τοῦ προγεγραμμένου αὐτῆς | [ἀνδρός. In l. 6, before μετὰ κυρίου το]ῦ, there is space for approximately four letters. We tentatively suggest οἶσα as a possibility for restoration, though we are unable to find specific parallels.

6–7 See e.g. *P.Ryl.* 2.174A, *PSI* 8.961b, *SPP* 22.72, and *PSI* 10.1140 for parallels for the use of the numeral δύο in this common formulation.

There are ca. 6–7 letters missing between [τ]οῖς δυσὶ (l. 6) and our suggested restoration of ἀπέχειν παρ’] (l. 7). The formula Πέρσαις τῆς ἐπιγονῆς, attested in many parallels after τοῖς δυσὶ (*BGU* 3.710, *P.Amh.* 2.50, *P.Stras.* 4.209), is too long to fit, though Πέρσαις alone is a likely possibility, since women with “Persian” status were known simply as Περσίνη (without τῆς ἐπιγονῆς).²⁶ See *P.Mich.* 5.329.12–15 (AD 40–41), which refers to a Psenkebkis, married to a Thenmarsisouchos, who are plausibly the ancestors of our Psenkebkis and his sister-wife Thenmarsisouchos (see above n. 1): Ψενκῆβκις Πακηβκις Πέρσης τῆς ἐπικονῆς καὶ ἡ γυνή μου Θενμαρσισοῦχος Ψῦφις Περσίνη μετὰ κυρίου αὐτῆ[ς] ἀλληλεγγυῖς ἔκτισιν ἔχ[ο]μεν. The reference here to Πέρσης τῆς ἐπιγονῆς makes the reading of Πέρσαις in the present document even more tempting.

For the nature and function of *parathekai*, see Tenger (n. 9) 61–79. Though the evidence suggests that most loans were taken out to meet immediate financial obligations (tax payments and liturgical duties), Tenger proposes (p. 70, 75, 264) that some deposits were used for investment, and accordingly ties the increase in *paratheke* documents in the first half of the second century AD to a general improvement in economic conditions. Tenger also proposes that *parathekai* often involved parties from the upper classes of society, though the present document does not enable us to determine the social standing of Kronion, or the exact amount of money involved in the transaction.

8 A possible restoration for the beginning of the line is [χιλίας ακοσία]ς, which would give the amount for the deposit as between one and two thousand drachmas (e.g. χιλίας τετρακοσίας, πεντακοσίας, etc.). It is also possible to have an even larger amount (cf. *P.Köln* 15.614.13–14: τρισχειλίας). The amount could of course be smaller, but due to the length of the *lacuna* between δραχμὰς (l. 7) and ακοσία]ς (l. 8), the amount of drachmas is likely to be at least in the hundreds. The relatively large sum of money in the present document (Tenger [n. 9] 75 gives an average of 1,133 drachmas for loans of the first half of the second c. AD) may therefore indicate why Psenkebkis is both *kyrios* to his wife Thenmarsisouchos as well as party to the transaction itself: women alone tended to be involved in smaller transactions (cf. Lerouxel [n. 12] 72–79, 112–115).

For a contemporary reference to a Kronion, son of Kronion, see *P.Tebt.* 2.392 (AD 134/135). Since we do not possess the description or patronymic of the Kronion in the present document, it is impossible to

²⁶ On Persian status, see Lerouxel (n. 12) 70–72.

determine whether the two Kronions are the same individual, though the possibility is intriguing. In *P.Tebt.* 2.392, Kronion indemnifies his sister Eudaimonis against liabilities incurred by their father and another brother to a creditor by a *paratheke*-contract which had been drawn up ca. fifteen years earlier.

9–11 Our reconstruction of l. 9 is supported by numerous parallels (e.g. *BGU* 1.196.18, *P.Kron.* 20.8, *P.Tebt.* 2.392.19); παρα]θήκην should be corrected to παρα]θήκης. The substitution of the genitive with the accusative might be explained as contextual error, the scribe being influenced by the *v* of the accusative ὁμολογίαν and perhaps even τελειοθεΐσαν.

It is difficult to accurately reconstruct the duration of time for which the present contract remained valid (on the topic cf. Tenger [n. 9] 73–74). We date the document to AD 134 on the basis of l. 10 (ἐννε[α]καιδεκ[ά]τω ἔτει Ἀ[δ]ρ[ι]αν[οῦ], the nineteenth year of Hadrian's reign), which is consistent with Psenkebkis' reported age in ll. 1–2. Our readings in l. 10, while tentative, are supported by the paleographical content of the document as a whole. The δ in our reading of ἐννε[α]καιδεκ[ά]τω, for example, seems to resemble the “open” δ as seen in ll. 3 (δεξιῶι), 5 (δεξιῶι), 8 (δύο), etc. The δ may be joined with the proceeding ε in the compressed manner as seen also in ll. 3 and 5 (δεξιῶι and δεξιῶι). This same ligature is perhaps given more space in l. 11 (...]δεκάτη). As for Ἀ[δ]ρ[ι]αν[οῦ] (see Fig. 5 for our reconstruction), the initial α resembles the initial α of ἀντικνημίωι (l. 5), αὐτοῦ (l. 6), αὐτῶν (l. 7), etc. We conjecture that the oblique stroke of the α was attached to the proceeding δ as in ll. 3 (ἀδελφῇ) and 11 (ἀναδέδωκεν). For the connection of this δ to the proceeding ρ, see the ligature δρ in l. 7 (δραχμάς). The ν, visible only in the upper and lower extremities of the first vertical stroke, may fit the shape of ν in ἀναδέδωκεν (l. 11).



Fig. 5

If we are right in restoring γραφείου τῷ ἐνεστῶτι in l. 10, which closely matches the length of our restoration of the *lacuna* in l. 9, the contract for the deposit would seem to have remained valid for less than a single year.²⁷ For contracts of the same type with durations of less than one year, see

²⁷ We exclude the possibility of restoring the reading διελήλυθότι because of constraints of space.

e.g. *P.Lond.* 3.907 (5 months at most) and *BGU* 2.520 (6 months). We are, however, unable to recover the exact date on which the reimbursement took place, which we would expect to have formed a part of the prescript. We are only able to partially recover the date on which the original contract was executed (δεκάτη, l. 11), indicating a date from the 10th to the 19th of a certain month, though the name of the month itself is not preserved. Our readings in ll. 10–11 do not leave much room for the other elements of the imperial formula at the beginning of l. 11, though in this context the formula may have been no more than ἔτει Ἀδριανοῦ τοῦ κυρίου, followed by mention of the month and day. See e.g. *P.Oxy.* 19.2230: τῷ γ (ἔτει) Ἀ[δριανοῦ τοῦ κυρίου] μηνὶ Ἐπειῷ; *P.Oxy.* 50 3557: τῷ τρίτῳ ἔτει Ἀδριανοῦ τοῦ κυρίου μηνὶ Νέῳ Σεβ[αστῳ].

12–13 The section following the dating formula, here only partially preserved, is rather formulaic: cf. *BGU* 1.196.20–22. There seems to be too much space for a mere reference to Kronion. Perhaps αὐτῷ was followed by a reference to the contract (τὴν ὁμολογίαν; cf. *P.Amh.* 2.112.16–17), or by an adverb of place (αὐτόθεν; cf. *P.Kron.* 11.16). For the spelling ἀκοίρωσιν, cf. *P.Kron.* 11.16, 12.17–18. Traces of at least three letters at the top of l. 13 are visible. Though we do not provide a restoration of l. 13, see *P.Fam.Tebt.* 9.15–19 for a continuation of the formula given in l. 12: εἰς [ἀ]θετίαν καὶ ἀκύρωσιν, καὶ μήτε αὐτοῦ[ς] τοὺς δ[ύ]ο Ἡρακλείδην καὶ Ἀπίαν μήδε τοὺς παρ' αὐτῶν ἐπελεύσασθαι ἐπ[ὶ] τὴν Θαιῶσιν μήδε ἐπὶ τοὺς παρ' αὐτῆς περὶ ὧν ἀπέσχηκαν καθότι πρόκειται μηδὲ περὶ ἑτέρου ἀπλῶς πράγματος μέχρι τῆς ἐνεστ(ώσης) ἡμέρας.

A REPAID LOAN FROM HERON TO HERON:
P.MICH. INV. 1330¹

Donald Sells *California*

Abstract. — Edition of a repaid loan from Theadelphia from 105 CE (P.Mich. inv. 1330). This is the earliest document in a small archive of papers relating to the herdsman Heron, son of Hermas.

Keywords: loan, repayment, Heron son of Hermas

P.Mich. inv. 1330	H × W = 15.8 × 8.8 cm	Theadelphia,
TM 397807		11 March 105 CE (date of the loan),
		9 July 106 CE (date of repayment)

Acquired in July 1923, the papyrus belonged to a packet of miscellaneous texts that had been purchased from Maurice Nahman. There is a sheet join 6.6 cm from the left. The bottom part of the papyrus is missing. The main text was written along the fibers in an idiosyncratic hand with occasional inconsistencies, which make it sometimes difficult to read. *Verschleifungen* appear in more than one place in the document. The back is blank.

The text details a loan of 100 drachmas to the herdsman Heron, son of Hermas, from Theadelphia and its repayment. It is the earliest document in an archive (TM Arch 569) spanning two generations, which includes three other contracts: P.Mich. inv. 779 (116 CE), a receipt for repayment of another loan of 100 drachmas; *P.Col.* 10.255 (131 CE), a contract to transport dung and seabkh; and P.Mich. 778 (137 CE), the sale of a donkey.²

The present document features the standard elements of loans from the Roman period in addition to a few unusual ones.³ Heron, son of Deios,

¹ I studied the text during the Summer Institute in Papyrology at the University of Cincinnati in 2005. I thank its organizers, Jean-Luc Fournet and Peter van Minnen, for their help and encouragement, and Willy Clarysse and Graham Claytor for their useful suggestions. — A digital image of the papyrus can be found on the Michigan APIS site: <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/a/apis>.

² P. Mich inv. 778 and 779 were edited by W.G. Claytor and A. Mirończuk, "The Archive of the Theadelphian Herdsman Heron, Son of Hermas," *ZPE* 194 (2015) 193–200.

³ See H. Kühnert, *Zum Kreditgeschäft in den hellenistischen Papyri Ägyptens bis Diokletian* (Freiburg 1965) and H.-A. Rupprecht, *Untersuchungen zum Darlehen im Recht der graeco-ägyptischen Papyri der Ptolemäerzeit* (München 1967) on the legal aspects of loans in papyri; on the economic and social aspects see B. Tenger, *Die Verschuldung im*

loans 100 drachmas to Heron, son of Hermas, presumably at the regular interest rate of 1% of the principal each month for the period of one month. Whereas the creditor sometimes acknowledges the receipt of the amount repaid underneath the contract at the bottom of the document, here Heron, son of Deios, has written his acknowledgement downward along the left-hand margin. To leave no doubt as to the repayment of the loan the text is crossed out, as is common in loans of this period.⁴ The text is incomplete, with a minimum of seven or eight lines missing from the bottom, to judge from the length of the supplement in line 22.⁵ The *praxis* clause, which starts where the papyrus breaks off, would have been followed by the *hypographeus* of the debtor and the debtor's subscription, possibly a brief subscription by the creditor and a registration notice of the *grapheion*.

- 5 ἔτους ὀγδόου Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος
 Νέρουα Τραϊανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Δακικοῦ
 Φαμενῶι πεντεκαιδεκάτη ἐν
 Θεαδελφείᾳ τῆς Θεμίστου μερίδος τοῦ
 5 Ἀρσινόϊτου νομοῦ. (vac.) ὁμολογεῖ
 Ἦρων Ἑρμᾶτος Πέρσης τῆς ἐπιγονλῆς/
 ὥς ἑτῶν τριάκοντα οὐλῇ μετώπῳι
 μέσῳι Ἦρωνι Δείῳ[υ ὦ]ς ἑτῶν εἴκοσι
 ἐννέα οὐλῇ μετώπῳι ἐγ δεξιῶν ὑπὸ τρίχ(α)
 10 ἔχειν παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀργυρίου δραχμᾶς
 ἑκατ[ὸ]ν χρῆσιν ἔντοκον καὶ τὴν
 ἀπόδοσιν ποήσασθαι . . . τῷ Ἦρωνι
 Δείῳ ἐν μηνὶ Φαρμοῦθ[ι] πεντεκαιδε-
 κάτη τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ὀγδόου ἔτους
 15 Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Νέρουα Τραιανοῦ
 Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Δακικοῦ ἄνευ πάσης ὑπερ-
 θέσεως καὶ εὐρησιλογίας. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἀποδῶ
 καθ' ἃ [γ]έγραπται, ἀπ[οτε]ισάτω παραχρῆμα μεθ' ἡ-
 μιολίας καὶ τόκου, τῆς πράξεως οὔσης τῷ Ἦρωνι
 20 [Δείῳ?

römischen Ägypten (1.-2. Jh. n. Chr.) (St. Katherinen 1993), F. Lerouxel, *Le marché du crédit dans le monde romain* (Roma, 2016), and now R. Takahashi, *The Ties that Bind: The Economic Relationships of Twelve Tebtunis Families in Roman Egypt* (London 2021) 67–103.

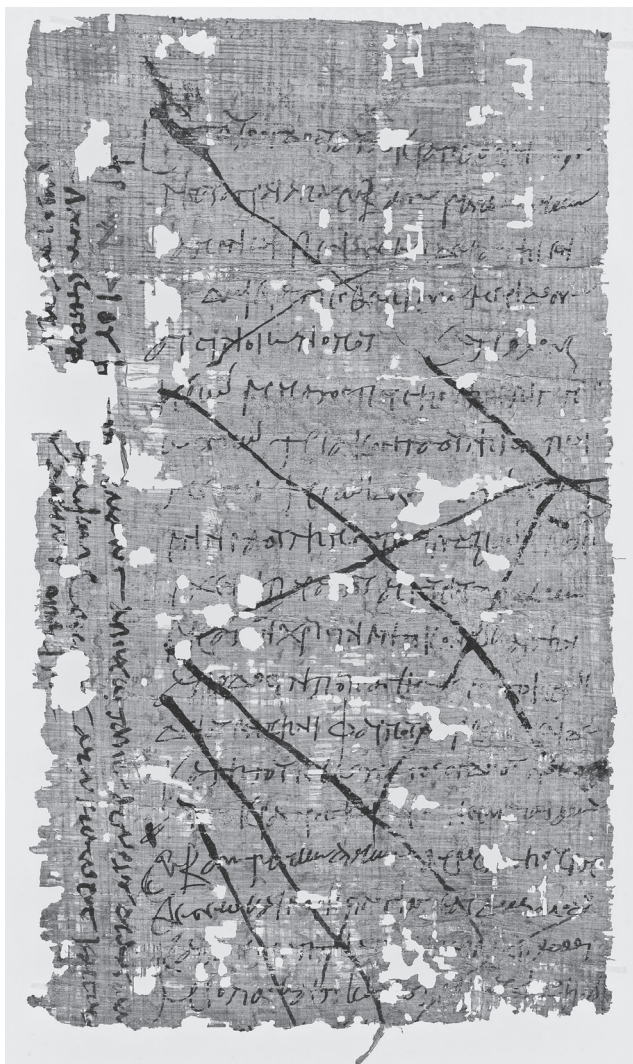
⁴ On the repayment of loans see H.-A. Rupprecht, *Studien zur Quittung im Recht der graeco-ägyptischen Papyri* (München 1971) 3–27.

⁵ The supplement in line 21 may have been considerably longer (see the line note on ll. 21–22).

In the left margin:

- 21 (m. 2) Ἦρων Δίου Ἦ[ρ]ων[ι] Ἑρμᾶτος· ἀπέχω τὰς τοῦ ἀργυρίου
δραχμὰς [ca. 15]
22 ἀπλῶς ἐνγράφ[του ἢ] ἀγράφως. (ἔτους) ἐνάτ[ο]ν Αὐτοκράτορος
Καίσαρο[ς Νέρουα Τραιανοῦ]
23 Σεβαστοῦ Γερμα[νικ]οῦ Δακικοῦ Ἐπεὶφ ἱε.

2 τραϊανου pap. 3 l. Φαμενώθ 9 l. ἐκ; τριζ pap. 12 l. ποιήσασθαι 22 l. ἐγγρά-
πτου; l. ἀγράφου



“In the eighth year of Emperor Caesar Nerva Traianus (*Trajan*) Augustus Germanicus Dacicus, on the fifteenth day of Phamenoth, in Theadelpheia in the division of Themistos of the Arsinoite nome,

Heron, son of Hermas, a Persian by descent, ca. thirty years of age, with a scar in the middle of his forehead, acknowledges to Heron, son of Deios, ca. twenty-nine years old, with a scar on the right side of his forehead under his hairline, that he has received from him a hundred silver drachmas as a loan bearing interest and that he will return them to the same Heron, son of Deios, on the fifteenth of the month of Pharmouthi of the present eighth year of Emperor Caesar Nerva Traianus Augustus Germanicus Dacicus without any delay or excuse. And if he does not return them in accordance with what is written, let him pay them back with a 50% penalty and with interest immediately, while the right of execution (*of the debt*) belongs to Heron, son of Deios ...

(*In the left margin*) I, Heron, son of Deios, to Heron, son of Hermas: I have received the 100(+) drachmas (and I will not bring any charge against you about anything) at all, written or unwritten. In the ninth year of Emperor Caesar Nerva Traianus Augustus Germanicus Dacicus, Epeiph 15.”

1–2 Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος | Νέρουα Τραιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Δακικοῦ: For the full title, see P. Bureth, *Les titulatures impériales dans les papyrus, les ostraca et les inscriptions d'Égypte* (Brussels 1964) 51–52. Γερμανικοῦ here and in line 16 is much *verschliffen*.

3 Φαμενώι: Presumably miswritten for Φαμενώθ, under the influence of the dative ending -ωι, which occurs several times in the text.

5 Note the space between νομοῦ and ὁμολογεῖ. Another (early) case of deliberate “formatting” of the text by a scribe, on which see, e.g., J.-L. Fournet, “Disposition et réalisation graphique des lettres et des pétitions protobyzantines: pour une paléographie ‘signifiante’ des papyrus documentaires,” in J. Frösén, T. Purola, and E. Salmenkivi (eds.), *Proceedings of the 24th International Congress of Papyrology* (Helsinki 2007) 1.353–367.

6 Πέρσης τῆς ἐπιγον(ῆς): Certainly by the Roman period, “Persian by descent” (just “Persian” for women) was no longer an ethnic but a legal designation of the inferior party in a contract, usually a debtor as here. See Pestman, *Primer* 10.7 n.; H.-A. Rupprecht, *Kleine Einführung in die juristische Papyruskunde* (Darmstadt 1994) 148; Lerouxel (n. 3) 70–72. On the

earlier history of the expression, see K. Vondorp, “Persian Soldiers and Persians of the Epigone: Social Mobility of Soldiers-Herdsman in Upper Egypt,” *APF* 54 (2008) 87–108. Originally, Persians were forbidden to claim the right of asylum and seek refuge in temples. By calling themselves “Persians,” debtors essentially waived the right to seek sanctuary and agreed to subject themselves to physical seizure by their creditor in the case of default.

7 ὥς ἐτῶν τριάκοντα: The same year of birth (76 CE) is implied by P.Mich. inv. 779 of a decade later. Twenty-five years later, *P.Col.* 10.255 implies 80 CE as the year of birth, while more than thirty years later P.Mich. inv. 778 implies 82 CE as the year of birth. Paradoxically, Heron, son of Hermas, is getting younger over time.

– οὐλή μετώπῳ: For scars as identifying markers in legal documents, see G. Hübsch, *Die Personalangaben als Identifizierungsvermerke im Recht der gräko-ägyptischen Papyri* (Berlin 1968).

8 Δείϕυ: Also thus in line 13. Note the different spelling by Heron himself in line 21 (Δίου).

11 ἐντοκον: The interest was not yet included in the capital sum of 100 drachmas. The interest rate will have been the common one in the Roman period, 12% per annum. For interest rates see, e.g., J. Herrmann, “Zinssätze und Zinsgeschäfte im Recht der gräko-ägyptischen Papyri,” *JJP* 14 (1962) 23–31.

12 ποιήσασθαι for ποιήσασθαι is common in papyri of the Roman period; see Gignac, *Grammar* 1.199–200.

– τῷ: The *omega*, if that is what it is, is slightly raised, as if an abbreviation were involved. The same phenomenon occurs in lines 17: ἀποδῶ, and 19: τῷ. The scribe may have thought that he was “abbreviating” *omega* and *iota* adscript: τῶι (bis) and ἀποδῶι. Elsewhere he writes -ωι with *iota* adscript.

I have not been able to make out what is written before τῷ. There is not enough room for, e.g., αὐτῶν, referring to the amount of the loan.

13 Δείου: the patronymic is repeated here and perhaps also in line 20, because the creditor has the same name as the debtor.

13–14 ἐν μηνὶ Φαρμοῦθ[ι] πεντήκαιδεκάτῃ(ι) τοῦ ἐγεστῶτος ὀγδόου ἔτους: The reading of the day date (10 April 105) is supported by the date

of the loan itself in line 3. It is much easier to calculate the interest when the duration of the loan was one or more full months. The short-term duration of the loan here, one month, is not unusual (cf. *P.Ryl.* 2.173 [99 CE]; *P.Lugd.Bat.* 6.16 [116 CE]; *P.Kron.* 22 [106–153]). Loans could be for a few days or for several years. See now B. Tenger, *Die Verschuldung im römischen Ägypten* (St.-Katharinen 1993). Like most individuals assuming short-term loans, Heron was probably dealing with cash-flow problems. Credit was a necessity for farmers, whenever they had to pay basic expenses such as rent and taxes. See D. Kehoe, *Management and Investment on Estates in Roman Egypt during the Early Empire* (Bonn 1992) 153. Pharmouthi is the beginning of the grain harvest. The majority of loans were due between Pharmouthi and Mesore. See H. Kühnert, *Zum Kreditgeschäft in den hellenistischen Papyri Ägyptens bis Diokletian* (Freiburg 1965) 102.

18–19 μεθ’ ἡμιολίας, “with a 50% penalty”: This was a lump-sum penalty for late payment. See N. Lewis, “The Meaning of ‘Sun Hemioliiai’ and Kindred Expressions in Loan Contracts,” *TAPA* 76 (1945) 126–139. The regular interest rate would have continued after the loan was due. See Kühnert (previous note) 107.

20 [Δείου?: The text breaks off here. What is lost immediately after may have been ... ἐκ τε τοῦ Ἡρώου τοῦ Ἑρμῆτος (or τοῦ ὁμολογοῦντος) καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτῷ πάντων καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης. Cf., e.g., *BGU* 1.251.7–8 (81 CE); *P.Meyer* 5.5 (98–117 CE); *P.Vind.Worp* 10.6–8 (143–144 CE); *P.Med.* 1.8.22–23 (48 CE).

21 Although the text breaks off, the minimum amount repaid will have added up to at least 100 drachmas plus interest. The amount of interest depends on the date on which the loan was repaid, Epeiph 15 of a year mentioned in line 23. The year is partially damaged but unlikely to read ὀγδόου. If it is indeed ἐνάτου, repayment of the loan took place a full fifteen months beyond the original deadline. This would have increased the amount owed from 100 to 115 drachmas, not including the 50% penalty, which the creditor may not have imposed. Otherwise the total amount would have been 165 drachmas.

Late payment was not uncommon. R. Takahashi, “The Kronion Family’s Loans: An Egyptian Peasant Family Declining Under Roman Rule?” *Ancient Society* 42 (2012) 78, notes loans of 236 drachmas (*P.Kron.* 8, *P.Kron.* 11) and 20 artabas of wheat (*P.Kron.* 10, *P.Kron.* 12) that took ten and almost twenty years, respectively, to repay.

21–22 From the length of the supplement in line 22 it seems that the lacuna at the end of line 21 cannot have contained much more than the amount of drachmas repaid ([ἐκατὸν δέκα πέντε, perhaps followed by (γίνονται) ἀργυρίου) (δραχμαὶ) ριε. All of this may have been shortened to just [ριε. Even in that case, there is not enough room to accommodate even the shortest possible expression that would end at the beginning of line 22. We expect that the amount of drachmas repaid was followed by something like καὶ οὐδέν σοι ἐνκαλῶ περὶ οὐδενός. I rather suspect that line 22 was considerably shorter than line 21. At any rate, καὶ οὐδέν σοι ἐνκαλῶ περὶ οὐδενός would have been followed in line 22 by ἅπλῳς <πράγματος> ἐνγράφ[του ἢ] ἀγράφως (l. ἀγράφου). ἀγράφως is also written for ἀγράφου in *P.Amh.* 2.110.24, where ἐνγράφτου likewise precedes. See now N. Litinas and G. Triantafyllou, *Adverbs in -ως in Documents of Graeco-Roman Egypt* (Rethymno 2019) 93 for the ἐγγράφως / ἀγράφως combination.

A LIST OF PEOPLE: P.VINDOB. G 27259

Lucas Faessen *Leiden University*

Abstract. — Edition of P.Vindob. G 27259, containing the remains of two columns of an official list of people from the second century CE, most likely from the Arsinoite nome. The list seems to be ordered by family and contains a mixture of Greek and Egyptian names.

Keywords: Fayyum, list, personal names, patronymic, papponymic, metronymic

The Vienna papyrus published below¹ was reportedly acquired around 1887 and found in the Fayyum.² The middle-brown papyrus is made up of three fragments, of which only the middle (B) and right fragment (C) contain writing. Fragment A most likely formed the left margin of the text, with an unusual width of at least 7.4 cm. All fragments are broken off along the top and bottom. Fragment C is heavily damaged, with top fibers missing in some places and much of the writing abraded. There is no margin on the right side of fragment B, but there is a tiny margin to the left of the legible names on fragment C. On the right side of fragment B the entries are near their ends; see especially col. 1.8, 11, 13, 15, 17. It seems, however, excluded that fragment C belonged to the left of fragment B, making them parts of one single column, because the right fragment is slightly darker and, moreover, the distances between the lines are different and the fibers do not appear to connect.

¹ Work on this edition started during the 2021 spring seminar *Palaeography of the Greek Papyri and Edition Technique of Papyrus Documents* given by Dr. F.A.J. Hoogendijk at Leiden University. I want to thank her for her guidance and suggestions about the text. In addition to that, I want to thank Guus van Loon, MA, for providing images of and information on the papyrus and Prof. Dr. Bernhard Palme of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek for permission to publish this text.

² The date of 1887 is recorded in the handwritten inventory book at Vienna. According to H. Loebenstein in *P.Rain.Cent.*, p. 6, a large number of papyri, including this papyrus, were acquired over a longer period of time by Theodor Graf between 1883 and 1896 and then bought by Archduke Rainer. The papyri were ordered and numbered by Karl Wessely between 1895 and 1905, the Greek papyri being numbered from 13,000 to 27,823. From 27,000 onwards, Wessely no longer used clear criteria in regard to content for ordering the papyri; see Loebenstein, *P.Rain.Cent.*, pp. 20–21. More information and a digital image of the papyrus can be found at <http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/RZ00020166>.

The writing, in black ink, runs along the fibers on the *recto* side of the papyrus. In col. 1.7, an ink stain or correction is visible; another possible correction is found at the beginning of line 18. The text is written in a clear and experienced hand. Some common names are abbreviated (col. 1.4, 6, 15, 19) and the word μητρός, mostly written in full, is also found abbreviated as μητρ⁰ (l. 15) and μη̄ (l. 17). The handwriting is comparable to that of *P.Mich.* 9.526 (155 CE, Karanis) with a similar way of writing the α and ρ. Compare also *P.Mich.* 9.544 (176 CE, Karanis), especially for the π, ρ, and δ, and *BGU* 2.406 (192–200 CE, Soknopaiou Nesos), a census register written by an official in a similar hand. Based on these parallels the Vienna text can be dated in the second half of the second century CE. The *verso* is blank.

This papyrus consists of two incomplete columns of a list of people, which, in view of the handwriting, was probably written by an official. The list seems to be arranged by household. First, the name of a man is given, probably the head of a family. This man is identified with the name of his father and grandfather (the latter preceded by τοῦ), and of his mother.³ Underneath the entry of the head of the family, there may be entries for his wife (cf. γυν[ή in col. 1.8) and children, whose names are followed by υἱός (col. 1.10, 17) or ἄλλος υἱός (col. 1.11, 18) and by the name of their mother (identified by her father in col. 1.18). Twice a brother, ἀδελφός, is mentioned (col. 1.5, 13), who could be either the brother of the head of the family or simply the brother of a preceding child. Some entries may have taken more than one line. Because the lines are incomplete, it is not possible to tell where exactly each specific household started and ended.

The list was probably based on house-to-house census returns. A document similar in style and content is *BGU* 2.406 (Soknopaiou Nesos, 192–200 CE; mentioned above for the handwriting), where the ages of all persons are given at the end of each entry. Possibly, the papyrus published below also contained ages at the missing ends of the lines. A parallel text that mentions only names, without ages, is *P.Bas.* 2.30 (Arsinoite nome, second century CE). Its editor proposed that the document listed

³ Grandfather followed by the mother's name is only certainly found in col. 1.15, but it is likely that the affiliation was styled in the same way in all entries. The practice of adding the name of the mother to identification clusters started in the Roman period and became common from the second half of the first century CE onwards. It was most likely the result of Roman regulations that needed to include the status of the mother to decide the status of the child; see Y. Broux and M. Depauw, "The Maternal Line in Greek Identification: Signalling Social Status in Roman Egypt," *Historia* 64 (2015) 468.

a specific group of people living in the twenty-five building blocks that are mentioned in the text.⁴ It is impossible to establish the purpose of the list published below.

The names in the text are a mixture of Greek and Egyptian names (and Satabous, of Semitic origin), and one hybrid Greek-Egyptian name (Ταμύσθα, col. 1.15; see commentary). All names are very common in the first and second centuries CE, which fits the dating based on the handwriting. The *nomen* Aurelius is not found.⁵ The name Τένανος (col. 1.17) is exclusively attested in the Arsinoite nome and many of the other names are commonly attested there as well; this makes it likely that the present papyrus indeed stems from the Arsinoite nome.

P.Vindob. G 27259 H × W = (fr. A) 19.9 × 7.4 cm, Arsinoite nome (?)
(fr. B) 15.9 × 4.6 cm, (fr. C) 19.2 × 4.1 cm ca. 150–200 CE

Col. 1 (fragment B)

→ -----
 [---]ατρ[---]
 [---] . ρος τοῦ . [---]
 [---] Ἀρπαήσιο(ς) τ[οῦ ---]
 [---] . σι() Πατμούιτ[ος ---]
 5 [---] ουις ἀδελφός[ς ---]
 [---] . οντ() Πετῆσουχου [---]
 [---] . ον . ρα το[---]
 7a [---] . ρα [---]
 [---] *vac.* Ταούτος γυν[ή ---]
 [---] Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Χαϊρήμορος [---]
 10 [---] υἱὸς μητρὸς *traces* [---]
 [---] ἄλλος υἱὸς μητρὸς τῆς αὐτῆς ---]
 [---] . ρας . . ρ . . . υς τοῦ Μύσθο[υ μητρὸς ---]
 [---] ἀδελφὸς μητρὸς τῆς αὐτῆς ---]
 [---] . . λ . . ος *vacat* τῆς Μάρων[ος ---]
 15 [---] . Σαταβ(οὔτος) τοῦ Σ[α]ταβ(οὔτος) μητρὸς(ς) Ταμύ[σθας ---]
 [---] ος τοῦ Πατμούιος [---]
 [---] υἱὸς μη(τρὸς) Τεναῦτος τῆς Μύσθ[ου ---]


⁴ See the introduction to *P.Bas.* 2.30, p. 142.

⁵ This cannot, however, be used as a *terminus ante quem* (of not too long after 212 CE), because name lists do not necessarily include Aurelius; on the use of Aurelius after the *Constitutio Antoniniana* see P. Simelon, “Caracalla: entre apothéose et damnation,” *Latomus* 69 (2010) 792–810, esp. 802–806.

[---]ος ἄλλος υἱὸς μητρὸς [---]
 [---]ος . . . [± 6]ος μητρ[ὸς ---]
 20 [---] *vac.* κα[± 4 τοῦ] Πετεσοῦχ(ου) μ[ητρὸς ---]
 [---] . . [---]

Col. 2 (fragment C)

 1-2 *traces of ca. 4 lines*
 5 [---] Διδᾶς [---]
 [---] Ἀπολλώνιος [---]
 7-10 *traces*
 [---] Πατμου . ν[---]
 [---] Ταπατμοῦι[ς ---]
 [---] Πτολλᾶς [---]
 [---] Πάγος [---]
 15-17 *traces*
 [---] Μῦσις Ο[---]
 19 [---] . φα . . [
traces of ca. 4 lines

col. 1.3 αρπαησιο pap. 4 σι():  pap. 6]ουτ pap. 15 σατα^b (bis) pap. μητρ^o pap.
 16 πατμουῖος pap. 17 μῆ pap. 20 πετεσου^x pap.

(col. 1) “... Hatres (?) ...

... son of ..., grandson of ...

... son of Harpaesis, grandson of ...

... -si-, son of Patmouis ...

... -ouis, his brother

... -out-, son of Petesouchos, ...

...

...

... *vacat* of Taous, his wife

... son of Apollonios, grandson of Chairemon, ...

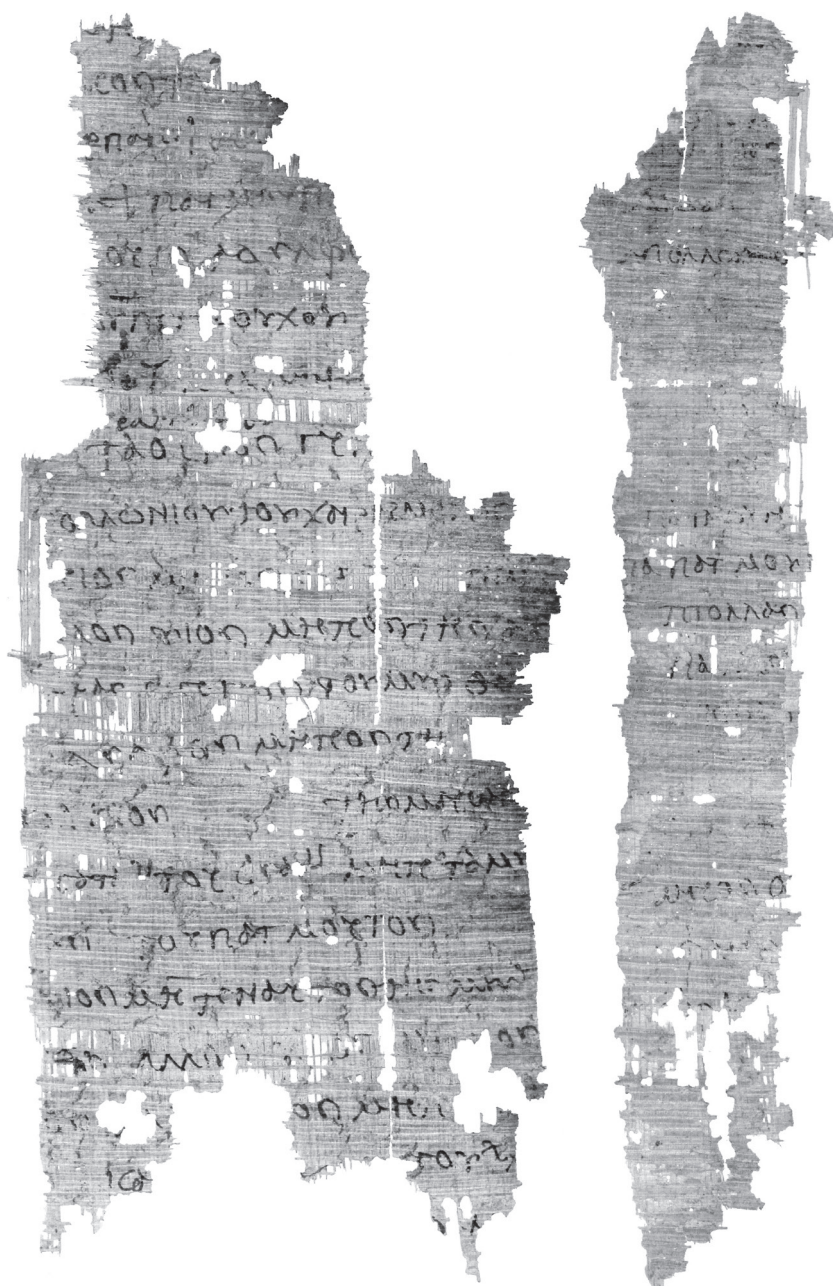
... his son, of the mother ...

... another son, of the same mother

... -ras, son of Hatres (?), grandson of Musthes, of the mother ...

... his brother, of the same mother

... *vacat* daughter of Maron ...



... son of Satabous, grandson of Satabous, of the mother Tamustha ...
 ... grandson of Patmous ...
 ... his son, of the mother Tenaus, daughter of Musthes ...
 ..., another son, of the mother ...
 ... of the mother ...
 ... of Petouchos, of the mother ...”

(col. 2) “... Didas ... Apollonios ... Patmou- (?) ... Tapatmouis ... Ptollas ...
 Panos ... Miusis ...”

Col. 1

1]ατρ[: perhaps a form of the common Egyptian name Ἀτρῆς (TM Name ID 317) or one of its compounds. See also note to line 12.

3 Ἀρπαήσιος: the Egyptian name Ἀρπάησις (TM Name ID 284) is relatively common, most often attested in the first century CE. This name was popular in Upper Egypt but is also often found in the Arsinoite nome.

4 Πατμούιτ[ος: the Egyptian name Πάτμουις is very common in the Arsinoite nome in the first two centuries CE (TM Name ID 4948). As a genitive of this name, both Πατμούιτος and Πατμούιος are found. See also col. 1.16 and 2.11–12.

5 [– – –]οις ἀδελφός[ς: perhaps a brother of the preceding person, bearing the same name as their father, Πατμ]οῦις.

6 Πετεσουχου: Πετέσουχος is a common name, most often found in the Arsinoite nome (TM Name ID 889). The same name in line 20.

7 . ρα τῷ[: the letter before ρα could perhaps be eta, but no known name starting with Ἡρα- seems to fit the traces.

7a This line seems to be an interlinear addition, because in the rest of the document there is more space between the lines. The writing is unfortunately very damaged.

8 Ταούτος: Ταοῦς is a female Egyptian name which is, among other places, attested multiple times in the Arsinoite nome (TM Name ID 1288). The name would have been preceded by μητρός, which may have stood at the end of the preceding line 7.

9 Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Χαιρήμονος: Ἀπολλώνιος (TM Name ID 1) and Χαιρήμων (TM Name ID 2555) are common Greek names in the Arsinoite nome.

11 ἄλλος; this refers to another son of the same father. Cf., e.g., BGU 2.406.14 (Soknopaiou Nesos, 192–200 CE): Ὡρος ἄλλος ἀδελφὸς μητρὸς τῆς αὐτῆς.

12 . . ρ . . . ς τοῦ Μύσθο[υ: the surface of the papyrus is heavily damaged here, but perhaps one could read Ἀτρήους before τοῦ; Ἀτρή is a common Egyptian name (TM Name ID 317), often attested in the Arsinoite nome and mostly in the Roman period. Μύσθου can be the genitive of the Greek male name Μύσθας (TM Name ID 4189) or Μύσθης (TM Name ID 4190); most often found in the Arsinoite nome in the first and second centuries CE.

– μητρός: supplemented because of μητρὸς τῆ[ς αὐτῆς in the next line (unless Τη[would be the start of a female name).

14] . . λ . . ος *vacat* τῆς Μάρων[ος: the first word, ending in ος, is probably the genitive of a name. Reading ἄλλ(ος) υἱός is difficult and also rather unlikely, reading ἀδελφός is equally difficult and would require accepting a strangely executed *phi*. The open space before τῆς Μαρων[is puzzling: τῆς Μαρωνίδος would not be the expected way to describe a person's mother. Possibly the scribe did not know the mother's name, and left space open to fill this in later, but did know the name of the mother's father: τῆς Μάρων[ος, “daughter of Maron.” Μάρων (TM Name ID 3988) is a male name of Greek origin, which is most often attested in the Arsinoite nome, in the first and second centuries CE.

15 Σαταβ(οὔτος): a common name of Semitic origin, especially often attested in the Arsinoite nome (TM Name ID 1030).

– Ταμύ[σθας: the name Ταμύσθα (TM Name ID 6050) is found in papyri from the first century CE onwards, mostly in the second century CE and almost solely in the Arsinoite nome. It is a hybrid name, an Egyptian derivation of a Greek name, meaning “the one of Mysthas.”

17 Τεναῦτος τῆς Μύσθ[ου: Τένανς is a spelling variant of the Egyptian female name Τεενανς (TM Name ID 6161), attested in the first and second centuries CE in the Arsinoite nome only. The name is found with this spelling in ten papyri, e.g. SB 6.9554.3.11 (147 CE, Karanis).

18 There seems to be a small stain of ink at the start of this line, with the *omicron* written as a correction above it.

20 κα[: following the empty space, perhaps κα[ι? Reading ισα instead of κα would also be possible.

Col. 2

5 Διδᾶς: Διδᾶς (TM Name ID 2763) is a relatively common Greek male name, attested mainly in the first and second centuries CE and predominantly in the Arsinoite nome.

11 Πατμου . ν[: if the reading Πατμου is right, the expected nominative ending would be -ις, Πάτμουις (cf. above, note to col. 1.4), which is not compatible with the traces. The last letter of the line looks most like nu.

12 Ταπάτμουις[: the name is written in *ekthesis*, but, assuming the female name is right (a male form Παπάτμουις is not attested), the *ekthesis* cannot have marked the start of a new household. The Egyptian female name Ταπάτμουις, “the one of Πάτμουις,” is attested twice in *P.Lond.* 2.258.186 and 234 (Krokodilopolis, 94–95 CE) (TM Name ID 25792). Here, the name might point to a relationship with Πατμου . ν[in the line above.

13 Πτολλᾶς: a common Greek male name, also often found in the Arsinoite nome in the second century CE (TM Name ID 5346).

14 Πάνος: a Greek male name, attested in Upper Egypt and the Arsinoite nome (TM Name ID 4859).

18 Μῖυσις: a rather common Egyptian male name, attested in Upper Egypt and the Arsinoite nome (TM Name ID 457). The reading remains uncertain. Instead of Μῖυσις, Αμυος seems possible (but a name Αμυος is unattested).

SEVEN SECOND-CENTURY TAX RECEIPTS FROM THE ARSINOITE NOME IN THE BRITISH LIBRARY¹

† Federica Micucci *University of California, Berkeley*

Abstract. — Edition of seven Arsinoite tax receipts, all from the second century AD. The first three are *sitologos* receipts, two of which originate from Tebtynis; the other four are receipts for payments made on account of the poll tax (λαογραφία) by *metropolitai*, who were entitled to a privileged rate.

Keywords: *sitologos* receipts, poll tax receipts, *metropolitai*, archive of Philsarapis son of Lysimachos alias Didymos, Arsinoite nome

The seven papyri edited below are housed in the British Library and were originally part of the British Museum's collections. Four of them (1–3, 7) were purchased from Ali Abd-el-Haj² in May 1911 as part of a lot now comprising BL Papyri 1873–2016. The other documents (4–6) were bought by H.I. Bell for the British Museum from Dr A.N. Kondilios³ on different occasions: 4–5 in July 1921 as part of a larger purchase now including BL Papyri 2304–2434, and 6 in July 1925, together with BL Papyri 2652–2721.⁴

Sitologos Receipts (1–3)

1. Sitologos Receipt

BL Papyrus 1979 H × W = 20.5 × 6.1 cm Tebtynis, 30 July 133

This receipt was issued by the *sitologoi* of Tebtynis for Herakleia, daughter of Hermes, on account of a payment in kind made for taxes on catoeic land at Tebtynis.

¹ This article was submitted by Federica Micucci on 4 December 2021, five days before she unexpectedly passed away. The final version was prepared by N. Gonis, who wishes to acknowledge the input of the journal's editor and referees, as well as of T.M. Hickey.

² On this antiquities dealer, see F. Hagen and K. Ryholt, *The Antiquities Trade in Egypt 1880–1930: The H.O. Lange Papers* (Copenhagen 2016) 192–195.

³ See Hagen and Ryholt (n. 2) 229.

⁴ Information based on the register of papyri in the British Library. The images are reproduced by permission of the British Library Board.

The papyrus was acquired as part of a lot including documents from the archive of Philsarapis, son of Lysimachos alias Didymos (TM Arch 192). Our Herakleia may be identified with the wife of Herakleides alias Valerius I from said archive: see *P.Fam.Tebt.* introd., p. 6, no. 20. This will be an additional text from this same archive.

The text is written along the fibres in an experienced and rapid cursive on a tall and narrow papyrus sheet, which was probably the height of the source roll. About 12.5 cm were left blank at the bottom. The left-hand edge is damaged. On the right-hand edge, between lines 3 and 4, a strip of fibres is not aligned but descends slightly, revealing the layer of fibres underneath; the writing continues on it without interruption. A vertical *kollesis* is visible at the right edge. Most of the insect holes are located along the folds.

The back bears traces of writing, badly abraded, in an apparent second hand and possibly unrelated to the receipt. It would be unusual to find an endorsement in such receipts, but see *P.Stras.* 6.516, which records the name of the village on the back, and possibly *P.Stras.* 8.730.

- ξτους ἑπτακαιδεκάτου
 Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος
 [Τ]ραιανοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ
 Μεσορη ᾤ. Ὡρος καὶ μέτοχοι)
 5 [σι]τολ(όγοι) Τεπύνεως { . } μεμετρήμ(εθα)
 ἀπὸ τῶν γεννημ(άτων) τοῦ αὐτοῦ ιζ (ξτους) εἰς
 [Ἡ]ράκλειαν Ἑρμοῦς Τεπ(ύνεως)
 [κ]ατοίκ(ων) (πυροῦ) μέτ(ρω) δημο(σίῳ) ξυστ(ῶ)
 [ἀ]ρτάβ(ας) πέντε τρίτον δωδέκατ(ον),
 10 (γίνονται) (πυροῦ) ε γίβ' καὶ τὰ προσμ(ετρούμενα).

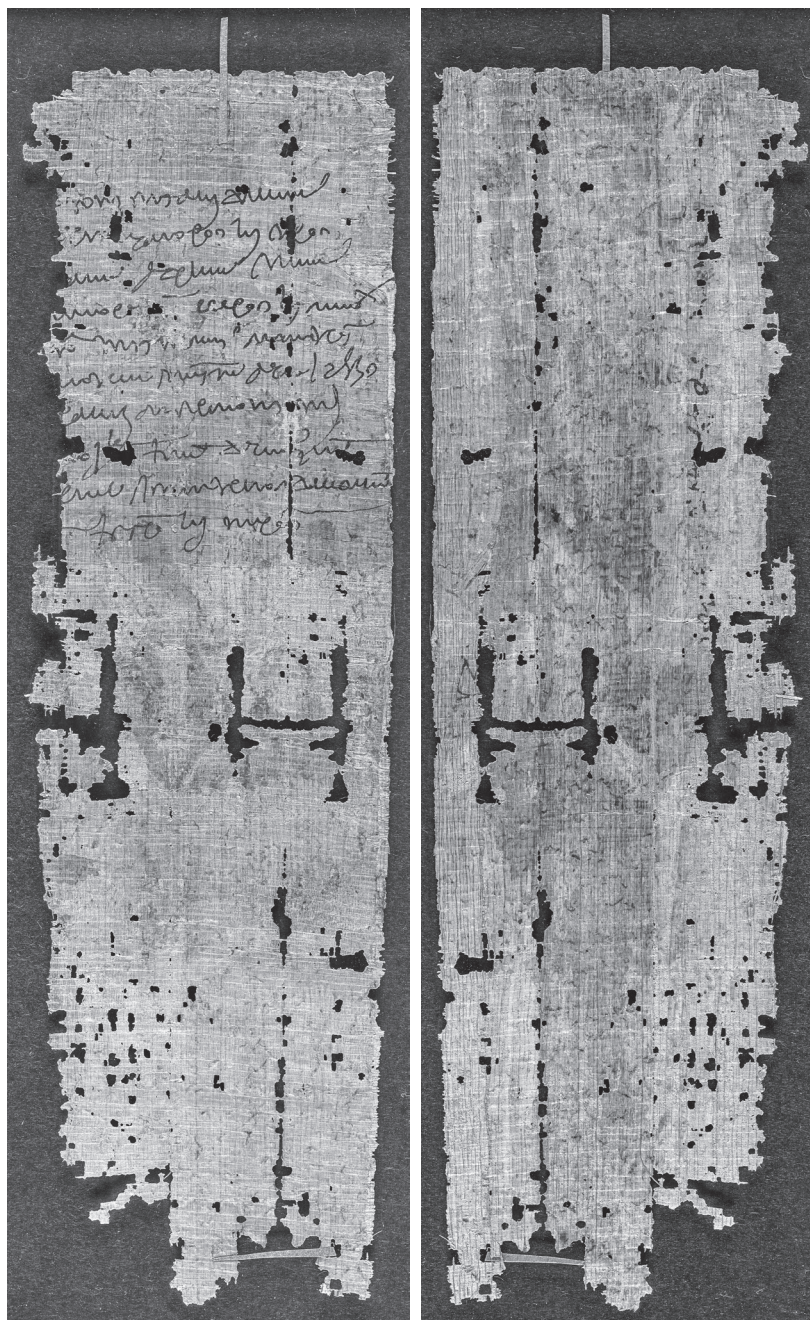
verso

(h. 2) vac. Ἀρψα . γ ωι

upside down at the bottom: εξ

4 μετο^λ 5 ci]το^λ μεμετρη^μ 6 γεννη^μ { 7 τε) 8 κατοικ^κεμε^τδημοξυσ^τ 9 αρταβ
 δωδεκα^τ 10 -εγιο^ο προς^μ

“Year seventeenth of Imperator Caesar Traianus Hadrianus Augustus, Mesore 6. We, Horos and partners, grain collectors of Tebtynis, have had measured to us from the produce of the same 17th year, to the credit of



Herakleia, daughter of Hermes, for taxes on catoecic land at Tebtynis, by levelled public measure of wheat five one third and one twelfth artabas, total $5 \frac{1}{3} \frac{1}{12}$ artabas of wheat, and surcharges.”

4 Ὡρος: An otherwise unknown *sitologos*.

5 Τεπτύνεως: There is a tiny curve resembling the shape of *sigma* high in the line, but as the word Τεπτύνεως is spelled out in full, it is unclear to me what this stands for. We may be dealing with a scribal error.

7 [Η]ράκλειαν Ἑρμοῦς: The identification of our Herakleia with Herakleia I, daughter of Hermes, son of Didymos, from the Philsarapis Archive, may be further supported by the name of her father. This is usually given as Ἑρμοῦς in the genitive in the other documents from the archive: see e.g. *P.Fam.Tebt.* 27.21, 29.27, 35.4. Should this identification be correct, Herakleia I features in another receipt for payments for land taxes made on account of her father and someone else, namely *P.Fam.Tebt.* 12 (112). A few months earlier than the time of our receipt, Herakleia was described as “about 39 years old” (*P.Fam.Tebt.* 27, dated 18 October 132). She was still alive in 172 (*P.Fam.Tebt.* 39).

8 (πυροῦ) μέτ(ρω) δημο(σίω) ξυστ(ῶ): According to R. Duncan-Jones, “Variation in Egyptian Grain-Measure,” *Chiron* 9 (1979) 362, this was a 40- or rather 48-choenix measure. See also *P.Ups.Frid* 4.10–11 n. ξυστῶ indicates that the grain was levelled at the brim of the measure.

9 πέντε τρίτον δωδέκατ(ον): If we apply the 1 *art./ar.* rate, on which see e.g. S.L. Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian* (Princeton 1938) 13, and A. Monson, “Sacred land in Ptolemaic and Roman Tebtunis,” in S.L. Lippert and M. Schentuleit (eds.), *Tebtynis und Soknopaiu Nesos: Leben im römerzeitlichen Fajum* (Wiesbaden 2005) 88, we are dealing with a plot of $5 \frac{5}{12}$ aruras of catoecic land.

10 τὰ προσμ(ετρούμενα): For additional taxes on land, see Wallace, *Taxation* 38–41, and T. Kalén, *P.Berl.Leihg.* 1, pp. 231–325.

11–12 The purpose of the writing on the back is unclear, but it seems to be unrelated to the receipt. The papyrus is badly abraded, but there appears to be a name starting with Ἀρψα-, preceded by remains of another word (possibly another name), and followed by a word (presumably another name) in the dative. At the bottom, written upside down, two letters are visible.

2. *Sitologos Receipt*

BL Papyrus 2003 H × W = 10.5 × 5.2 cm Arsinoite nome, 20 July 155

The following receipt records two payments in kind made to the credit of Heron, son of Orseus, for dues on land. Since these are given as δημόσια, we are dealing with domain land: see below, l. 9 n. One of the payments was made for a plot of land on the estate of Maecenas. By the second century, imperial estates were being cultivated by public farmers, acquiring a status similar to that of public land: see A. Monson, “Communal Agriculture in the Ptolemaic and Roman Fayyum,” in S.L. Lippert and M. Schentuleit (eds.), *Graeco-Roman Fayum: Texts and Archaeology* (Wiesbaden 2008) 180.

It is unclear where the *sitologoi* issuing the receipt officiated. Μαγ[in l. 6 could stand for the Arsinoite villages of Magais (TM Geo 1283) or Magdola (TM Geo 1284): see further l. 6 n. The Arsinoite origin of the text seems certain: the formula used is the standard one for Arsinoite *sitologos* receipts, and the lot of British Library papyri acquired with our receipt consists mostly of Arsinoite texts. This is further supported by the reference to the former estate of Maecenas, whose holdings appear to have been located mostly in this district: see below, l. 11 n. If all of the above is correct, we may surmise that an estate of Maecenas was located also in the village of Magais or Magdola. The appearance of an imperial estate in such a receipt is unusual; the only remote parallel comes from *P.Fay.* 82 (Ars.; 145), which records a small payment in kind for τελωνική ἀτέλεια connected with the estate of Lurius.

The hand is a practised cursive with a slight slant to the right. The papyrus is broken off at the bottom and lacks the last quarter on the right, with a loss of a few letters; it is also damaged along the first vertical fold on the left. The writing runs with the fibres; the back is presumably blank, given the cardboard mounting.

ἔ[το]υς ὀκτώκαιδεκ[άτου]
 Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσ[αρος]
 Τίτου Αἰλίου Ἀδρ[ιανοῦ]
 Ἀγτωνίνου Σεβαστ[οῦ]

5 Εὐσεβοῦς Ἐπειφ κς.

Δίδυ(μος) καὶ οἱ (μέτοχοι) σιτολ(όγοι) Μαγ[c. 4]
 μεμετ(ρήμεθα) ἀπὸ τῶν γενη(μάτων) τοῦ [c. 3 (ἔτους)]
 εἰς Ἡρώνα Ὁρσέως [c. 4]

Λουκανοῦ δη(μοσίων) πυροῦ
 10 μέτ(ρω) δημο(σίω) ξυστ(ῶ) [ἔπαιτον]
 ἄρτάβ(ας) τρεῖς, Μαικ(ηνατιανῆς) [c. 4]
 ὀκτώ, (γίνονται) (πυροῦ) ια. [ὀ]μ(οίως) Με[σορη]
 . [c. 4] . . . [c. 3] . [c. 4]

6 διδ^υ οἱ cito^λ 7 μεμετ γενῆ 9 δη 10 μετδημ^οξυστ 11 αρταβ μαικ 12 / 4

“Year eighteenth of Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, Epeiph 26. We, Didymos and partners, grain collectors of Mag-, have had measured to us from the produce of the ... (year), to the credit of Heron, son of Orseus ... Lucanus, for public dues, by levelled public *epaiton* measure ... three artabas of wheat, (for dues on the estate) of Maecenas eight (artabas of wheat), total 11 artabas of wheat. Likewise on ... Mesore ...”

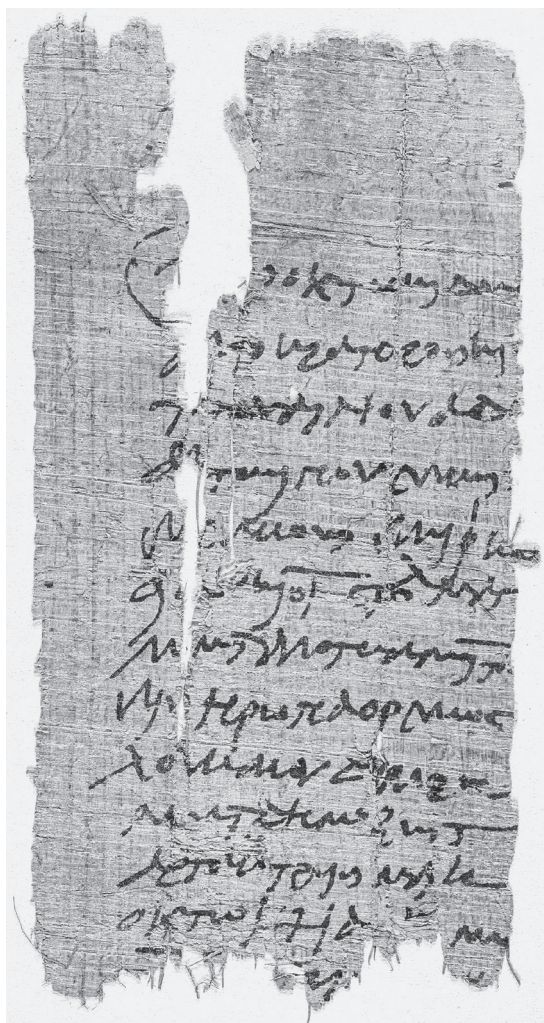
6 Μαγ[c. 4]: Possibly Μαγ[αίδος] or Μαγ[δῶλων]. *Sitologoi* of the Arsinoite village of Magais (TM Geo 1283) are attested in *SB* 1.5001 (174) and *SPP* 20.39 *verso* col. 1.1 (II/III). *Sitologoi* of the village of Magdola (TM Geo 1284) “and the other villages of the Polemon division” occur in *SB* 14.12169.7–8 (96).

7 τοῦ [c. 3 (ἔτους)]: Perhaps τοῦ [αὐτ(οῦ) (ἔτους)], or τοῦ [1η (ἔτους)].

9 Λουκανοῦ: We would expect a place name at this point to indicate where the land for which payments were due was located, though this is occasionally omitted: see e.g. 3.9, *P.Prag.* 1.55.10, *P.Stras.* 5.351.6, *P.Tebt.* 2.366.6. If the place name was omitted, presumably the land involved was located in the village where the *sitologoi* officiated. There is no known place called Λουκανοῦ, but the proper noun is (poorly) attested as a personal name (cf. TM Nam 10207). In that case, we may be dealing with an intermediary who made the payment on Heron’s behalf, i.e., we may read [διὰ] | Λουκανοῦ; or it could be an alias, [τοῦ (καὶ)] | Λουκανοῦ. It is less likely that Lucanus was Heron’s grandfather, [τοῦ] | Λουκανοῦ, since the grandfather’s name is usually not recorded in such receipts.

– δη(μοσίων): A neuter plural, to be understood as rent payments for public land (δημοσία γῆ), including other dues on the land as well; for this interpretation, see *P.Tebt.* 2.365 introd. See further *P.Ups.Frid.* 4.9 n.

– πυροῦ: No sequel is expected despite the gap that follows. Compare line 5.



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10 [ἐπαιτον]: As we have $\pi\rho\omicron\upsilon$ before $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\tau\rho\omega$, it is probable that $\xi\pi\alpha\iota\tau\omicron\nu$, however abbreviated, followed in the lacuna after $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\tau\rho\omega$ $\delta\eta\mu\omicron\sigma\acute{\iota}\omega$ $\xi\upsilon\sigma\tau\tilde{\omega}$. For this term, of obscure origin and meaning, see N. Reggiani, “Tax Collection and Grain Measures in Roman Egypt,” *APF* 63 (2017) 77–81.

11 Μαικ(ηνατιανῆς) [c. 4]: The lower part of κ is elongated, which may suggest that nothing was written after it. Otherwise, supply

[ἀρτάβ(ας)] or perhaps [οὐσί(ας)]. An estate of Maecenas is not otherwise attested either in the area of Magais or of Magdola. On Maecenas' estates in Egypt, see G.M. Parássoglou, *Imperial Estates in Roman Egypt* (Amsterdam 1978) 79–80, D. Thompson, “Imperial estates,” in M.I. Finley (ed.), *Studies in Roman Property* (Cambridge 1976) 43 and *passim*, and Y. Broux, “Imperial vs. Non-Imperial *ousiai* in Julio-Claudian Egypt,” *CdÉ* 94 (2019) 161 and *passim*.

12 [ὁ]μ(οίως) Με[σορη]: Followed by the day in the next line (suggested by one of the referees). In such references to additional payments, Arsinoite receipts usually have ὁμοίως after the day of the month, but cf. *P.Lond.* 2.351.11 (218).

13] . . . [: Perhaps] εἰς [(suggested by the referee who proposed the supplement mentioned in l. 12 n.).

3. Sitologos Receipt

BL Papyrus 1900

H × W = 22 × 8 cm

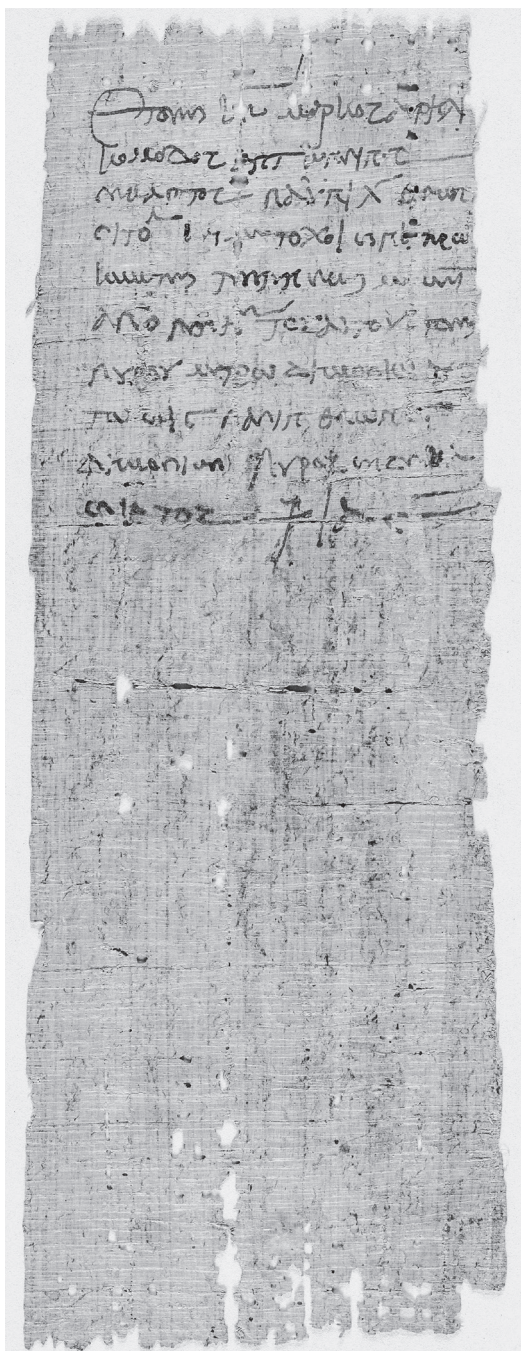
Tebtynis, 24 June 185

A receipt issued by Theon and the other *sitologoi*-elect of Tebtynis, recording a payment in kind made to the credit of Pasis, son of Theon, for dues on public land.

The text is written along the fibres in a neat cursive on a tall and narrow papyrus sheet, left blank for almost two thirds. The lower margin measures 13.5 cm. The upper and right margins are slightly irregular, but the text is complete. The papyrus is mounted on cardboard and the back is not visible; presumably it is blank.

ἔτους κῆ Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου[ο(υ)]
 Κομόδου Ἀντωνείνου
 Σεβαστοῦ Παυνι λ̅. Θεών
 σιτολ(όγος) καὶ μέτοχοι ἐν κλήρῳ
 5 κώμης Τεπτύνεως μεμετ(ρήμεθα)
 ἀπὸ γενήμ(ατος) τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔτους
 πυροῦ μέτρῳ δημοσίῳ ξυσ-
 τῷ εἰς Πᾶσιν Θεώνος
 δημοσίων πυροῦ ἑνδεκα
 10 ἕκτου, (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) ια ζ'.

2 l. Κομόδου Ἀντωνείνου 3 παῦνι θ *ex corr.* 4 σιτο^λ 5 μεμετ^τ 6 γενη^μ 9 ἑνδεκα:
 κ *ex corr.* 10 ἕκτου, l. ἕκτον: εκ *ex corr.*? ^τ



“Year 25 of Marcus Aurelius Commodus Antoninus Augustus, Payni 30. We, Theon, grain collector and partners elect of the village of Tebtynis, have had measured to us from the produce of the same year, by levelled public measure of wheat to the credit of Pasis, son of Theon, for dues on public land eleven and one-sixth (artabas) of wheat, 11 1/6 artabas of wheat.”

1 Αὐρηλί[ο(υ)]: The abbreviation is suggested by the length of the lacuna.

3 Θέων: An otherwise unknown *sitologos*.

4 ἐν κλήρῳ: Sometimes followed by σιτολογίας, even though the simple ἐν κλήρῳ is well attested. For the various possible constructions, see *P.Mich.* 6.387.4 n.; for discussion, see N. Lewis, “Leitourgia Studies,” in *On Government and Law in Roman Egypt. Collected Papers of Naphtali Lewis* (Atlanta 1995) 82–87, with further bibliography.

5 κώμης: All letters are ligatured; compare the last two letters of ἔτους in l. 1.

8 Πᾶσιν Θέωνος: Not otherwise known.

9 δημοσίον: For the term, see above, 2.9 n. If we apply the average rent on public land of the Roman period, namely 3 artabas per arura, we may be dealing with a payment made for a plot of land of about 4 aruras: see J. Rowlandson, *Landowners and Tenants in Roman Egypt* (Oxford 1996) 72, 75.

Receipts for laographia (4–7)

The following receipts record payments of twenty drachmas and ten bronze obols as additional charges made for the poll tax (λαογραφία) of the current or of the preceding year. The amount paid constitutes the Arsinoite privileged rate and indicates that the taxpayers were *metropolitai*, citizens of the district-capital, Arsinoe. On the rates of the poll tax, see P. Heilporn, *O.Stras.* 2, pp. 77–87. The formulas used in these papyri are standard in Arsinoite receipts for λαογραφία.

4. Receipt for *laographia*

BL Papyrus 2425

H × W = 7.3 × 6.9 cm

Arsinoe (?), 140 (?)

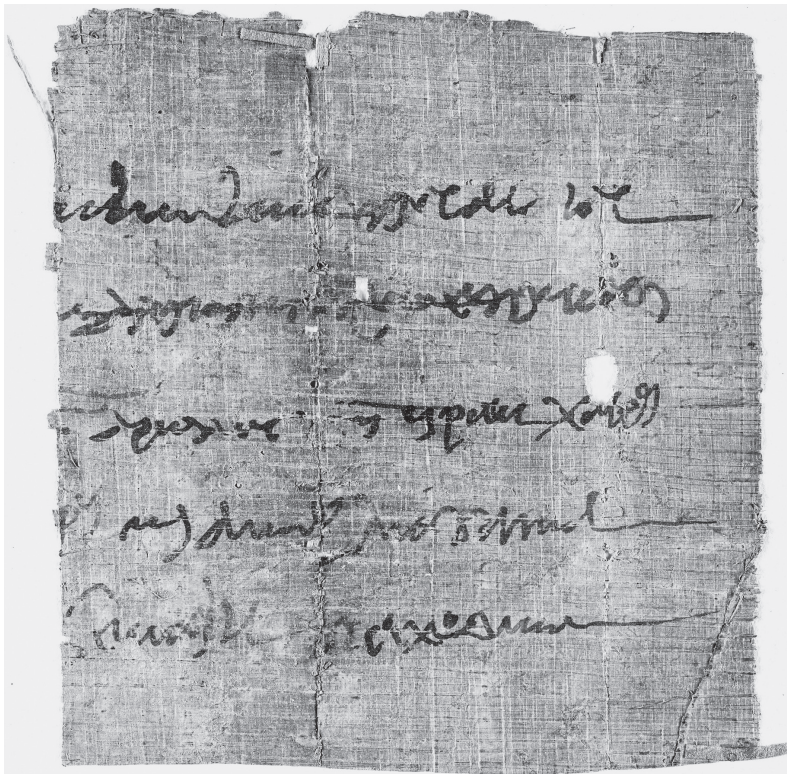
A certain Herakleides (?), son of Chairemon, paid twenty drachmas and ten bronze obols on account of the poll tax (λαογραφία) of the same

year. The papyrus lacks its left-hand side, and, as a result, the regnal year, the date of the payment and the place name are lost.

The text runs parallel to the fibres. The hand is a quick cursive. As the papyrus is mounted on cardboard, the back is not visible but is presumably blank.

[ἔτους . Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τίτου Αἰλίου
[Ἀδριαν]οῦ Ἀντωνίνου Σεβαστοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς
[c. 6] ἔριθ(μήσεως) Μεσο(ρη). δι(έγραψεν) Ἡρακ(λείδης)
Χαιρή(μονος)
[τοῦ Χαι]ρή(μονος) μη(τρὸς) Ἀπολλω(ν) (ὑπὲρ) λαο(γραφίας)
τοῦ τρίτου (ἔτους)
5 [c. 6] (δραχμὰς) εἴκοσι, (γίνονται) κ', προσ(διαγραφομένων)
χα(λκοῦ) ὀ(βολοῦς) δέκα.

3 αριθμε^οδι^ιηρακχαιρ^η 4]ρ^ημηαμ^ωλαο L 5 ὃ / κ-πρ^οχα^ο



“Year (3 or 4) of Imperator Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, ... _6, for the accounting of Mesore. Herakleides (?), son of Chairemon, grandson of Chairemon, mother Apollon- (?), paid for the poll tax of the third year ... twenty drachmas, total 20, for surcharges ten bronze obols.”

1 The year number would be δ or γ, depending on whether the receipt dates from Thoth or Mesore; see next note.

3 [c. 6] ζ ἀριθ(μήσεως) Μεσο(ρη): Perhaps [Θωθ ι]ζ (13 September 140), in which case the sum was credited to Mesore but paid in the following month; cf. e.g. 6.2 or 7.3. [Θωθ] ζ would be too short for the lacuna. Another possibility is [Μεσορη κ]ζ; cf. *P.Hamb.* 3.204.6 (130) Μεσορη κς ἀριθ(μήσεως) Μεσορη. Other Arsinoite poll tax receipts dated to the last days of Mesore but referring to the accounting of the same month are *SPP* 22.123 (178), Mesore 21; *SPP* 22.171 (158), Mesore 28; *P.Lond.* 2.329 (164) and *P.Ryl.* 2.361, ed. *CdÉ* 95 (2020) 300 (162), Mesore 30. An exceptional case is *BGU* 20.2855.3 (187) Ἀθουρ ιγ ἀριθ(μήσεως) Μεσορη. On the ἀριθμήσεως / εἰς ἀρίθμησιν formula, see D. Hagedorn, *BGU* 20.2851, Appendix II, pp. 98–111.

– Ἡρακ(λείδης) Χαιρή(μονος): Herakleides, a common name, or other such names well attested in the Arsinoite nome, e.g. Herakles or Heraklas. This would not be the same Herakleides, son of Chairemon and grandson of Chairemon, of *SB* 12.10890 (156), from the Syrian quarter in Arsinoe, as the mother there is named Sambous. This other text (= BL Pap. 2415) was acquired with our poll tax receipt. In any case, we cannot exclude that we may be dealing with members of the same family. One Herakleides, son of Chairemon, grandson of Chairemon, whose mother's name is not preserved, also from the Syrian quarter, occurs in *SB* 22.15303 col. 1 (175), and may be the same as the one in *SB* 12.10890; see R.S. Bagnall, “Census Declarations from the Berlin Collection,” *APF* 39 (1993) 23. If these are different persons, we may wonder whether the Herakleides in *SB* 22.15303.i could be identified with our Herakleides.

4 Ἀπολλῶ(ν), e.g. Ἀπολλῶ(ναρίου) or Ἀπολλῶ(νοῦτος), written very quickly, rather than Ἀμμῶ(ν).

5 [c. 6]: If the receipt originates from the district capital, we would expect the name of a quarter of Arsinoe here. If our Herakleides is the same as the one mentioned in *SB* 22.15303 col. 1, we should restore an abbreviated form of [Συριακῆς].

– κ̣: The lower arm of *kappa* is prolonged into an oblique stroke either to indicate the numerical value of the letter or to avoid additions: see *BGU* 20.2853.5 and l. 10 n., and F. Micucci, “Six Poll-Tax Receipts from Arsinoe,” *CdÉ* 95 (2020) 301. On the absence of the symbol for the drachmas, cf. N. Gonis, “Seventeen Beinecke Papyri,” *APF* 61 (2015) 331.

– προσ(διαγραφομένων) χα(λκοῦ) ὀ(βολοῦς) δέκα: The rate of the surcharges was reckoned at 1/16 of the amount paid: see e.g. J. Shelton, “The Extra Charges on Poll-Tax in Roman Egypt,” *CdÉ* 51 (1976) 178–184, and K. Maresch, *Bronze und Silber: Papyrologische Beiträge zur Geschichte der Währung im ptolemäischen und römischen Ägypten bis zum 2. Jahrhundert n. Chr.* (Opladen 1996) 120–121. The abbreviation χα(λκοῦ) could otherwise be resolved as χα(λκίνου) or χα(λκίνους): see F. Micucci, *CdÉ* 95 (2020) 298–300.

5. Receipt for laographia

BL Papyrus 2414

H × W = 8.5 × 10.7 cm

Arsinoe (?), 167

A receipt issued to a man whose name is damaged, recording a payment of twenty drachmas and ten bronze obols as surcharges for the poll tax (λαογραφία) of the same year.

The hand is a rapid cursive. The papyrus sheet, almost square-shaped, is in poor condition; the surface has been damaged by abrasion and insect holes. The two large holes in the middle are regular and symmetrical and suggest that the sheet was rolled from right to left. At the bottom right, traces of ink are visible, but it is unlikely that they belong to another text written below: as the edge is very straight, this seems to have been the lower half of the roll. There is a tiny trace of ink also on the left-hand edge, possibly from another document. A *kollesis* runs vertically down the middle of the sheet. The writing is with the fibres; the back is mounted on cardboard and is presumably blank.

ἔτους ζ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος
 Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνίνου Σεβαστοῦ καὶ
 [Α]ὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος [ς Λ]οῦ[κίου] [Αὐρηλίου
 [Ο]ῦ[ρή]ρου Σεβαστοῦ [. . .] . . . [ἀριθμ(ήσεως) Θ]ωθ. δι(έγραψε)

- 5 [.] . ρ . . δι . [.] . ο . [.] . [c. 5 (ὑπὲρ) λαογ(ραφίας) τ]οῦ
 αὐτοῦ (ἔτους) [c. 5] .
 (δραχμὰς) εἴκοσι, (γίνονται) κ, προσ(διαγραφομένων) χ(αλκοῦ)
 ὀβο(λοῦς) δέκα.

4 δι[⊖] 6 L 7 ς / προσχοβο

“Year 7 of Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus and Emperor Caesar Lucius Aurelius Verus Augustus, ... for the accounting of Thoth. ... paid for the poll tax of the same year ... twenty drachmas, total 20, for surcharges ten bronze obols.”

1 ἔτους: For *epsilon* extending above and below the following letters, see *BGU* 20.2853–2854 introd., p. 120.

4 The surface is badly damaged, but [. .] . . should contain the date. In view of the length of the lacuna, we could read [Θω]θ followed by the day; cf. 4.3 n. Alternatively, we cannot exclude that the payment was made in the following month, in which case we should expect an abbreviated form of Φαωφι followed by the day.

– [ἀριθ(μήσεως)]: An abbreviated form of εἰς ἀρίθμησιν is also an option.

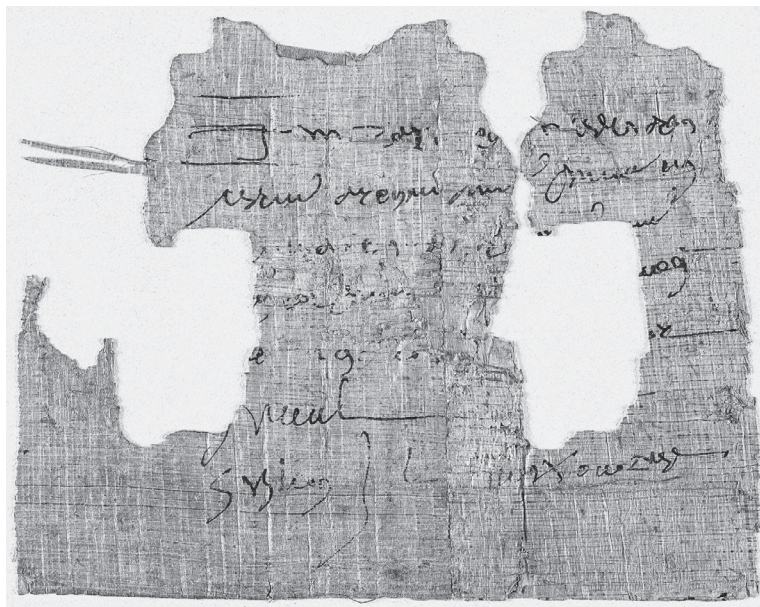
5 [.] . ρ . . δι . [.] . ο . [.] . contains the name of the taxpayer. Perhaps his father's name could be read as Διο[σ]κόρ[ο]υ.

– [c. 5 (ὑπὲρ) λαογ(ραφίας) τ]οῦ: Restored *exempli gratia*, as λαο-γραφίας may have been abbreviated differently. Before this, further details on the taxpayer were provided, e.g. the name of his mother.

6 αὐτοῦ: In *Verschleifung*. Before *alpha*, there seems to be a horizontal stroke low in the line.

– [c. 5]: Only a horizontal survives. As the man was from Arsinoe, given the amount of the poll-tax paid, the name of the quarter of the metropolis would be given at this point.

7 κ: With its lower arm an extended horizontal; see above, 4.5 n.



© British Library Board, Papyrus 2414

6. *Receipt for laographia*

BL Papyrus 2703

H × W = 11 × 11.7 cm

Arsinoe, September 175

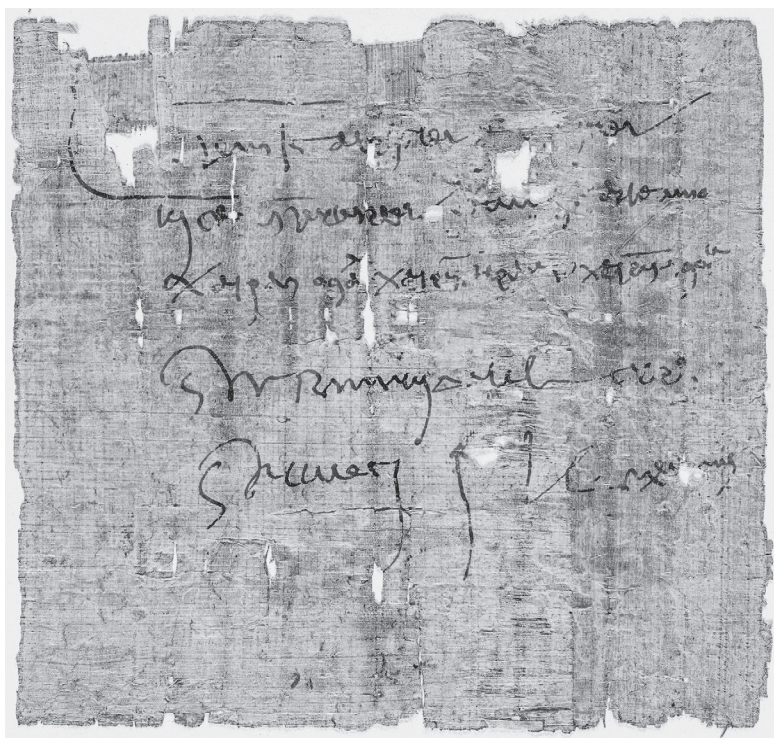
Chairas, named Chairemon in the official records, of the Syrian quarter in Arsinoe, paid twenty drachmas and ten bronze obols on account of the poll tax (λαογραφία) of the previous year. The amount was credited to Mesore but paid in the following month, Thoth. The receipt displays the standard Arsinoite formulas, but the verb διέγραψεν is omitted.

Our Chairas/Chairemon is the son of Herakleides and Dioskoros and could perhaps be identified with the Chairemon of *SB* 12.10890.6, mentioned above. This is another British Library papyrus (BL Pap. 2415), also purchased from Dr A.N. Kondilios but in 1921, four years earlier than our receipt (see the general introduction). In it, a certain Herakleides, son of Chairemon, and his wife Dioskoros, registered in the Syrian quarter, request that their son Chairemon, almost aged fourteen, be enrolled in the list of those privileged to pay the reduced rate for the poll tax. As this *epikrisis* document dates from 156, we may presume that Chairemon was born sometime around 142; if the identification with our Chairas/Chairemon is correct, he was about thirty-three at the time of the present receipt.

The hand is a confident cursive, quickly executed and occasionally compressed at the end of the lines. The sheet is complete and well preserved. A vertical *kollēsis* runs a few centimetres from the right edge. The writing is parallel to the fibres; as the papyrus is mounted on cardboard, the back is presumably blank.

ἔτους ις Αὐρηλίου Ἀν[τ]ωνίνου
 Καίσαρ[ο]ς τοῦ κυρίου Θεοῦ ἰ. ἀριθ(μήσεως) Μεσο(ρη).
 Χαιρᾶς ὁ διὰ λ(όγων) Χαιρήμ(ων) Ἡρακ(λείδου) τοῦ Χαιρήμ(ονος)
 μη(τρὸς) Διοσκ(οροῦτος)
 (ὑπὲρ) λαογ(ραφίας) πεντεκαιδεκ(άτου) (ἔτους) Συρι(ακῆς)
 5 (δραχμὰς) εἴκοσι, (γίνονται) κ-, π(ροσδιαγραφομένων) χ(αλκοῦ)
 ὀβ(ολοὺς) δέκα.

2 αριθμεσο 3 δια^λ χαιρη^μηρα^κ χαιρη^μηδιος^κ 4 ςλαογπεντεκαιδεκLσυρς
 5 ς /κ-πχ^{οβ}



© British Library Board, Papyrus 2703

“Year 16 of Aurelius Antoninus Caesar the lord, Thoth 1_, for the accounting of Mesore. Chairas, called Chairemon according to the official records, son of Herakleides, grandson of Chairemon, mother Dioskorous, (paid) for the poll tax of the fifteenth year for the Syrian (quarter) twenty drachmas, total 20, for surcharges ten bronze obols.”

1 ε̄τους: For the shape of *epsilon*, see above, 5.1 n.

2 ῑ : Most probably ῑξ or else ῑε, corresponding to 14 and 13 September 175, respectively. Cf. 4.3 n.

3 Χαῖρᾱς ὁ διὰ λ(όγων) Χαῖρήμ(ων): For the meaning of this expression, indicating the name recorded in the official documents as opposed to the one in use (Χαῖρᾱς is a diminutive of Χαῖρήμων), see *P.Petaus* 10.11 n.

4 (ὕπερ) λαογρ(αφίας): For the *lambda* incorporated in the symbol for ὕπερ, a standard feature of such receipts, see most recently *P.Bas.* 2.26 and *CdÉ* 95 (2020) 301. The result resembles the symbol for drachmas in the following line.

– Συρι(ακῆς): On this quarter, see S. Daris, “I quartieri di Arsinoe: materiali e note,” *PapLup.* 10 (2001) 193, and “I quartieri di Arsinoe: addenda,” *ZPE* 157 (2006) 146. Other receipts for λαογραφία from the Syrian quarter are *SB* 20.14134 (111), *P.Princ.* 2.43 (141), containing three receipts for three brothers, *SB* 20.14141 (152), 14143 (157), *P.Mich.* 15.696 (162), *P.Prag.* 2.143 (172), *P.Hamb.* 3.207 (183), *SB* 12.10956 (192), and 10952 (165/166 or 197/198).

5 (γίνονται): The symbol consists of a long vertical, slightly sinusoidal, and a short oblique at the top.

– κ̣: For the small oblique visible above the lower arm of *kappa*, which is slightly prolonged into a horizontal stroke, see above, 4.5 n.

– π(ροσδιαγραφόμενων): *Pi* has the right stem raised and ligatured to the following *chi*. The word is usually abbreviated differently, e.g. πρ(οσδ.), προ(σδ.), οτ προσ(δ.), but compare e.g. *BGU* 3.770.5 and 15.2524.4 and *passim*.

– χα(λκοῦ): For the abbreviation, see above, 4.5 n.

– ὀβ(ολοῦς) δέκα: The papyrus is damaged, but the abbreviation must have been similar e.g. to *P.Ryl.* 2.361.7, reproduced in *CdÉ* 95 (2020) 306, fig. 3.

7. *Receipt for laographia*

BL Papyrus 1921

H × W = 6.5 × 11.2 cm

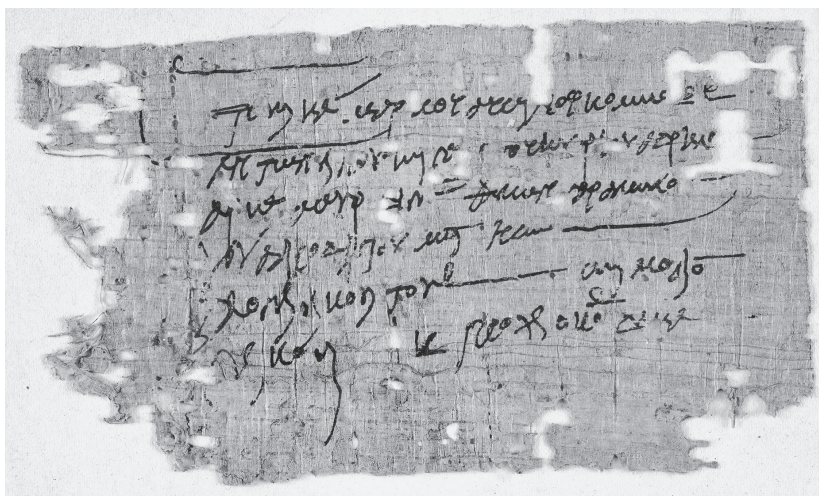
Arsinoe, 180

A receipt issued to a certain Theon, son of Sarapion, of the quarter of Thesmophorion in Arsinoe, who paid the privileged rate of twenty drachmas and ten bronze obols on account of the poll tax (λαογραφία) of the preceding year. The amount was credited to Hathyr but paid in the following month, Hadrianos (Choiak).

The hand is an untidy and rapid yet clear cursive. The sheet is riddled with insect holes and displays other minor surface damage. The writing runs with the fibres; the back is presumably blank, given the mounting on cardboard.

- ἔτους κα' Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Κομμόδου
 Ἀντωνείνου Καίσα[ρο]ς τοῦ κυρίου Ἀδριανο[ῦ] .
 ἀριθ(μήσεως) Ἄθυρ. διέγ(ραψε) Θέων Σαραπίωνος
 τοῦ Ἀφροδισίου μη(τρὸς) Ἡρακλ . .
 5 (ὑπὲρ) λαογρα(φίας) εἰκοστοῦ (ἔτους) Θεσμοφο(ρίου)
 (δραχμὰς) εἴκοσι, vac. (γίνονται) κ, προ(σδιαγραφομένων) χα(λκοῦ)
 ὀβολ(οὺς) δέκα.

2 Ἰ. Ἀντωνίνου 3 ἀριθ διεγ̄ 4 μη̄ 5 ὁ λαογραφ̄ς Ἰθεσμοφο 6 ὁ / προχρησ̄



“Year 21 of Marcus Aurelius Commodus Antoninus Caesar the lord, Hadrianos χ for the accounting of Hathyr. Theon, son of Sarapion, grandson of Aphrodisios, mother Herakl-, paid for the poll tax of the twentieth year for (the quarter of) Thesmophorion twenty drachmas, total 20, for additional charges ten bronze obols.”

1 ξ τους: For the shape of *epsilon*, see above, 5.1 n.

2 After Ἀδριανο[ϝ] the day figure cannot be read: only a high horizontal trace survives. For the honorific month Hadrianos, which corresponded to Choiak, see K. Scott, “Greek and Roman Honorific Months,” *YCS* 2 (1931) 261–262.

3–4 Σαραπίωνος | τοῦ Ἀφροδισίου: A Sarapion, son of Aphrodisios, grandson of Sarapion, is known from *P.Stras.* 7.628.34 (c. 140). An underage daughter of Sarapion, son of Aphrodisios, grandson of Poseidonios, with interests in the quarter Horionos Hierakiou, is known from *BGU* 3.907.3–4 (180–192).

4 Ἡρακλ . . . : Either Ἡρακλείας or Ἡρακλοῦτος. Everything after Ἡρακ- is written in extreme *Verschleifung*, with lengthy strokes used to fill the space. Ἡρῶτος seems less likely.

5 (ὑπέρ): As often, *lambda* is incorporated in the symbol for ὑπέρ. See above, 6.4 n.

– Θεσμοφο(ρίου): On this quarter, see S. Daris, *PapLup.* 10 (2001) 186, with *ZPE* 157 (2006) 146. The only other poll tax receipt originating from this quarter is *P.Fay.* 52 (194).

THE MEMPHIS POLL TAX RECEIPTS AND CENSUS DECLARATIONS*

W. Graham Claytor *University of Warsaw*

Abstract. — Discussion of the corpus of Memphis poll tax receipts and census declarations with corrections and editions of two receipts.

Keywords: Memphis, taxation, poll tax, census, *amphoda*

The poll tax receipts and census declarations from the city of Memphis form a small but interesting corpus, the greater part of which can be traced to the acquisitions of Berlin, London, and Vienna from the end of nineteenth to the first decade of the twentieth century. From these purchases, several small groups can be distinguished, including one linked by the landlord Isidoros, son of Anoubion alias Pankrates, who owned houses in two different quarters of the city,¹ and another belonging to Herakleides, son of Apollonios, a tenant residing in the city's 1st *amphodon*.² Some, perhaps even all, of these receipts and declarations were found in the Fayum,³ which had strong links with Memphis across the desert.⁴

* My thanks to Nikolaos Gonis, Paul Heilporn, and the anonymous readers for comments on this article.

¹ BGU 3.777 (145/146, house in the 4th *amphodon*) and BGU 3.833 = W.Chr. 205 (174 CE, house in the 2nd *amphodon*), both from the Brugsch 1891 acquisition. P.J. Sijpesteijn, "Eine Hausbesitzer in Memphis," ZPE 75 (1988) 255 identifies the landlord with the Isidoros of P.Lond. 3.919b (p. 28), which is possible, although this papyrus was purchased a decade after the Berlin pieces ([http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Papyrus_919\(A-B\)](http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Papyrus_919(A-B))), accessed 19 Jan., 2022). The same landlord is not found in P.Münch. 3.71 (164 CE, purchased in 1900: P.Bas. 2, p. 12), where in l. 21 Sijpesteijn read Ἰσιδῶρος (l. Ἰσιδώρου) Παγκράτους for the editor's . . . ος Πολυκράτους, which requires both a case error and the use of only one of the father's names to match the landlord from the other texts. The patronymic, however, can be clearly read as Εὐκράτους in Plate 20 of the Munich volume.

² To his and his father's census declarations of 159/160 (P.Rain.Cent. 59 and P.Lond. 3.915 [p. 26]) we can add, with the corrections below, Herakleides' poll tax receipt P.Vind.Worp 7 (161-166).

³ P.Lond. 3.845b (p. 34), for instance, has now been conclusively shown to contain a Memphis poll tax receipt (ll. 1-4), followed by a receipt written three years later in Soknopaiou Nesos: see Nelson (below, n. 6) 134. Cf. N. Gonis, "Yet Another Memphis [Poll] Tax Receipt," ZPE 136 (2001) 123: "A remarkable feature of these receipts, not explained so far, is that they turn up among papyri from the Fayum, chiefly from Soknopaiou Nesos." A reasonable hypothesis would be that the papyri belonged to registered Memphites who resided in or later moved to Fayum villages, just like the considerably larger number of Arsinoite metropolites whose papers were found in the villages.

⁴ D.J. Thompson, *Memphis Under the Ptolemies*, 2nd ed. (Princeton 2012) 267-268.

The poll tax receipts have been much discussed, with the result that two important points have been established.⁵ All of the receipts stem from the city of Memphis (rather than the homonymous village in the Fayum), and the rate paid by those registered in the city's various *amphoda* was eight drachmas a year.⁶ This low figure has led to speculation that it represents the privileged rate for metropolites,⁷ a distinction found in most other nomes with requisite data, but so far no evidence has emerged to determine whether Memphite villagers paid more.⁸

The presence or absence of numbered *amphoda* in the receipts has caused confusion, but a reexamination of the corpus allows us to see that, where extant, all of the Memphis receipts before the 180s record them, sometimes in an abbreviated fashion that escaped the notice of editors. The use of this system of numbered *amphoda* in the receipts accords with their consistent appearance in census declarations.⁹ Corrections and discussion are offered here, along with editions of *SPP* 22.130 *descr.*, which was prematurely struck from the corpus, and P.Mich. inv. 173.

We can start with a pair of receipts in the Michigan and Columbia collections, *SB* 16.12645 and *P.Col.* 8.220 (both 141 CE), the earliest with secure date, though the latest to be acquired.¹⁰ These were issued

⁵ For a recent *précis* of capitation taxes in Roman Egypt, see A. Monson, "Taxation and Fiscal Reforms," in K. Vandorpe (ed.), *A Companion to Greco-Roman and Late Antique Egypt* (Hoboken 2019) 155–156.

⁶ These are the conclusions of C.A. Nelson, "Another Memphis Poll Tax Receipt," *BASP* 32 (1995) 133–141, where earlier literature can be found.

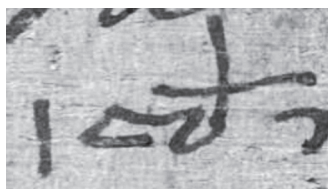
⁷ S.L. Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian* (Princeton 1938) 126.

⁸ It is going too far to say, however, that "all Memphites paid only 8 drachmas per year" (Nelson [n. 6] 136), for the simple reason that we lack data for the Memphite countryside. "Theorizing about a two tier system," which Nelson also rejects, is based on analogy with other nomes: see the data collected and discussed by P. Heilporn, *O.Stras.* 2, pp. 77–87; cf. A. Monson, *From the Ptolemies to the Romans* (Cambridge 2012) 265–272.

⁹ The numbered system is a Roman innovation (on the ethnic quarters of the Ptolemaic city, see Thompson [n. 4] 1–28), although the main temples and their *dromoi* continued to serve as landmarks: see *P.Mich.* 21.862 (II CE) with references. On the administrative divisions of the *metropoleis* of Roman Egypt, see R. Alston, *The City in Roman and Byzantine Egypt* (London-New York 2002) 128–184; K.A. Worp, "Town Quarters in Greek, Roman, Byzantine and early Arab Egypt," in P.M. Sijpesteijn and L. Sundelin (eds.), *Papyrology and the History of Early Islamic Egypt* (Leiden-Boston 2004) 227–248; and K. Geens, *Panopolis, a Nome Capital in Egypt in the Roman and Byzantine Period* (ca. AD 200–600) (diss. Leuven 2007, on trismegistos.org) 130–133.

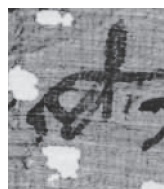
¹⁰ They were part of the same 1925 purchase, mostly of Zenon material, with a smattering of later documents. The Michigan Inventory of Papyri lists inv. 3193–3250 as "the Brummer lot, purchased in New York, November 1925." *SB* 16.12645 is inv. 3244, identified as "Serial no. 53. Original no. 43" in the inventory. The Columbia papyrus (*P.Col.* inv. 259) is listed under Serial no. 56 (Original no. 111) in a document entitled "Columbia \$ 2500" among the 1925 acquisition papers in the Michigan Papyrology archives.

to a pair of brothers and perfectly mirror one another: date, hand, and tax collector are all the same. The payment of eight drachmas was made, according to the editor of the Michigan text, for $\lambda\alpha(\sigma\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma) \iota\delta\iota(\omega\tau\omega\acute{\nu})$, a reading that was followed by the editors of the Columbia receipt. The perplexing mention of *idiotai* can be abandoned in favor of reference to the city's 14th *amphodon*: what follows $\iota\delta$ is rather an abbreviated rendering of $\acute{\alpha}\mu\phi\acute{o}\delta\omicron\upsilon$, which is found in the Memphis census declarations *P.Vind.Sijp.* 24.9 (131/132), *P.Lond.* 3.915 (p. 28).9 and 18 (160 CE), and *P.Rain.Cent.* 59.9 and 11 (160 CE).¹¹ A comparison with *P.Vind.Sijp.* 24.9:



P.Col. 8.220.6

Image courtesy of the Rare Book and Manuscript Library of Columbia University



P.Vind.Sijp. 24.9

Image courtesy of the Austrian National Library

The initial loop comes from *alpha*, the horizontal can be seen as a flattened “mu,” and the vertical as “phi,” even if the ductus of the Vienna example clearly shows the *phi* written before the *mu*.¹² Accordingly, we can correct $\lambda\alpha(\sigma\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma) \iota\delta\iota(\omega\tau\omega\acute{\nu})$ to $\lambda\alpha(\sigma\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma) \iota\delta \acute{\alpha}\mu\phi(\acute{o}\delta\omicron\upsilon)$ in line 6 of both the Michigan and Columbia receipts. One might quibble with the transcription¹³ (and editors’ practice has varied), but the meaning is clear, and a similar siglum is found in Hermopolis.¹⁴

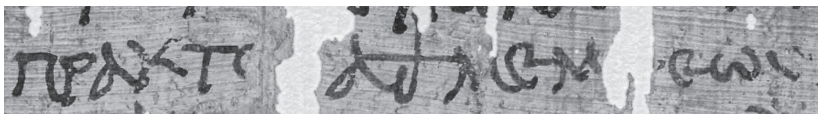
The same abbreviation went unrecognized in a poll-tax receipt from the Vienna collection (*P.Vind.Worp* 7.2, 161–166), transcribed instead with the preceding alpha as $\acute{\alpha}\rho\gamma(\upsilon\rho\iota\kappa\acute{\omega}\nu)$:

¹¹ Cf. Sijpesteijn (n. 1) 256, n. 5.

¹² This horizontal is also serving to mark the ordinal number: cf. *P.Bagnall* 56.11 n., cited below in n. 14.

¹³ Sijpesteijn *loc. cit.* reports the observation of D. Hagedorn (*per litteras*, 9 March 1988), “daß man in Memphis anscheinend eine ganz spezielle Abkürzung für $\acute{\alpha}\mu\phi\acute{o}\delta\omicron\upsilon$ verwendet hat, die man nicht mit $\acute{\alpha}(\mu\phi\acute{o}\delta\omicron\upsilon)$, sondern mit $\acute{\alpha}(\mu)\phi(\acute{o}\delta\omicron\upsilon)$ oder gar $\acute{\alpha}\mu\phi(\acute{o}\delta\omicron\upsilon)$ wiedergeben sollte.”

¹⁴ Reduced to a sinusoid with a line through it in *SB* 20.14710 (ca. 266 CE), *passim*, and transcribed as ($\acute{\alpha}\mu\phi\acute{o}\delta\omicron\upsilon$): see P. van Minnen’s discussion in the *ed. pr.*, “Eine Steuerliste aus Hermupolis,” *Tyche* 6 (1991) 126. A version with the horizontal line above rather than through the siglum is found at *P.Bagnall* 56.11 (Hermopolis, 189 CE).



πράκτο[ρι] ἀργ(υρικῶν) Μέμφεως → πράκτο[ρι] α ἀμφ(όδου) Μέμφεως
Image courtesy of the Austrian National Library

Confirmation of this reading comes from the fact that the taxpayer is identical to the declarant in *P.Rain.Cent.* 59, who is registered in the same 1st *amphodon*. His patronymic can therefore be restored accordingly in *P.Vind.Worp* 7: Ἡρ[α]κλείδης | [Ἀπολλωνίου τ]οῦ Ἀρπάησις (*l.* Ἀρπαήσιος).

The abbreviation reappears in slightly different form at the end of *P.Louvre* 1.30.2 (172 CE), which can be read as ε ἀμφ(όδου),¹⁵ and again in the two receipts edited below. These new readings show that recording of the relevant numbered *amphodon* appears to be *de rigueur* in Memphis poll tax receipts, at least until the 180s (see Tab. 1).¹⁶

While *idiotai* have been eliminated from the corpus, there remain two, possibly three, references to goldsmiths¹⁷ and one to astrologers. The latter appears in a text edited as a poll tax receipt (*SB* 22.15390), but which may in fact record an otherwise unattested trade tax on astrologers:¹⁸ the editor's λ(αογραφίας) ἀστρολ(όγων) is better read as χι() ἀστρολ(όγων), presumably χι(ρωναξίου) (*l.* χειρωναξίου).¹⁹ The amount paid is lost. Nevertheless, the receipt bears formal similarities to the poll tax receipts and should continue to be considered with the rest of the corpus.

¹⁵ See Plate 26a or the low-quality image at <https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010041731> (accessed 19 Jan. 2022). The editor already considered reading a numbered *amphodon* in the commentary *ad loc.*

¹⁶ Nos. 13–16 in Tab. 1 were all written by the same clerk according to Gonis (this issue, p. 135), so it is unclear if the omission of the *amphodon* was now general practice or a quirk of this writer. Another trend visible from 180 on (but not in *P.Lond.* 3.845b [p. 34].1–4, 185 CE) is the inclusion of the guard tax, first at a rate of 3 dr., 2 ob., then 3 dr., 5 ob. (*P.Lond.* 3.1216 [p. 34], 192 CE).

¹⁷ *BGU* 2.434 and *BGU* 15.2530. In *SB* 26.16823.3, [λαογραφίας ...] .ων τοῦ αὐτοῦ (ἔτους) might be another attestation of χρυσοχόων (or another term) but could in theory be a reference to two ἀμφόδων, as in *P.Cair.Goodsp.* 10 and *SPP* 22.130 (below).

¹⁸ For documentary attestations of astrologers in Egypt and literature, see *CPR* 25.4.5 n.

¹⁹ This was the editor's initial reading (*comm. ad l.* 1), unconvincingly rejected. For the abbreviation, cf. e.g. *P.Fay.* 59.3 and 5. Two minor notes on l. 2: δι(α)γέγρα(φεν) instead of διέγρ(αφεν); Θέ[ωνι] cannot fit the space, so read Θέ[ω(νι)]. This receipt also stands out for the inclusion of a mother's name: unlike the corpus of poll tax receipts from Arsinoe, where name-patronymic-papponymic-metronymic was standard, the Memphis receipts nowhere else record the mother's name (see Tab. 1). This of course could just be the whim of the scribe or else occasioned by the taxpayer being a legally fatherless individual.

The reference to goldsmiths in the poll tax receipts (λαογραφίας χρυσοχόων) still requires explanation. C.A. Nelson (still dealing with *idiotai* and astrologers) debated whether the modifier should be taken as indicative of the taxpayer's trade or as an alternative designation of the numbered *amphodon* in which the taxpayer resided.²⁰ The latter is unlikely, since in *BGU* 2.434 the trade title is separated from the *amphodon* number. Nelson ultimately favored the former explanation, adducing evidence for the variability of exemptions from the poll tax for certain professionals; the goldsmiths, on his understanding, may have normally been exempt from the poll tax due to their payment of a trade tax, but "an occasional bad year of business probably forced them to meet their annual tax obligation to the state the way most other citizens did – by paying the poll tax."²¹

It is difficult to assess the likelihood of this scenario without more evidence, but a more promising explanation may be sought in the role of associations in collecting taxes and providing surety for their members.²² The association bylaws *P.Tebt.* 5.244 (43 CE), for instance, provide that the president is to collect the members' poll tax (*laographia*) and that the association is to stand surety for members' debts up to 100 drachmas. Sureties for capitation taxes were deemed important enough to record in at least three Memphis census declarations, with the declarant's landlord (σταθμοῦχος) serving in this role in each case.²³ Likewise, in the receipt *P.Cair.Goodsp.* 10 it is the landlord who pays poll and guard taxes on behalf of his tenants, while in *SB* 26.16823, the poll tax is paid to the landlord (who presumably forwarded it to the appropriate authorities). Clearly, for the inhabitants of Memphis tenements, their landlord played a key role in ensuring and facilitating their payment of taxes. The reference to goldsmiths in at least two poll tax receipts can be seen in the same light: the local association may have provided surety for the taxes of individual tradesmen, which finds reflection in the elliptical expression λαογραφίας χρυσοχόων.

²⁰ Nelson (n. 6) 137–140.

²¹ Nelson (n. 6) 139.

²² On which, see M. Gibbs, "Trade Associations in Roman Egypt: Their *raison d'être*," *Ancient Society* 41 (2011) 291–315 and M. Langellotti, "Professional Associations and the State in Roman Egypt: The Case of First-Century Tebtunis," *CdÉ* 91 (2016) 111–134.

²³ *P.Rain.Cent.* 59, *BGU* 3.833 = *W.Chr.* 205, and *P.Lond.* 3.919 (p. 28), quoted here from ll. 26–28 of the Berlin papyrus: παρὸν δὲ ὁ προγεγραμμένος σταθ(μοῦ)χος | [Ἰ]σίδωρος | ἐνγυᾶται ἡμ[ᾶς] | τῶ[ν] ἐπικεφαλίων. On the term σταθμοῦχος, see Gonis (n. 3) 124.

Table 1. Memphis Tax Receipts²⁴

#	Text	Year (CE)	Day	Collector	Tax	<i>Amphodon</i>	Taxpayer
1	<i>SB</i> 22.15390	138/139 or 161/162	[- - -]	Theon	<i>cheironaxion</i> (astrologers)	not recorded?	Di... s. [- - -] and Tnepheros
2	<i>SB</i> 16.12645	141	July 22	Artem()	<i>laographia</i>	14	Mystes s. Akousilaos gs. Horos
3	<i>P.Col.</i> 8.220	141	July 22	Artem()	<i>laographia</i>	14	Ammonios s. Akousilaos gs. Horos
4	<i>P.Vind.Worp</i> 7	161–166	July 21	Aebutius Diogas	<i>laographia</i>	1	Herakleides s. Apollonios gs. Harpaesis
5	<i>BGU</i> 15.2530	161–169 or 177–180	Mar. 31	Sarapion (?) alias Apion ²⁵	<i>laographia</i> (goldsmiths)	[- - -]	[- - -] s. Herieus
6	<i>SPP</i> 22.130 descr. (edition below)	162–169	Jan. 28	[- - -]	<i>laographia</i>	4 & 7	Aphynchis s. Pher...
7	<i>BGU</i> 2.434	169	Apr. 15	Aph[rodisios (?)]	<i>laographia</i> (goldsmiths)	3	Eudaimon [- - -]
8	<i>P.Louvre</i> 1.30	172	Feb. 26 – Mar. 26	Kainion (?) alias Apion ²⁶	<i>laographia</i>	5	[- - -] s. Pathermouthis
9	<i>P.Stras.</i> 4.195.1– 4	174	Jan. 28	Asklepiades	<i>laographia</i>	2	Horos s. Neilos
10	<i>SB</i> 26.16823	176–179	[- - -]	NN Isidoros (landlord)	<i>laographia</i>	[- - -]	Melas s. Sarapion
11	<i>P.Mich. inv.</i> 173 (edition below)	177–179	Jan. 31	Syros	<i>laographia</i>	1	[- - -]
12	<i>P.Cair.Goodsp.</i> 10	180	Aug. 3	Apion and Anoubion alias Kolosion	<i>laographia</i> and <i>phylaktron</i>	3 & 15	Heierius s. Anoubion (on behalf of his tenants)
13	<i>BM EA</i> 76175 (Gonis, this issue, pp. 135–136)	184 or 186	[- - -]	Dorion	<i>laographia</i> and <i>phylaktron</i>	not recorded	Pollion s. Sarapion
14	<i>P.Lond.</i> 3.845b (p. 34).1–4	185	Jan. 29	Dorion	<i>laographia</i>	not recorded	Pollion s. Sarapion

²⁴ Reflecting relevant *BL* corrections and those presented above.

²⁵ The first name of the editor's Δάρει τῷ καὶ Ἀπίωνι is unsatisfactory, as the first letter cannot be delta. I wonder if instead we can read Σαρραπ(ίωνι), with a lunate *pi* in abbreviation.

²⁶ It seems impossible to square this name with the tax collector NN alias Apion of #5.

#	Text	Year (CE)	Day	Collector	Tax	<i>Amphodon</i>	Taxpayer
15	<i>P.Flor.</i> 1.12	186/187 187/188 188/189	not recorded	Heron Heron Dionysios	<i>laographia</i> and <i>phylaktron</i>	not recorded	Oresenouphis s. Paapis
16	<i>P.Lond.</i> 3.1216 (p. 34)	192	May 26 – June 24	Aemillius	<i>laographia</i> and <i>phylaktron</i>	not recorded	Oresenouphis s. Paapis

Table 2. Memphis Census Declarations

In addition to those listed here, there are two declarations from the Memphite village of Moithymis²⁷ and two fragmentary declarations whose formulas suggest they derive from the Memphite nome.²⁸ The declarations from Memphis display a number of particularities:²⁹ here, tenants (ἔνοικοι) submitted their own declarations,³⁰ though in the presence of their landlords, who stood surety for their capitation taxes; boys submitted their own declarations upon reaching fiscal adulthood (14 years of age);³¹ and declarants often used the status term *argos*, interpreted as “a privileged class of those without a manual trade.”³²

No.	Text	Census (CE)	Declarant	Landlord	<i>Amphodon</i>
1	<i>P.Vind.Sijp.</i> 24	131/132	Tetanoupis d. Areios, <i>arge</i>	N/A (owner occupied)	5
2	<i>BGU</i> 3.777	145/146	Areios	Isidoros s. Anoubion alias Pankrates	[- - -]

²⁷ *SPP* 20.11 (174 CE) and *BGU* 11.2019 (188 CE).

²⁸ *P.Cair.Preis.*² 10 (145/146 or 159/160; found in Bakchias) and *SB* 16.12996 (174 CE). Cf. P.J. Sijpesteijn, “P.Cairo Preisigke 10: A κατ’ οἰκίαν ἀπογραφὴ from the Memphite Nome,” *ZPE* 80 (1990) 219–220.

²⁹ For the administrative handling of the declarations, see T. Kruse, *Der Königliche Schreiber und die Gauverwaltung. Untersuchungen zur Verwaltungsgeschichte Ägyptens in der Zeit von Augustus bis Philippus Arabs* (Munich-Leipzig 2002) 1.120–124 and 137.

³⁰ M. Hombert and C. Préaux, *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* 5, pp. 57 and 112; R.S. Bagnall and B. Frier, *The Demography of Roman Egypt* (2nd ed.; Cambridge 2006) 13.

³¹ J. Bingen, *P.Rain.Cent.* 59; Sijpesteijn (n. 1) 255, n. 2; Bagnall and Frier (n. 30) 57–58 and 247.

³² Bagnall and Frier (n. 30) 22; cf. 24 and Hombert and Préaux (n. 30) 103 and 105.

No.	Text	Census (CE)	Declarant	Landlord	<i>Amphodon</i>
3	<i>P.Lond.</i> 3.915 (p. 26)	159/160	Apollonios s. Harphaesis alias Hephaistion, <i>argos</i>	Sarapion s. Sarapion	1
4	<i>P.Rain.Cent.</i> 59	159/160	Herakleides s. Apollonios	Sarapion s. Sarapion	1
5	<i>P.Münch.</i> 3.71. 12–31	159/160	Papontos s. Psosnaus, <i>argos</i>	NN s. Eukrates (cf. n. 1)	5
6	<i>BGU</i> 3.833 = <i>W.Chr.</i> 205	173/174	Melas s. Areios, <i>argos</i>	Isidoros s. Anoubion alias Pankrates	2
7	<i>P.Lond.</i> 3.919b (p. 28)	173/174	Tyrannos	Isidoros (s. Anoubion alias Pankrates? Cf. n. 1)	[- - -]

Table 3. The *Amphoda* of Memphis³³

Aside from the tax receipts and census declarations, Memphis' numbered *amphoda* appear in two other documents: the property declaration *SB* 20.14392.2 (53 CE)³⁴ and the declaration of death *P.Bour.* 26 = *C.Pap.Gr.* 2.79.2 (third century CE).

No. Texts

- 1 *P.Lond.* 3.915 (p. 26).9, 18 (160 CE); *P.Rain.Cent.* 59.9, 11 (160 CE); *P.Vind.Worp.* 7.2 (161–166); *P.Mich. inv.* 173.2 (177–179)
- 2 *BGU* 3.833 = *W.Chr.* 205.5–6, 9 (174 CE); *P.Stras.* 4.195.3–4 (174 CE)
- 3 *BGU* 2.434.3 (169 CE); *P.Cair.Goodsp.* 10.5–6 (180 CE); *P.Bour.* 26 = *C.Pap.Gr.* 2.79.2.13 (III CE)
- 4 *BGU* 3.777.3–4 (145/146); *SPP* 22.130.2 (162–169)
- 5 *P.Vind.Sijp.* 24.9 (131/132); *P.Münch.* 3.71.17; *P.Louvre* 1.30.2 (172 CE)
- 6 Unattested
- 7 *SPP* 22.130.2 (162–169)

³³ Updating Thompson (n. 4) 247, n. 4.

³⁴ Read τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτου for the editor's τεσσάρου και δεκάτου in l. 10.

No.	Texts
8–13	Unattested
14	<i>SB</i> 20.14392.2.10 (53 CE); <i>SB</i> 16.12645.6 (141 CE); <i>P.Col.</i> 8.220.6 (141 CE)
15	<i>P.Cair.Goodsp.</i> 10.5–6 (180 CE)
3 & 15	<i>P.Cair.Goodsp.</i> 10.5–6 (180 CE)
4 & 7	<i>SPP</i> 22.130.2 (162–169)

1. Poll Tax Receipt (*SPP* 22.130 descr.)

P.Vindob. G 24988	H × W = 8.4 × 21.4 cm	Written: Memphis
TM 15056		Found: Soknopaiou Nesos (?)
Acquired in 1893(?) ³⁵		28 Jan. 162–169

This papyrus is edited from the image available through the Austrian National Library.³⁶ It is written across the fibers in a wide format, which is typical of the Memphis receipts. The other side is blank save for one clear and few lighter marks of ink. Carl Wessely described it as follows: “Solvitur tributum πράκ(τορσιν) ἀργ(υρικῶν) Μέμφεως. (Fuit S.N. 34).” Its former S(oknopaiou) N(esos) number shows that it was mixed in with the papyri from this Fayum village, which may well be where it was found (see above).

Based on Wessely’s description, Wallace included the papyrus in his list of Memphis poll tax receipts,³⁷ but the editor of *P.Vind.Worp* 7 reported, “Auf der sich in meinem Besitz befindenden Photographie des *SPP* XXII 130 ist das Wort λαογραφία nicht zu lesen” (p. 62), a verdict cited in Nelson’s first foray into the corpus³⁸ and by the editor of *P.Louvre* 1.30 (p. 145). In fact, the term does appear in the damaged third line of the text in its typical abbreviated form λαογρῶ. The amount paid is poorly preserved, but the expected eight drachmas is not much in doubt.

A bit of surprise comes from the mention of two *amphoda* in the second line, the 4th and 7th. A combination of *amphoda* was previously found only in *P.Cair.Goods*. 10 (180), which records a combined payment for

³⁵ Cf. *SPP* 22, pp. 1–2, where most of the volume’s texts are listed and are said to have been acquired by Archduke Rainer in 1893, although text 130 is not included in the preceding list. The papyrus now belongs to Vienna’s “alter Bestand,” donated by Archduke Rainer in 1899. My thanks to Bernhard Palme for supplying this information.

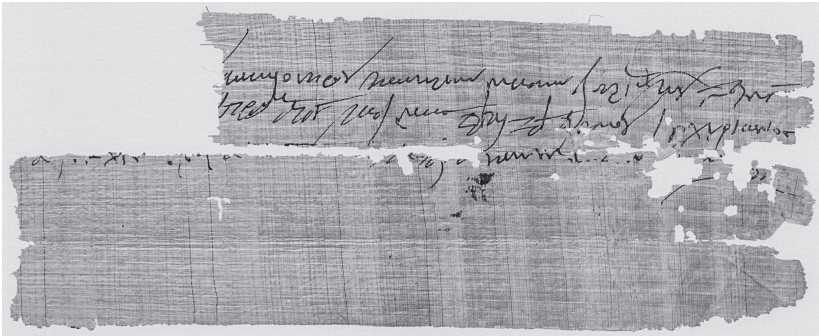
³⁶ <http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/RZ00007981> (accessed 19 Jan. 2022).

³⁷ Wallace (n. 7) 483, n. 211.

³⁸ C.A. Nelson, “The Memphis Poll Tax Receipts,” *Pap.Congr.XVII* 3.1041, n. 1.

an unspecified group of tenants, a situation that could well be explained by the tenants residing in two different quarters of Memphis. In our case, however, there is only a single taxpayer, so the two *amphoda* cannot be explained in the same way. Rather, one of two explanations appears possible: either the tax collector(s) had responsibility for two different *amphoda* or the two were combined into one “double” quarter. If the intermediary Ischyryon was indeed the taxpayer’s landlord (cf. l. 2 n.), he may have owned properties in these two *amphoda* and made arrangements to facilitate his tenants’ payments of the poll tax to the appropriate *praktors*.

- 1 [ἔτους 4–7]υ Ἀντωνίνου καὶ Οὐήρου τῶν κυρίων Σεβαστῶν εἰς
ἀρίθ(μησιν) Μεχ(εῖρ) γ̅ διέγ(ραψεν)
2 [ca. 8–12]ι πράκ(τορ-) ἀργυ(ρικῶν) Μέμφεως δ ἀμφ(όδου) καὶ
ζ ἀμφ(όδου) δι’ ἐμοῦ Ἰσχυρίωνος
3 Ἀφύγχις Φερ . . . ς λαογραφ(ίας) τ[ο]ῦ αὐτοῦ ἔτους δραχ[μὰς] ὀκτώ,
4 (γίν.) (δρ.) η.



P.Vindob. G 24988

Image courtesy of the Austrian National Library.

“[Year x] of Antoninus and Verus, lords Augusti, for accounting on Mecheir 3. He paid to ... collector(s) of money taxes, for the 4th *amphodon* and 7th *amphodon* of Memphis, through me, Ischyryon: Aphynchis, son of Pher... for the poll tax of the same year (?) [eight drachmas], which comes to 8 dr.”

1 The first stroke looks like the end of a final upsilon, as in Οὐήρου, rather than a high epsilon, as in εἰς later on in the line. A final upsilon must be the end of the year. Ἀντωνίνου would then be written in extreme *Verschleifung*; in any case, it is ligatured to the following καί. The Memphis

receipts favor short-form titulature in the dating formula,³⁹ while those from Arsinoe generally provide full titulature. Pius was still alive in January of 161, so the receipt dates to between 162 and 169, when Verus died.

– εἰς ἀρίθ(μησιν) Μεχ(εῖρ) γ̄. The normal formula is “(month, day) εἰς ἀρίθμησιν / ἀριθμήσεως (previous month)” (see D. Hagedorn, *BGU* 20.2851, Exkurs II), so εἰς ἀρίθ(μησιν) appears redundant here. Cf. *P.Stras.* 4.195.2, which also happens to have been written on Mecheir 3.

2 δ ἄμφ(όδου) καὶ ζ ἄμφ(όδου). For this writing of ἄμφοδον, see discussion above.

– δι’ ἐμοῦ Ἰσχυρίωνος. Given that landlords in Memphis both guaranteed the payment of their tenants’ poll tax and even collected it in some cases (see above), such a role may lie behind Ischyriion’s intervention here.

3 After the sinusoid of λαογρα(φίας), I see parts of an elaborated tau similar to that in τῶν (l. 1), followed after the lacuna by an upsilon ligatured into alpha. This points us to the expected phrase τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔτους, with what appears to be a ligature between the final upsilon of αὐτοῦ and epsilon. The following letter, however, is difficult to reconcile with tau and looks rather like another epsilon, similar to that in διέγ(ραψεν). τ[ο]ῦ αὐτοῦ ε ἔτους would date the receipt to 28 Jan., 165, but there is no stroke marking an ordinal and the year number is not recapitulated in other receipts, so it is probably better to take this simply as τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔτους.

2. Poll Tax Receipt

P.Mich. inv. 173

H × W = 4 × 9.9 cm

Written: Memphis

TM 970989

Found: Fayum (?)

Acquired Feb.-Mar. 1920⁴⁰

31 Jan., 177–179

This papyrus is edited from the image available through the University of Michigan Papyrology Collection.⁴¹ The document has the standard form of Memphis poll tax receipts, written against the fibers in a wide

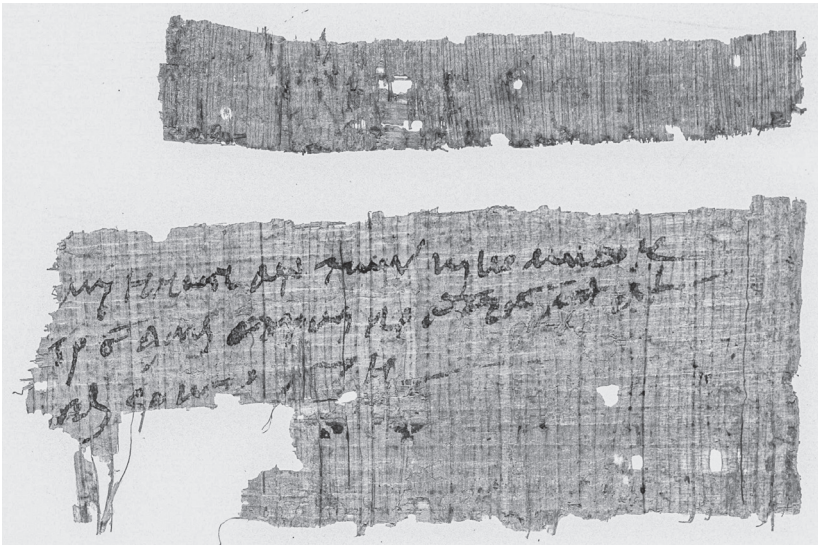
³⁹ For this common titulature of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, see P. Bureth, *Les titulatures impériales dans les papyrus, les ostraca et les inscriptions d’Égypte (30 a.C.–284 p.C.)* (Brussels 1964) 77–78.

⁴⁰ Part of Michigan’s first acquisition of papyri made by Francis W. Kelsey with the assistance of Bernard P. Grenfell: see J.G. Pedley, *The Life and Works of Francis Willey Kelsey. Archaeology, Antiquity, and the Arts* (Ann Arbor 2012) 271–272, further explored by T.M. Hickey in the forthcoming *P.Mich.Cent.*

⁴¹ <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/a/apis/x-5008/173r.tif> (accessed 20 Jan. 2022).

format. It is broken at the left with the loss of the year and the taxpayer's name. The back is blank. Stored in the same folder is a long strip (1.5 × 8 cm) devoid of writing that may have originally contained another such receipt.

- 1 [ἔτους ca. 15] Αὐρηλίων Ἀντωνίνου καὶ Κομμόδου
- 2 [τῶν κυρίων Σεβαστῶν Μεχ]εῖρ ζ. διέγρα(ψε) Σύροι πράκ(τορι)
ἀργυ(ρικῶν) Μέμφ(εως) α ἀμφ(όδου)
- 3 [ca. 15–18 λα]ογρα(φίας) (δρ.) ὀκτώ, (γίν.) (δρ.) η.



P.Mich. inv. 173

Image courtesy of the University of Michigan Papyrology Collection.

“[Year *x*] of the Aurelii Antoninus and Commodus, [lords Augusti,] Mecheir 6. Paid to Syros, collector of money taxes, for the 1st *amphodon* of Memphis: [...], for the poll tax, eight drachmas, which comes to 8 dr.”

1–2 As in *SB* 26.16823.1, the space seems too long for εἰκοστοῦ, which narrows the possibilities to the 17th, 18th, or 19th years, corresponding to January 31 of 177, 178, or 179. This short-form titulature of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus is common: see Bureth (n. 39) 85–86.

2 Μέμφ(εως) α ἀμφ(όδου). The parallels discussed above help guide the reading. There is little articulation of the second and third letters in Μέμφ(εως), for which *SPP* 22.130.2 above offers comparison, even if the hand is different and Μέμφεως is continued in full rather than abbreviated.

A TAX RECEIPT FROM MEMPHIS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

Nikolaos Gonis *University College London*

Abstract. — Edition of a papyrus of the British Museum with a tax receipt from Greater Memphis.

Keywords: Memphis, poll-tax, guard-tax

This article publishes a receipt for the payment of poll- and guard-taxes by a certain Pollion to Dorion, tax collector of Memphis. Though the name of the payer's father is lost, this is probably Pollion son of Sarapion, known from *P.Lond.* 3.845b.1–4, a receipt for the poll-tax of Memphis¹ dated 29 January 185. Both texts are the work of the same clerk,² who also wrote *P.Flor.* 1.12³ (three receipts: 186/187, 187/188, 26.1.–24.2.189) and *P.Lond.* 3.1216⁴ (26.5.–24.6.192); they all concern the same taxes but were issued to a different payer.

The poll-tax receipts of Memphis have received extensive discussion over the years; see now W.G. Claytor in this issue, pp. 121–133.

The text is written across the fibres, as is common in this class of texts. The back is blank.

BM EA76175 H × W = 9.9 × 21.3 cm 184 or 186,
TM 380799 https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA76175 Memphis

[κ . ἔ]τους Αὔρηλίου Κομμόδου Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος [τοῦ
κυρίου - -]

¹ Shown to be Greater Memphis rather than the homonymous village in the Fayum by C.A. Nelson, “Another Memphis Poll Tax Receipt,” *BASP* 32 (1995) 134–135, who also offered a revised transcription.

² An image is posted at [http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Papyrus_845\(A-C\)](http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Papyrus_845(A-C)). It is not known whether the two sister pieces entered the British Museum together. BL Papyrus 845b is part of a lot presented to the Museum in 1900. BM EA76175 belongs to a group of uncatalogued papyri that remained in the Museum after the transfer of the Greek papyrus collection to the British Library in 1973, and were formally registered only in 2000, but they were certainly acquired much earlier. (My thanks to Dr I. Regulski for answering my enquiries.)

³ <http://www.psi-online.it/images/orig/P.Flor.12.jpg>.

⁴ http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Papyrus_1216.

[διέγ(ραψεν)] Δωρίων πράκ(τορι) ἀργ(υρικῶν) Μέμφεως Πωλλίω[ν
 Σαραπίωνος λαογρ(αφίας) δραχμ(ᾶς)]
 [ὀκτώ, μερι]σ(μοῦ) φυλ(άκτρον) γ (διώβολον), (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ)
 ια (διώβολον).

2 πρα^K αρ̄γ̄ 1. Δωρίωνι 3]c φυ^λ γ = / ι ια=

“Year 20+ of Aurelius Commodus Antoninus Caesar the lord (*month, day*). Pollion son of Sarapion paid to Dorion, collector of money taxes of Memphis, eight drachmas for poll-tax, 3 (drachmas) 2 obols for the assessment of the guard-tax, total 11 dr. 2 ob.”

1 [κ . ἔ]τους. The lost year number would have been κδ (24 = 183/184) or κς (26 = 185/186): the tax collector Dorion was in office in year 25 of Commodus, when he issued the receipt *P.Lond.* 845b to the same tax payer, while Heron is attested in years 27 and 28 (*P.Flor.* 12.2, 6). If more than one πράκτωρ ἀργυρικῶν officiated in a given year, years 27 and 28 would also be possible. The rate of the guard tax seems to rise in Year 29 = 188/189 (see below, 1. 3 n.), which offers a *terminus ante quem*. When the month is indicated, these receipts date from between January and August. In sum, the present receipt was probably issued in 184 or 186.

2 Δωρίων. Nominative for dative, as in most texts in the hand of this clerk (*P.Lond.* 845b.2, *P.Flor.* 12.2, and 6; but dative in *P.Lond.* 1216.2), but also in receipts written by others; see *P.Louvre* 30 introd. (p. 147).

2–3 λαογρ(αφίας) δραχμ(ᾶς)] | [ὀκτώ]. The name of the tax and sum paid (8 drachmas, the standard rate for poll-tax at Memphis) are restored on the basis of the total in line 3 and the other receipts penned by this clerk. The same applies to the wording: we find δραχμ(ᾶς) ὀκτώ in *P.Lond.* 845b.4, *P.Flor.* 12.4, 7, and 12, and δραχμᾶς ὀκτώ in *P.Lond.* 1216.2.

3 [μερι]σ(μοῦ) φυλ(άκτρον). Cf. *P.Flor.* 12.4, 7–8, 12, *P.Lond.* 1216.3–4, *P.Cair. Goodsp.* 10.10 (180), a cumulative receipt for the same charges, has φυλάκτρον, which is the basis for the resolution of this abbreviation in the other texts from Memphis.

– γ (διώβολον). The same sum is recorded for this charge in the first two receipts in *P.Flor.* 12, for years 186/187 and 187/188; it is 3 dr. 5 ob. in the third, for 188/189, and in *P.Lond.* 1216, for 191/192. This clerk systematically omits the drachma-symbol before γ.

GRAIN TAX REVENUES FROM OXYRHYNCHITE VILLAGES: AN ACCOUNT IN THE BEINECKE LIBRARY

Amin Benaissa *University of Oxford*

Abstract. — An edition of an incomplete account in the Beinecke Library listing large amounts of wheat collected or due from villages of the Oxyrhynchite nome. Comparison with the number of Oxyrhynchite villages listed in *P.Oxy.* 10.1285 and the total grain tax contribution of the nome in *SB* 14.12208 suggests that the amounts correspond to the annual tax revenues in wheat from these villages, evidence for which is otherwise scarce. The back of the papyrus contains a money account mentioning an ἐμβολάρχης. Another fragmentary account of Oxyrhynchite villages in the Beinecke Library is edited as an appendix.

Keywords: Oxyrhynchite nome, villages, grain tax, land size

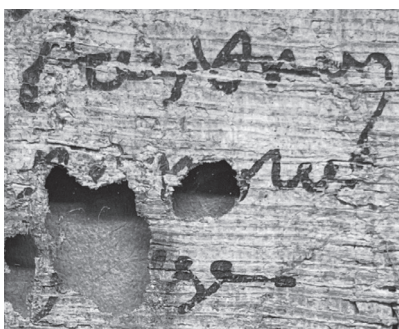
The account published below lists amounts of wheat collected or due from various villages of the Oxyrhynchite nome sometime in the third century. The villages in the preserved section belonged to the Middle toparchy of the nome.¹ The amounts are considerable, ranging from 2,537 1/2 to 6,394 1/2 artabas, which suggests that they represent the grain tax revenues from each village. It is unclear, however, whether they are total amounts for a given year or instalments, and whether they cover all categories of land and taxpayers or only a particular category. One possible way to answer these questions is to compare the quantities with the total grain tax contribution of the Oxyrhynchite nome in the mid fourth century, which was 321,278 art. of wheat according to *SB* 14.12208.1–4.²

The total for the six villages whose payments are more or less fully preserved is at least 23,853 1/4 art., 7.4% of the overall figure of *SB* 12208.

¹ On the individual villages, see A. Benaissa, *Rural Settlements of the Oxyrhynchite Nome* (Version 3.0, Leuven 2021), available for download from <https://www.trismegistos.org/top/>.

² For the correct interpretation of this document, see R.S. Bagnall and K.A. Worp, “Grain Land in the Oxyrhynchite nome,” *ZPE* 37 (1980) 263–264, and for its date R.S. Bagnall, “Agricultural Productivity and Taxation in Later Roman Egypt,” *TAPA* 115 (1985) 289–308, at 300–301 (= *BL* 8.379). Much later, around the turn of the seventh century, 350,000 artabas were collected from the Oxyrhynchite and Cynopolite nomes combined according to *P.Oxy.* 16.1909 (for its date, see *P.Oxy.* 84.5465.2 n.). This is consistent with the fourth-century figure, the Cynopolite nome being much smaller than the Oxyrhynchite. Of course, allowance must be made for changes in the distribution of cultures, productivity, and patterns of land use in the intervening period.

Now, *P.Oxy.* 10.1285 is an extensive nome-wide account for an unknown money tax dating from the third century. It covers 86 independent villages of the Oxyrhynchite nome.³ The list of villages is complete in cols. 3–4, and there are no grounds for assuming that any administratively independent villages have been omitted. All of the villages whose names can be read in the Beinecke papyrus recur in *P.Oxy.* 1285 except Peenno, but this toponym must surely be read for the otherwise unknown Που[.]ξω of the Middle toparchy in line 105.⁴ The editors commented: “Perhaps Πού[χ]εω(ς) (966), but the absence of the final ς is curious.” Pouchis, however, is attested only in a single third-century account (*P.Oxy.* 6.966),⁵ which does not confirm its location in the Middle toparchy and indeed in the Oxyrhynchite nome, whereas all the other villages in *P.Oxy.* 1285 are well attested and must have been relatively important rural centres. Pouchis is a known village of the Antaeopolite nome (TM Geo 6861): the isolated instance in *P.Oxy.* 966 should probably be identified with it. An inspection of the original in the Bodleian Library suggests that Πεξυνω is an acceptable reading in *P.Oxy.* 1285.105. There is certainly no room for the *chi* of the supposed Πού[χ]εω(ς):



To return to the comparison of our document with *SB* 12208: the average payment of the six villages whose payments are more or less fully

³ Tabulated both alphabetically and in descending order of size of payment in J. Rowlandson, *Landowners and Tenants in Roman Egypt: The Social Relations of Agriculture in the Oxyrhynchite Nome* (Oxford 1996) 286–290 (Appendix 1, Table 1). She omits six villages whose payments are not preserved. There were of course more villages and hamlets in the Oxyrhynchite nome in the third century, but these will have been administratively subsumed under the territories of the principal 86 villages.

⁴ The same village will have been named in line 12, but there it is completely lost in the lacuna.

⁵ W. Clarysse and N. Kruit, “Notes on P.Princeton II 42,” *ZPE* 82 (1990) 123–125, at 124, n. 6 = *BL* 9.182, confirm that “[i]n P.Oxy. VI 966 the reading Πουχεως is certain ... (original checked by R. Coles).”

preserved is 3,975 1/2 art. At this rate, the other 80 villages of the nome listed in *P.Oxy.* 1285 will have contributed $3,975 \frac{1}{2} \times 80 = 318,040$ art. Naturally, some will have made much smaller and others much larger payments than the average. At the village of Sinary of the Lower toparchy, for example, the metropolitan grain dues alone amounted to 14,604 1/2 art. according to *P.Oxy.* 44.3170.247–267 (early 3rd c.), but Sinary was one of the larger villages of the nome and probably had a higher than average proportion of metropolitan landowners.⁶ Such variations aside, the figure obtained for all 86 villages, $23,853 \frac{1}{4} + 318,040 = 341,893 \frac{1}{4}$ art., is remarkably close to the total 321,278 art. contributed by the whole nome in *SB* 12208 despite the fact that the two documents may be more than a century apart. It is generally acknowledged that land productivity and tax rates in Egypt remained largely stable from the third to the fourth century when the untypical villages on the outer edges of the Fayum are excepted.⁷ The tax rates in *SB* 12208 are virtually identical to those in force in the third century, when most private land was taxed at 1 artaba per aoura and public land at an average of 3 artabas per aoura.⁸ Such a convergence would seem to support the hypothesis that the Beinecke papyrus lists the annual tax revenues in wheat from individual Oxyrhynchite villages.

Because different categories of land were differently taxed and the ratio of private to public land will have varied from village to village, it is difficult to extrapolate the area of these villages' arable grain land from their respective wheat contributions. For instance, was Peenno truly a bigger village with a much larger administrative territory than the other five villages or did it have a higher proportion of public land, which was taxed at a higher rate than private land?⁹ The 321,278 art. in *SB* 12208 represent the wheat due from an area of 202,544 aouras (c. 560 km²) comprising both public (38,857 ar.) and private (163,687 ar.) land and include a one seventh surcharge. By a crude calculation, this is equivalent to a rate of c. 1.6 artabas per aoura across both categories, which would yield the following areas of grain land for our villages:

⁶ Cf. *Rural Settlements of the Oxyrhynchite Nome* (n. 1) 357 under "Noteworthy landowners."

⁷ Cf. Bagnall, "Agricultural Productivity and Taxation," (n. 2) 300–301.

⁸ On the categories and their different rates of taxation, see Rowlandson, *Landowners and Tenants* (n. 3) 27–80. The extent to which the balance between public and private land in the Oxyrhynchite nome shifted from the third to the mid fourth century is admittedly unclear: *ibid.* 63–67.

⁹ Royal or public land has not been explicitly attested in Peenno to date, but this is not significant. For private land, cf. *P.Harr.* 1.138.i.17–18 (92; *BL* 8.148) (catoecic) and *P.Oxy.* 12.1549.12–17 (240) (*monartabos*, i.e. private land taxed at a rate of 1 art./ar.).

N-	4,263 art.	2,664.4 ar.
Tanais	3,674 art.	2,252.5 ar.
Petne	4,060 art.	2,537.5 ar.
Istrou	2,537 1/2 art.	1,585.9 ar.
Toka	2,994 1/4 art.	1,871.4 ar.
Peenno	6,394 1/2 art.	3,996.6 ar.

The average area of these six villages is $14,908.3 / 6 = 2,484.7$ ar. When we multiply it by the remaining 80 villages of the nome, we obtain 198,776 ar., which added to the 14,908.3 ar. of the other six villages results in a grand total of 213,684.3 ar. This figure is again close to the total area of the nome's grain land given in *SB* 12208 (202,544 ar.).¹⁰ The above calculated areas are also consistent with the 2,000+ (᾽Β . Δ) arouras said to belong to the cultivable territory of Teis and other villages within its *κωμογραμματεία* in *P.Köln* 14.569.7 (138–161), from which apparently 5,763 art. were due.¹¹ *PSI* 7.779 (3rd/4th c.; *BL* 11.247), however, gives 853 arouras as the *κωμητικὴ ὑπόστασις* of Istrou, which is almost twice as small as the area calculated for the same village above, but it is unclear whether this figure covers the entirety of the village's lands and whether it includes other villages under the administration of Istrou. It is an even riskier proposition to attempt to deduce population size from these grain payments. For one, an unquantifiable number of landowners were metropolitans rather than villagers.¹²

To the best of my knowledge, the account does not have close parallels from Oxyrhynchus, and comparable figures for the annual grain tax revenues from individual villages of the nome are hard to come by in the Roman period.¹³ Other nome-wide accounts record only payments for particular money taxes (*P.Oxy.* 10.1285, 14.1659) or for meat for the *annona militaris* (*SB* 26.16570).¹⁴ Their amounts do not correlate with those of the

¹⁰ These calculations are admittedly somewhat circular. *P.NYU* inv. 30, a document to be published by Irene Soto Marín dating from c. 261, mentions an area of 244,932 3/4 arouras in relation to the Oxyrhynchite nome, but this figure may include garden and vine land. I thank the author for a preview of her article.

¹¹ Strictly speaking, the figure covers lands falling under the fiscal department of the *dioikesis*, but these will have comprised the vast majority of the village's grain land apart from the negligible categories of sacred and *ousiac* land; cf. Rowlandson, *Landowners and Tenants* (n. 3) 30, 32–33.

¹² In *P.Oxy.* 44.3169 (c. 200–212; *BL* 13.161), an extensive account of payments at a village granary, over a third of the grain handled concerns metropolitans; cf. Rowlandson, *Landowners and Tenants* (n. 3) 116–118.

¹³ Cf. above on *P.Oxy.* 44.3170 for the metropolitan grain dues of Sinary and on *P.Köln* 14.569 for the revenues from Teis.

¹⁴ On these accounts and their potential value for estimating village size, see D.W. Rathbone, "Villages, Land and Population in Graeco-Roman Egypt," *PCPhS* 36 (1990) 103–142, at

Beinecke papyrus in any systematic fashion, especially in the case of Toka and Peenno in *P.Oxy.* 1285:

	P.CtYBR inv. 339	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 1285.1–2	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 1285.3–4
Tanais	3,6 <i>n</i> 4 art.	438 dr.	–
Petne	4,060 art.	300 dr.	297 dr.
Istrou	2,537 art.	380 dr.	352 dr.
Toka	2,994 art.	68 dr.	64 dr. ¹⁵
Peenno	6,394 art.	48 dr.	4 <i>n</i> dr.
	P.CtYBR inv. 339	SB 16570	
Tanais	3,6 <i>n</i> 4 art.	3 tal. 43 mnai	
Petne	4,060 art.	1 tal. 52 mnai	
Istrou	2,537 art.	2 tal. 1 mna	
Toka	2,994 art.	1 tal. 21 mnai	
Peenno	6,394 art.	17 mnai	

P.CtYBR inv. 339

H × W = 10 × 14.6 cm

Third century,
Oxyrhynchite nome

According to the Beinecke Library's records, the papyrus was "[p]urchased by Michael Ivanovich Rostovtzeff and Charles Bradford Welles in Egypt, 1931 before 10 February, with funds donated by Edward Stephen Harkness and Horatio McLeod Reynolds," from Maurice Nahman in Cairo.¹⁶

(a) Front

The remains of one column, incomplete at the top and foot, with a blank space *c.* 5 cm wide to its left. The writing runs along the fibres. A vertical sheet-join is visible at *c.* 3 cm from the left-hand edge.

125–129, and cf. A. Bowman, "Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt: Population and Settlements," in A. Bowman and A. Wilson (eds.), *Settlement, Urbanization, and Population* (Oxford 2011) 317–358, at 336–340. *P.Oxy.* 1285 records instalments for an unidentified tax, while *P.Oxy.* 1659 is an account of the crown-tax. I do not include the latter document in the comparison below, as it covers only a five-day period and "the totals collected from each village must be random" (Rathbone 126). For other nome-wide accounts, cf. *P.Oxy.* 14.1747 (3rd/4th c.) and *P.Wash.Univ.* 2.81 (3rd c.).

¹⁵ For the reading of the village name in *P.Oxy.* 1285.106, see *BL* 8.243–244. The same village must be restored in line 13.

¹⁶ See <https://beinecke.library.yale.edu/research-teaching/doing-research-beinecke/introduction-yale-papyrus-collection/guide-yale-papyrus#Acquisition> (last accessed on 15 January 2022). Online images: <https://hdl.handle.net/10079/digcoll/2757176>.

→ -----

 [
	Σεν[] λμς (ἡμισυ)
	N[] Ἀσξγ
	Ἰεμη [] . φς (ἡμισυ) μῆ̄
5	Τάνεως	(ἀρτάβαι) Ὑλ. δ
	Πετνη	(ἀρτάβαι) Ὑξ
	Ἰστρου πυροῦ	(ἀρτάβαι) Ὑφλζ (ἡμισυ)
	Τοκα (πυροῦ)	(ἀρτάβαι) Ὑλρδ (τέταρτον)
	Πεεννω	(ἀρτάβαι) Ὑτρδ (ἡμισυ)
10	Π . [] . . ξως	(ἀρτάβαι) Ὑ [.] . .

2, 4, 7, 9 ς 4 ἰεμη 5–10 τ 7 ἰστρου 8 λ, δ'

	“ ...	
	Sen-	[n]946 1/2 [art.]
	N-	4,263 [art.]
	Ieme	n,506 1/2 1/48 [art.]
5	Tanais	3,6n4 art.
	Petne	4,060 art.
	Istrou	2,537 1/2 art. of wheat
	Toka	2,994 1/4 art. of wheat
	Peenno	6,394 1/2 art.
10	P...is	n art.
	...”	

1 [. This line is in *ekthesis* relative to the following entries. Possibly Μῆσγης [τοπαρχίας, but the reading is very uncertain.

2 Σεν[. Possible villages in the Middle toparchy include Σενεπτα, Σέν-νις, Σενόπωθις, and Σεντω. Sennis, however, does not appear in *P.Oxy.* 1285 and was within the administrative district of Senepta; see *Rural Settlements of the Oxyrhynchite Nome* (n. 1) 330 under “Relative location.”

3 N[. The only candidates in the Middle toparchy are Νεμέρων and Νόμου ἐποίκιον.

5 Tanais is listed after Ieme also in *P.Oxy.* 1285.99, and before it in *P.Oxy.* 1659.65. It was under the jurisdiction of the village scribe of Istrou (l. 7) at the time of *P.Oxy.* 78.5171 (6 BCE), but the situation may have changed by the third century. *SB* 12.10791 (156) suggests that it was close to Petne (l. 6), since the two villages formed one σιτολογία.

7 Istrou appears after Petne in *P.Oxy.* 1285.108, *SB* 16570.50, and *P.Wash.Univ.* 2.81.22 (3rd c.).

7–8 The specification πυροῦ appears to have been randomly added in these lines. We need not infer that the other entries are not for wheat (e.g. barley).

8–9 Toka and Peenno were close neighbours within the Middle toparchy according to *P.Oxy.* 41.2997.5–6 (214) περὶ Πεεννω πλησίον ὄντος Τοκά κώμης; cf. also *P.IFAO* 1.21 (54–68) with *BL* 6.55 and *P.Oxy.* 1659.72–74, 18.2182.44 (165; *BL* 8.254).

10 Π . [] . . ξως. Πετενούρεως (Middle toparchy) seems too long for the space available. The account possibly moves at this point to villages of the Thmoisepho toparchy, e.g. Παώμεως, which is listed first of this toparchy in *P.Oxy.* 1285.122, or Πα[λ]ώσσεως, but we would have expected the change of toparchy to be signalled (cf. 1 n.).

(b) Back

The back carries the broken parts of two columns of an account with names and corresponding payments in drachmas. Its relation, if any, to the account on the front is unclear. In the six lines in which the figures are preserved, all of the payments consist of 8 drachmas. One of them (i 10) is made by an ἐμβολάρχης, a poorly attested liturgical official responsible for the loading of the grain tax, on whom see *P.Oxy.* 51.3612.4 n. (add *SB* 20.14674.11). The earliest appearance of the office is in 272–275 (*P.Oxy.* 3612; for the date, see *BL* 11.170), but the present document is likely to be earlier given the small number of drachmas involved and the inflationary trend of the last quarter of the third century. The writing runs against the fibres.

Col. 1

↓ -----
 [Σ]αραπίων [
 [Θ]έων υἱός [
 Δίδυμος Χα[
 Χωσίων . [
 5 Εὐδαίμων . [. . .] . ι[
 (vac.) πρ(ὸς) Θοηρίφ (δραχμαὶ) η
 [.] . ὦν σιχαντ() (δρ.) η
 Ὀφέλλιος ἀγορ(ανομ) (δρ.) η
 [.] . ὦν Σα . ουλιανοῦ (δρ.) η

10 . [.] . νις ἐμβολάρχ(ης) (δρ.) η
Ἀπόλλως Ἀνδρομάχ(ου) (δρ.) η
(vac.) . . εη . ρις

Col. 2

... [.]σαῖς Πα . [Γαῖανός [Διονύσιος
5 Θεών γρ . [Σεουήρο[ς . .] [Σαραπίων [] . ατης
Εὐδαίμων τ . α . . . [(vac.)

Col. 1.2 υἱός 6 ρ̂ 6–11 ς 7 χαν^τ 8 αγορς 10 ἐμβολαρ^χ 11 ἀνδρομα^χ
Col. 2.2]σαῖς 3 γαῖανος

Col. 1

“Sarapion ...
Theon son of ...
Didymus son of Cha- ...
Chosion ...
5 Eudaemon ...
by the shrine of Thoeris 8 dr.
Theon(?) ... 8 dr.
Ophellius (ex-?)agoranomus 8 dr.
-on son of Salvianus(?) 8 dr.
10 -nis, *embolarches* 8 dr.
Apollon son of Andromachus 8 dr.
...”

Col. 2

“...
Isaïs(?) son of Pa- ...
Gaianus ...
Dionysius
5 Theon ...

Severus ...
 Sarapion ...
 Eudaemon ...”

Col. 1

3 Χα[. E.g. Χα[ιρήμονος.

6 πρ(ὸς) Θοηρίῳ. To judge from the preceding blank space, this phrase qualifies Eudaemon in line 5 and does not constitute an independent entry. On the important temple and cult of the hippopotamus goddess Thoeiris in Oxyrhynchus, see J. Whitehorne, *ANRW* 2.18.5 (1995) 3080–3082.

7 [.] . ὠν. Probably [Θ]ῆων (likewise at 9). The following name or noun is obscure; cf. perhaps the name Σάχας, gen. Σάχαντος, in *SB* 1.4327.2 (Thebes; 1st c. BCE/1st c. CE; *BL* 2.1.21).

8 ἀγορ(ανομ) . ἀγορ(ανόμος) or ἀγορ(ανομήσας).

9 Σα . ρυλιανοῦ. If the letters have been correctly read and divided (Ἰουλιανοῦ is not a possible reading), this is a previously unattested name with the Latinate suffix -ianus. On the type, see N. Dogaer, “Greek Names with the Ending -ιανός/-ianus in Roman Egypt,” *JJP* 45 (2015) 45–64. The third letter (possibly two letters) is mostly abraded. One of the anonymous referees suggests that the scribe wrote Σαλϣου{λ}ιανοῦ, *i.* Σαλουι-ανοῦ. There are six instances of the name in Roman Egypt, two of them referring to the same person (TM Nam 26317).

Col. 2

2 [.]σαῖς. Possibly [Ἰ]σαῖς, an uncommon variant of Ἰσαῖος.

– Πα . [. Παβ[or Πακ[.

*Appendix: Another Account of Oxyrhynchite Villages
 in the Beinecke Library*

P.CtYBR inv. 572 H × W = 9.2 × 5.2 cm Late second or third century,
 Oxyrhynchite nome

Line-beginnings from an account of Oxyrhynchite villages. Only the left-hand margin is preserved, but it is possible that the small blank space below the last line represents the lower margin. The writing runs along fibres, and the back is blank. The papyrus has a similar acquisition

history to P.CtYBR inv. 339 above, but was purchased from “Dr Kondilios” in Cairo.¹⁷

The account concerned grain to judge from the mention of artabas in line 2, but no amounts are fully preserved (cf. perhaps 9). The villages cover different toparchies and are not listed in any particular geographical order: Middle (2 Sento, 7 Toka, 8 Nemera), Western (3 Senao, 5 Senokomis), Eastern (4 Pakerke, 6 Psobthis), and Upper (10 Athychis). Checkmarks in the form of a slanting stroke appear opposite four entries.¹⁸

→ -----
 [c. 4] . αζ λουπ() [
 Σεντω λουπ(αι) (ἀρτάβαι) [
 δύο Σεναω . . [
 / Πακερκη ἀπ[ηλ(ιώτου)
 5 / Σενοκώμ(εως) [
 / Ψώβθ(εως) ἀπ[ηλ(ιώτου) [
 / Τοκα πάντα . [
 Νεμέρων . [
 . ζ σμ[
 10 Ἀθύχεως [

1, 2 λου¹ 2 ⇄ 5 σενοκω^μ 6 ψωβ^θ απη^λ

“... remainder ...
 Sento remainder [*n*] artabas ...
 two, Senao ...
 Pakerke of the Eastern (toparchy) ...
 5 Senokomis ...
 Psobthis of the Eastern (toparchy) ...
 Toka all ...
 Nemerom ...
 ... 6 240 ...
 10 Athychis ...”

¹⁷ On this antiquities dealer, see F. Hagen and K. Ryholt, *The Antiquities Trade in Egypt 1880–1930: The H.O. Lange Papers* (Copenhagen 2016) 229.

¹⁸ Online image: <https://hdl.handle.net/10079/digcoll/2792422>.

THREE GREEK LETTERS FROM THE ROMAN PERIOD

Fatma E. Hamouda *Mansoura University*

Abstract. — In this article I edit three letters of the Roman period, the first of which is housed in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale University. The other two belong to the papyrus collection of the Institute for Papyrology at the University of Heidelberg.

Keywords: Letters, Roman Egypt, exchange of items, χαίροις, piglets

1. *Business Letter from Heron to Horion*¹

P.CtYBR inv.1411 H × W = 21 × 7.3 cm Unknown provenance,
26 May–24 June 141 CE

All margins of the papyrus are preserved except the right; the lower is very large and measures ca. 12 cm. There are ten horizontal and perhaps three vertical folds. The text, which consists of ten lines, is written along the fibers, and there are some holes that obscure the writing. The papyrus is of a light brown color and the *verso* is blank. On the basis of the opening formula and the dating clause, we can surmise that around 4–6 letters are lost on the right side.

P.CtYBR inv. 1411 was part of a purchase made by M.I. Rostovtzeff from the dealer Maurice Nahman in Paris on 13 September 1931, as reported in the Yale papyrus database, where the purchase is labelled “1931c”; for more information on this see F. Hagen and K. Ryholt, *The Antiquities Trade in Egypt 1880s–1930s: The H.O. Lange Papers* (Copenhagen 2016) 255, n. 1129.

It contains a letter from a man named Heron who acknowledges to Horion (l. 1), the recipient, that he has received one hundred drachmas (l. 4) plus some unknown object, perhaps an agricultural tool (see ll. 4–5 with note), from the letter carrier. Heron also informs Horion that he sent him a διαταγή (l. 5f.), which is perhaps a set of instructions concerning

¹ I wish to thank Prof. Dr. Sayed Omar and Dr. Rodney Ast for reading a version of this paper. I am also grateful to the Papyrus Collection at the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library for allowing me to publish the papyrus and for providing me with digital images.

agricultural affairs (see note to l. 6). After this, the text turns to some matter that the sender and others had conducted after two days (ll. 6–7), but the specifics are ambiguous. The letter is dated to the month of Pauni in the fourth year of Antoninus Pius, which corresponds to 26 May–24 June 141 CE (see note to l. 10).

In addition to the date, the epistolary formula ἐκομισάμην παρά (in l. 3), although not unusual, is worth noting. The word following παρά does not survive, only the first letter does, a *pi* rather than *sigma*. While it would be tempting to understand παρά σ[οῦ] here (“I received from you”) as is attested in letters from the Ptolemaic period (cf., e.g., *P.Eleph.* 13.2 [30 Sept. 222 BCE], παραγενομένου Σανῶτος ἐκομισάμην τὴν παρὰ σοῦ ἐπιστολήν), in other Roman letters the word κομίζεσθαι does not always refer, abstractly, to the act of receiving something from the letter sender, in the sense that we might say that we received the flowers that someone sent, even if that person did not personally deliver them. Rather, it refers to the physical act of taking in hand something from the deliverer. Thus, the word following παρά in this papyrus must be the name or title (or both) of the deliverer; some examples of each in Roman letters are: *P.Oslo* 2.53.2–4 (prov. unknown, second c. CE), ἐκομισάμην παρὰ Πετεχῶντος κίστην ἐσφραγισμένην (*l. ἐσφραγισμένην*) μεστὴν σταφυλῆς χλω[ρ]ᾶς, “From Petechon I received a sealed container of green grapes”; *O.Did.* 347.3–4 (before [?] ca. 77–92 CE), ἐκομισάμην παρὰ τοῦ ζμαραγδαρίου κολοκύνθας γ καὶ κραμβίου (*l. κραμβίου*) δέσμην, “From the emerald worker I received three gourds and a bunch of cabbage”; *BGU* 1.93.3 (private letter, Arsinoite nome, second/third c. CE), ἐκομισάμην παρὰ Κάστορος οὐετρανοῦ ἱματίων ἀριθμῷ ὀκτώ, “From Kastor the veteran I received 8 cloaks.” In our text, however, the space will have sufficed probably for only one of these, either a name or a title. For the reasons to identify the carrier of the items, see F.E. Hamouda, *Communication and the Circulation of Letters in the Eastern Desert of Egypt during the Roman Period* (dissertation, University of Heidelberg 2020) 104.

The writer of the letter tends to leave space between the words and has enlarged the initial *epsilon* of the first word of the body of the letter, ἐκομισάμην (l. 3). His handwriting is professional but sometimes the ink is faint, perhaps due to a defective reed pen; cf. the *delta* of διαταγήν (l. 6). He writes the greeting and dating formula at the end of the letter in a more cursive style than elsewhere (ll. 8–10), which gives us the impression that they are written in a different hand than the rest of the text. For the dating of letters and the writing style employed, see A. Sarri, *Material*

Aspects of Letter Writing in the Graeco-Roman World, 500 BC–AD 300 (Berlin 2018) 121–122.

The provenance of the papyrus is unknown, although it is recorded in the Yale papyrus database as being “Abutig (?)” According to the information that was passed by the dealer to the buyer, Abutig (ancient Apotheke; TM Geo 3346) was where the dealer originally purchased the papyrus from peasant sellers. It was a regular market for buying papyri in the 1930s. Several papyri labelled in the database as coming from “Abutig” have been shown to have come from Oxyrhynchus; see K.A. Worp, “A Note on the Provenance of Some Greek Literary Papyri,” *JJP* 28 (1998) 207.² Unfortunately, nothing in our text indicates where the letter was written or sent, and the names of the sender and receiver are very common, attested not only in Oxyrhynchus but also in other regions of Egypt; see note to l. 1. The dating formula is also attested in different regions of Egypt and in Oxyrhynchus; see P. Bureth, *Les titulatures impériales* (Brussels 1964) 66–72.

Ἡρῶν Ὡρίωνι τῷ φίλτατῳ]
χαίρειν.
ἐκομισάμην παρὰ π[±5]
4 δραχμὰς ἑκατὸν καὶ . [±5 -]
λείδιον. ἔπεμψα δὲ σ[οι τὴν]
διαταγὴν καὶ ἡμεῖς . [±5]
μετὰ δύο ἡμέρας κατα[±5]
8 σαμμεθα. ἔρρωσο.
(ἔτους) δ' Ἀντωνίν[ου] Καίσαρος τοῦ κ[υρίου]
Παῦνι . [?]

“Heron to Horion his dearest, greetings. I received from N.N. 100 drachmas and a ... and I sent you the instructions and we ... after two days have ... Farewell. The fourth year of Antoninus Caesar, the lord. Pauni ...”

1 Ἡρῶν: this is a very common name found in different regions of Egypt during the Roman period, including in Oxyrhynchus in the second century CE, see e.g. *P.Oxy.* 14.1648. 27 (late second c.).

² Thanks to Professor Ann Hanson who supplied me with this information about the provenance of the document.

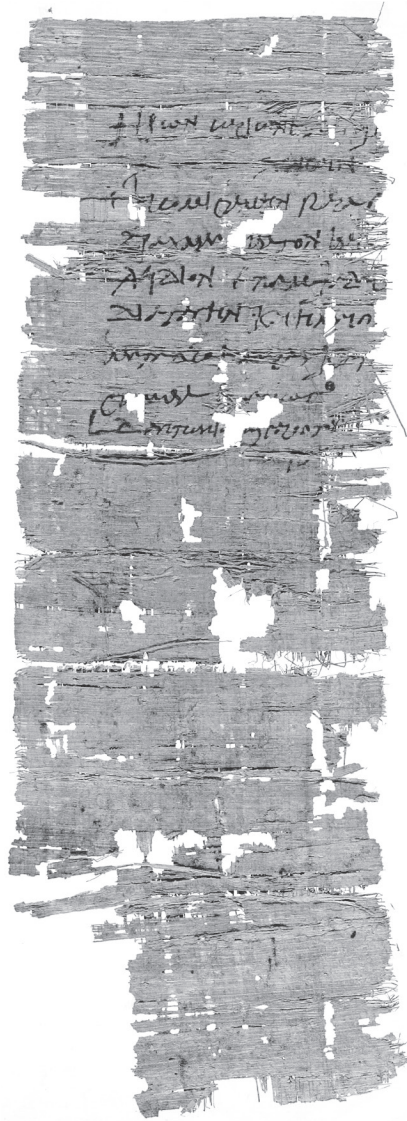
– Ὠρίωνι: Horion is also widely known in various regions and attested in Oxyrhynchus in the second century, see e.g. *P.Oxy.* 3.516.4 (17 Nov. 160 CE). These common names cannot be securely identified with any known persons.

4–5 –λείδιον: possible restorations for this word are ἀργαλείδιον or ἐργαλείδιον, a word meaning “tool” attested in papyri in agricultural contexts (accounts of tools), as in *SB* 20.14197.r.12.232 (Theadelphia; 26 May–24 June 253 CE) and *SB* 6.9406.271 (Euhemereia; Febr. 247 CE), both from the archive of Heroninos. ἀργαλείδιον and ἐργαλείδιον are the same word, just different spellings. However, ἀργαλείδιον is slightly more common in the Roman period. If this restoration is right, we have to assume that the both parties know what kind of tool was received. One could also supplement δακτυλείδιον (“ring”) or a word such as ἐπιστολείδιον (“letter”) or βιβλείδιον (“petition/notice”). But ἐπιστολείδιον seems too long and βιβλείδιον is perhaps too short. παρακλείδιον or κλειδίον (“key”) preceded by the article, are also possible supplements but they would entail a wrong word division.

5 Instead of τήν in the lacuna, one might also imagine κατὰ διαταγήν “according to the order” (cf. *BGU* 7.1645.5, Philadelphia, 245 CE), but then the object of ἔπεμψα would be implied, presumably the things (money and –λείδιον) mentioned in lines 4–5.

6 διαταγή has various meanings. It can refer to the distribution of wine and is often attested in orders of wine; see *BGU* 13.2347 note to l. 5, and cf. also *P.Oxy.* 41.2985.13–14 (letter of Theon to Chairemon; second/third c. CE); *P.Oxy.* 17.2153.5–8 (letter of Didymos, third c.). It refers to a “testamentary disposition” in, e.g., *BGU* 20.2863.11–12 (letter to a prefect, Arsinoite nome [?], 133–137 CE). It can also refer to an order as in *P.Oxy.* 14.1671.19–20 (letter of Dionysios to Zoilos; third c. CE); *BGU* 13.2347.5 (order from Syros to Heroninos, Theadelphia, ca. 250 CE). διαταγή is also known in agricultural contexts to refer to instructions or arrangements; cf., e.g., *P.Oxy.* 42.3066.7–9 (letter of Apollonios; third c.); *P.Fay.* 133 = *P.Flor.* 2.134.3–5 (letter of Aypios, Theadelphia, 11 Aug. 260 CE); *P.Heid.* 4.310.15 (Euhemereia, 117–138 CE).

διαταγή meaning “order” with the preposition κατὰ is once attested in papyri in *BGU* 7.1645.5 (Philadelphia, 245 CE), but more in inscriptions, see G.H.R. Horsley and A.L. Connolly (eds.), *New Documents*



Illustrating Early Christianity, vol. 4 (North Ryde 1987) 76, 129. As mentioned in the note to l. 5, one can supplement *κατά* in the lacuna instead of *τήν*, since sending items is often done in response to an order, meaning that with [*κατά*] *διαταγήν* the translation of the surrounding context would be: "I received from N.N. 100 drachmas and a ..., and by order I sent them to you."

7–8 κατα[±5]σαμεθα: one can think of καταχωρίζω “to record”, κατακομίζω “to sail” or καταλογίζομαι “to count or credit”. Heron shifts between the first person singular (l. 3 ἐκομισάμην; l. 5 ἔπεμψα) and first person plural (l. 8 -σαμεθα). Such a shift is not uncommon in letters, and it is not always possible to understand who is being described as “we.”

- ἔρρωσο: perhaps ἔρρωσθ(ε) since the last letter is raised.

10 Παῦγι . []: after the *iota*, I can see traces of the head of a letter which is likely *delta*, in which case our letter would date precisely to 29 May 141 CE.

2. Letter to Eisa- and Aurelius Ant-³

P.Heid. inv. G. 1401 H × W = 14.5 × 6.5 cm Unknown provenance, 3rd c. CE

This papyrus preserves the upper, lower, and left margins; it is broken on the right. There are four vertical folds, the fourth being visible only on the lower right side of the papyrus. There was likely only one horizontal fold, in the middle of the papyrus. The writing is along the fibers. The color of the papyrus is light brown.

The letter does not start with the names of the sender and addressee, as is common in papyrus letters. It starts with the optative χαίροις (see note to l. 1) followed by the receivers' names and perhaps the sender's as well. It is addressed to more than one person: Eisa- and Aurelius Ant-. ὥς ἐκέλευσας in l. 3 suggests that the sender of the letter has done something in response to his correspondents' order. There are two references to the sending of items (ll. 4–5 διεπεμψάμην σοι; l. 9 πέμψατε), but damage and loss prevent us from understanding most of the letter. Unfortunately, it is impossible to know how much is missing from the right side of the papyrus.

The *verso* preserves one word written by a different hand in the top right corner between two strokes. It may refer to the place where the letter was sent (see note below). The provenance of the papyrus is unknown. Heidelberg records indicate that it was acquired in 1959 by Ernst Siegmann.

³ Thanks to Prof. Dr. Andrea Jördens for giving me permission to publish the papyri from Heidelberg. I am also grateful to Elke Fuchs for providing me with the images and giving me the chance to see the original pieces.

The handwriting, which has features of the “severe” or “formal mixed” style, is somewhat distinctive for a letter; for this handwriting type, see E.G. Turner and P.J. Parsons, *GMAW*² (London 1987) 22. Notable is the angular *alpha*, which tends to be written larger at the beginning of a word; the wide *mu*, with three separate strokes; *rho* with compact head; *omega*, curved and slightly angular; and the upright *sigma*.

The letter is dated in the Heidelberg papyrus database to the second century CE,⁴ but I prefer the third century, as both the upright uncial writing and χαίροις seem more compatible with a later date. χαίροις is attested in letters from the first to the fourth century CE, but was particularly common in the second/third century; see F.X.J. Exler, *The Form of the Ancient Greek Letter: A Study in Greek Epistolography* (Washington 1923) 61, 67–68; J.L. White, “Epistolary Formulas and Cliches in the Greek Papyrus Letters,” *SBLSP* 14 (1978), 293 ff.; A. Sarri, *Material Aspects of Letter Writing in the Graeco-Roman World, 500 BC–AD 300* (Berlin 2018) 46, n. 198. Also, the Aurelius in l. 2 supports a third-century date. The hand can be compared to e.g. *P.Mich.* 18.790 (second/third c. CE) and *P.Oxy.* 22.2341 (11. Apr. 208 CE).⁵

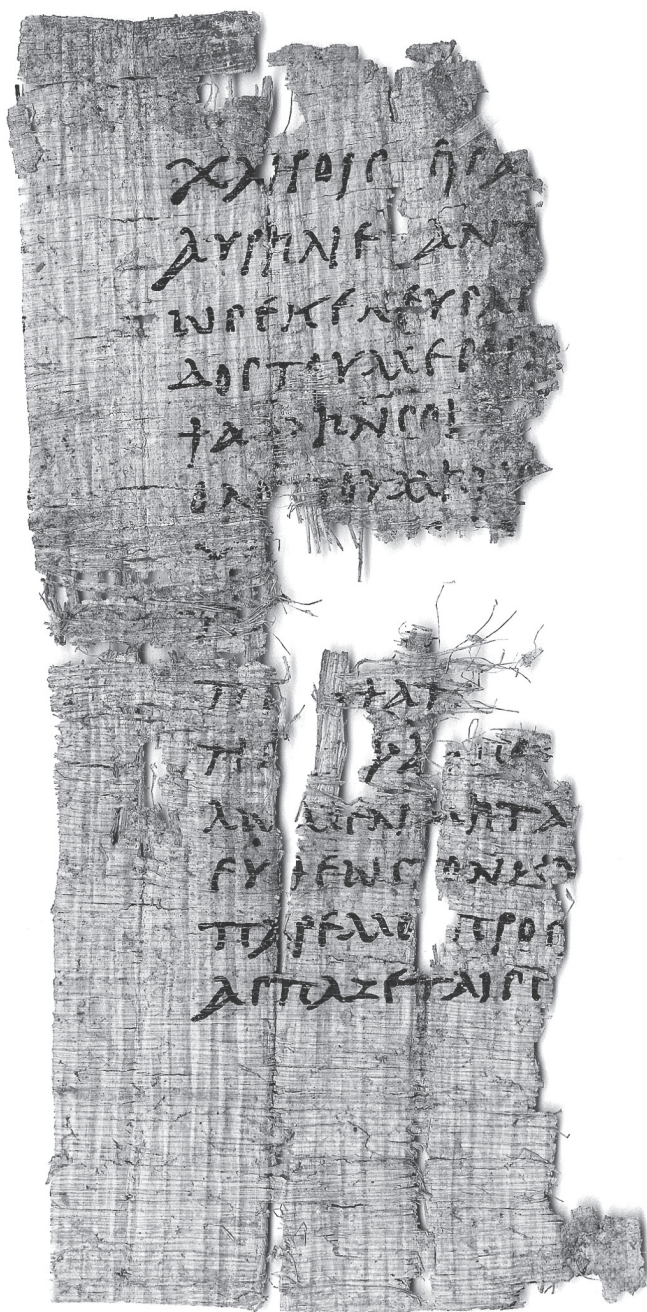
- χαίροις, Εἰσα . [- - -]
 Αὐρήλιε Ἄντ[- - -]
 ὥς ἐκέλευσας [- - -]
 4 δος τοῦ Μεσορή [- - - διεπεμ-]
 ψάμην σοι . . . [- - -]
 ὅλου τοῦ μηνὸς [- - -]
 χ . [.] σ . . . [- - -]
 8 π . [. . . .] . . [- - -]
 πέμψατε [- - -]
 τιξ . [.] . υ ἄσπ . [- - -]
 λωμεν μητα[- - -]
 12 εὐθέως τὸν κυ[- - -]
 παρ' ἔμο[ϋ] πρὸς [- - -]
 ἀσπάζεται σε [- - -]

Verso, in the top right corner
 (hand 2) Σεσι()

⁴ The database can be accessed via https://www.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/papyri/view/p_g_1401/#

⁵ The images can be found at papyri.info and PapPal.

*Verso*

*Recto*

“Greetings, Eisa[] ... Aurelius Ant[] ... as you ordered ... of Mesore []... I sent you ... of the whole month ... send ... immediately ... from me to ... N.N. greets you.

(*Verso*) Sesi().”

1 χαίροις is usually followed by the name of the receiver or the title in the vocative case; see, e.g., *P.Oxy.* 3.526.1 (letter of Kyrillos; second c. CE.), χαίροις Καλόκαιρε. According to information gathered from papyri.info through a search conducted on July 24, 2022, the optative form is attested on 38 occasions. For more on the χαίροις formula in letters, see *P.Mich.* 18, pp. 272–276, *P.Hamb.* 4.256.1 n. and *P.Pintaudi* 55.1 n.

– Εἰσα . [: a name in the vocative case is expected after χαίροις, such as the vocative of Εἰσᾶς (*P.Oxy.* 10.1269.24; early second c.), Εἰσαπόλλων (*SB* 20.14576.18, Philadelphia; after 46–47 CE), or Εἰσαρ[. The possible female names for the last-mentioned are Ἰσάριον (*P.Oxy.* 74.4994.5; 26 May 254 or 24 June 254 CE), or Εἰσαροῦς (*SB* 18.13133.1, unknown prov.; third c. CE).

One may also suggest that the addressee is only Εἰσαρ[and the senders of the letter are two women Aurelia Ant[(perhaps Ant[onia]?) and another, in which case Αὔρηλιε in l. 2 will stand for Αὔρηλία. Line 2 may have ended with σε προσαγορεύομεν and the translation could be: “Greetings, Eisar-, we, Aurelia Ant[onia and Aurelia N.N., greet you.”

4 δος τοῦ Μεσορή: -δος is likely the ending of, e.g., εἰκάδος or τριάκαδος, referring to the 20th or 30th of the month of Mesore. We can expect it to have been governed by a preposition such as ἕως or μέχρι or ἀπό.

5–6 διεπεμψάμην σοι: this expression is common in letters. What should have followed is the item that was sent and perhaps also the name of the person who delivered it; cf., e.g., *P.Oxy.* 58.3919.3–4 (after 28 Aug. 188 CE), διεπεμψάμην σοι διὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου (δραχμάς) ις; *P.Flor.* 2.226.3–5 (Theadelphia, ca. 247–260 CE), διεπεμψάμη[ν σοι] διὰ Ακη ὀνηλάτου τοῦς ἀπο[λυ]θέντας σοι σάκκους δύο.

9 πέμψατε: alternatively, ἐ]πέμψατε or ἐ]πέμψατο; compound forms of πέμπω are not to be excluded, e.g. ἀνα]πέμψατε, δια]πέμψατε, or μετα]πέμψατε.

10 τιξ: can also be erad as τιγ or perhaps τιτ.

– ἄσπ . [perhaps Ἄσπρος, a name twice attested in the first century CE in Soknopaiou Nesos, in *BGU* 13.2245.6 (14–37 CE) and *CPR* 23.1.12

(14–19 CE). One cannot exclude a form of ἄσπορος, which is more at home in a short business letter.

11 λωμεν: this is perhaps a verb ending in -λωμεν, such as θέλωμεν, ἀναβάλωμεν, δηλώμεν, or ἐπιτελώμεν. A word ending in -λω followed by μέν, is not excluded.

– μητα: perhaps μὴ τά.

12 κυ[: κύριον?

Verso Σεσι(): these letters are written diagonally in the top right corner of the papyrus between two horizontal strokes written above and below the letters. It is notable how small this writing is in comparison to that of the letter on the front. The handwriting looks different from the handwriting of the *recto*. The *sigma* on the *recto* is curved, while on the *verso* the upper stroke of the *sigma* is long and extended. The *iota* is long on the *verso*, while on the *recto* it is tiny and short.

The letters could be an abbreviation of Σεσιϋ, a village located in the Hermopolite nome. Sesiou (TM Geo 2940) is attested in a few documents from the Hermopolite; cf., e.g., *P.Sarap.* 55.4 (Hermopolite; after 24 July 128 CE), δι(ἅ) ζυμουργο(ϋ) Σεσι(ϋ) [(δραχμαῖ)] κ. And it could be part of an address to the letter that said where it should be sent, although writing it in such a way (in the top corner of a document) is very puzzling. One can imagine that the position in the top right corner could be based on a filing system.

It can also be σεση for σεσημείωμα. σεσημείωμα is used frequently in the Heroninos correspondence and also written in a different hand than the rest of the text as in e.g. *P.Flor.* 2.141.10–11 (Theadelphia; 10 Nov. 264 CE), (hand 2) σεση(μείωμα) καὶ παράδος τὰ τοῦ οἴνου δίχω(ρα) δώδεκα ὥς π[ρόκειται]; *P.Flor.* 2.138.8 (Theadelphia; 1 Oct. 264 CE), (hand 2) ἐρρῶσθαί σε εὔχ(ομαι) σε(σημείωμα). However, in the present text it is separately written on the *verso* of the papyrus away from the text. Alternatively, it might not belong to the letter at all, but be a residual element of another document.

3. Letter to Panetouatis

P.Heid. inv. G. 783

H × W = 6.0 × 7.8 cm

El-Hibah, 1st–2nd c. CE

According to the online database, this papyrus was acquired by F. Bilabel in 1914. It preserves the left and lower margins, apparently having been

folded four times vertically and the crease of the fourth fold at the far right is barely visible. On the *verso*, a diagonal fiber is glued to the right side. It may be a production failure. The color of the papyrus is light brown. The text is written along the fibers. How many lines are lost at the top and on the right cannot be determined. In the address on the back the sender's name is probably missing on the right, which corresponds to the top on the front. The provenance of the document is Ankyropolis, modern el-Hibah (TM Geo 182).

The fragmentary state of the letter excludes a reconstruction of its purpose; however, the mention of πεμφ[in l. 6 refers to the exchange of some unknown item(s), perhaps related to the wine mentioned in l. 2 (cf. note to l. 2). The letter also makes mention of young pigs, τοῖς χοιριδίοις (l. 8). The address on the *verso* consists of ἀπόδ(ος) plus recipient's name.

The writer tends to separate letters. On palaeographical grounds, the text can be dated to the first/second century CE. It is similar to the handwriting of e.g. *P.Oxy.* 38.2843 (24–28 Aug. 86 CE); *P.Mich.* 9.540 (Karanis; ca. 53 CE); *P.Mil.Vogl.* 1.24 (Tebtynis; 7 Dec. 117 CE).⁶

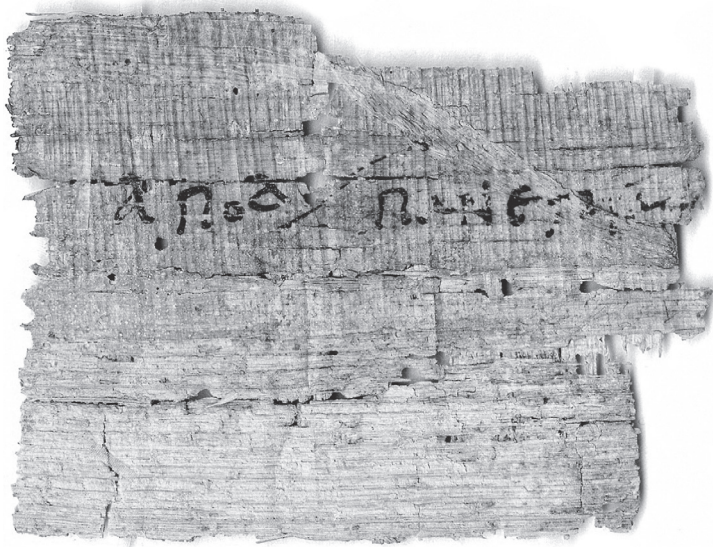
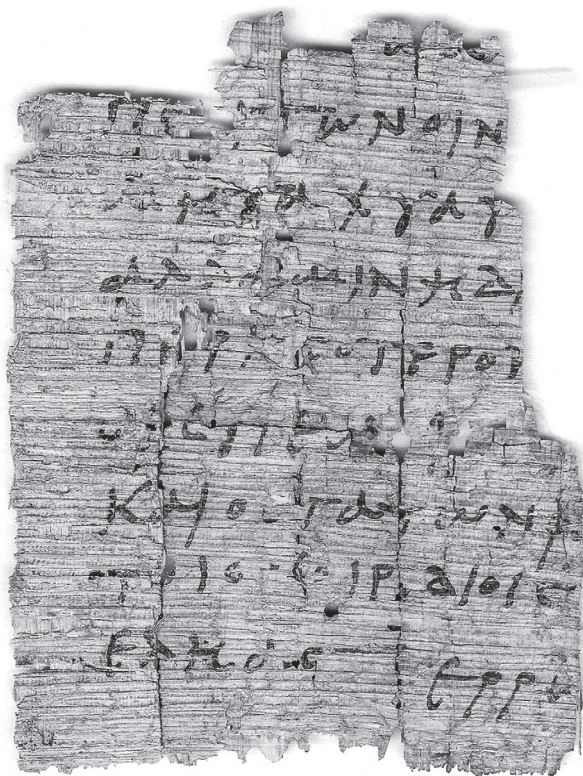
 [ca. 5] . . α . [- - -]
 περὶ τῶν οἴν[- - -]
 μὴ ταχὺ αὐ[- - -]
 4 ἄλλα μίνη δι[- - -]
 περισσοτέρου [- - -]
 ἀνεπεμφ . . . [- - -]
 καιος τὰ τῶν φο[- - -]
 8 τοῖς χοιριδίοις [- - -]
 εληας. ἔρω[σο. - - -]

Verso

ἀπόδ(ος) Πανετοῦάττει

4 l. μείνη *Verso* ἀπόδ/

⁶ The images can be found at papyri.info and PapPal.



“... about the ... not quickly ... the others remained ... extra ... send ... to the young pigs ... Farewell.

(*Verso*) Deliver to Panetouatis.”

2 οἶν[: perhaps οἶν[ων. Other possible supplements are οἶναρίων (wine) or οἶνοπωλῶν (wine merchant).

5 περισσοτέρου can be translated in accordance with what it qualifies; it can mean “extra” (cf., e.g., *P.Mich.* 5.243.7 [Arsinoite nome; 14–37 CE]), “greater” (e.g. *P.Mich.* 3.202 [Philadelphieia; 5 May 105 CE]), or “larger” (e.g. *SB* 22.15768.12 [Bahariya Oasis; 364 CE]).

6 ἀνεπεμφ: or ἀνεπεμψ, and one cannot exclude ἀπεπεμψ.

7 -καιος can be the ending of an adjective such as ἀναγκαῖος or δίκαιος. It can also be the ending of a proper name such as Πεδουκαῖος (cf., e.g., *P.Oxy.* 36.2757.1.5 [after June 79 CE]), Ἰτυκαῖος (cf. e.g. *P.Oxy.* 15.1802 + *P.Oxy.* 71.4812.3.1.13 [150–250 CE]), or simply Κάιος (for Γάιος ?) (cf. e.g. *O.Eleph.Wagner* 125.4 [Elephantine; first c. CE]).

8 τοῖς χοιριδίοις: diminutive of χοῖρος, see LSJ, s.v. For the diminutive suffix -ίδιον see Mayser, *Gram.* 1.3.38–39; and esp. L.R. Palmer, *A Grammar of the Post-Ptolemaic Papyri* (London 1945) 86–87. Palmer notes that “This ending enjoyed a great vogue in later Greek. Some of the nouns so formed are not strictly speaking diminutives.” He does note, however, that χοιρίδιον is among the older of these words, going back to Attic. On the diminutive forms in *koinē* Greek which are not always really diminutives, see J.H. Moulton and W.F. Howard, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek*, vol. 2 (Edinburgh 1929) 344–347.

This is the first attestation for this word in a document from el-Hibah. Most of the attestations are from the Arsinoite nome. For further information about young pigs, see D. Schaps, “Piglets Again,” *JHS* 116 (1996) 169–171; D. Schaps, “When Is a Piglet Not a Piglet?” *JHS* 111 (1991) 208–209; M. Schnebel, *Die Landwirtschaft im hellenistischen Ägypten* (München 1925) 329, n. 6, and 328–331 for pigs in general and their economic and religious significance for Hellenistic and Roman Egypt.

9 -εληας: perhaps -ελεῖας. For the interchange between η and ει, see Gignac 1.239–242. The writer of the letter lengthens the final *sigma* of εληας as if he ends the line, then adds the greeting.

– ἔρρω[σο] : ἔρρω[σθαι] is not excluded.

Verso Reading Πανετούάτξι is not easy, because the ink is abraded at the end of the line. The fiber that is glued diagonally to the papyrus might have hampered the writing. After *tau*, a tiny *omicron* was likely written, followed by the *upsilon* with its characteristic lower loop. After it, a faded *alpha* can be seen connected to the horizontal stroke of the *tau*, while the second half of this horizontal stroke is abraded. At the end of the line a ligatured ει seems to be visible.

This name is attested once in a document from the Arsinoite nome (Philadelphieia) from 94–95 CE, cf. *P.Lond.* 2.259 = *W.Chr.* 63.23 Πανετουᾶτις Μ . . . τοῦ Μύσθου μη(τρός) Ταήσιο[ς].

One can also try to read *beta* after the *tau*, meaning that the name could be Πανετβεύς or a variant of it, but this remains speculative.

P.OXY. 15.1811 VERSO: ACCOUNTS

Nicholas E. Wagner *Duke University*

Abstract. — Edition of *P.Oxy. 15.1811 verso*, dating to around the third century CE and containing parts of three columns: two columns record payments of some kind and one column contains a list of arrears specifying bundles.

Keywords: accounts, list of arrears

As part of its subscription to the Egypt Exploration Society (EES), the St. Louis Museum of Art received *P.Oxy. 15.1811* sometime in the latter half of 1922.¹ The papyrus comprises three fragments originally from a bookroll: the first fragment measures 23 × 16 cm (W × H), the second 1.4 × 1.7 cm, and the third 2.2 × 4.7 cm. In the *editio princeps*, Grenfell and Hunt only discuss in detail the three consecutive columns from Demosthenes' *Against Timocrates* written along the fibers (*recto*). All that is said of the *verso*'s text, which is perpendicular to the Demosthenes, is that it is "an account ... in cursive of about the middle or latter half of the third century." The *verso* contains three incomplete columns of text.² The first is the least preserved and contains only half a dozen or so quantities. The second and third columns contain references to individuals and once a community of some kind is mentioned, each of which is followed by a quantity. In columns 1–2 there is no indication of what the quantities refer to, though we are probably dealing with commodities rather than drachmas, since many of the amounts are not multiples of four. Oblique strokes left of column 2 indicate payment in full (cf., e.g., *P.Mich. 4.223*). Column 3 contains a list of arrears (λογὸς ἐκθέσεως), namely, individuals

¹ A letter dated 27 June 1922 now held at the Museum from its director to Marie N. Buckman (then secretary of the EES) details the circumstances of the acquisition: "You have doubtless been advised by Professor George R. Throop of Washington University that we have been permitted to subscribe for a selection of Oxyrhynchus papyri which were originally assigned to the University." For further details on the Museum's acquisition and collection of papyri, see T. Hickey, "Papyri from the Summer Institute in Papyrology at Washington University in St. Louis: Introduction," *BASP* 57 (2020) 298, n. 2.

² It is worth noting that the secondary hand responsible for the one marginal note on the *recto* (φιάλ(αι)) is clearly not the same hand responsible for the *verso*'s writing. On the marginal note, see K. McNamee, *Annotations in Greek and Latin Texts from Egypt* (Durham, NC 2007) 242 (no. 323).

with outstanding debt. The amounts in column 3 are specified as bundles (δέσμαι), presumably of hay or fodder (χόρτος), but other commodities are also possible such as chaff (ἄχυρον), flax (λίνον), or reed (κάλαμος).³

The prosopographical data provide little insight into the nature of the accounts. Of the legible names, none can be positively linked with other Oxyrhynchite individuals. Four are referenced by their name alone: Tryphon (col. 2.6), Philokyrios (col. 2.7), Achilleus (col. 3.4), and Seleukas (col. 3.5). A patronym follows one name: Horion son of Pamoun (col. 2.11). An anonymous woman is identified by her husband Isidoros (col. 3.3). Four persons are assigned an office or profession: Apion the (former?) gymnasiarch (col. 2.9), Horion the priest (col. 2.12), Isidoros the butcher (col. 3.6), and Horos the priest (col. 3.8). Once a community (κοινόν) of some kind is referenced (col. 2.13) and two persons are said to be from villages (κῶμαι) in the eastern toparchy of the nome: Sarapammon from Phoboou (col. 2.3) and Serenus from Ptochis (col. 2.4).

The amount of text potentially missing above what remains of columns 2–3 can be approximated by calculating the original height of the *recto*'s column and bottom margin. I estimate the height of the *recto*'s column at 20.2 cm: ll. 1–24 measure 12.3 cm and, assuming a total of 39 lines per column, ll. 25–39 would have measured ca. 7.9 cm.⁴ We expect the bottom margin to have been at least as large as the top margin or, on more speculative grounds, we expect a ratio of 4:5 or 6:7 for the top and bottom margins.⁵ Thus, if the top margin measures ≥ 3 cm, the bottom margin would also have been ≥ 3 cm or perhaps ≥ 3.5 cm (6:7 ratio) or even ≥ 3.7 cm (4:5 ratio). Once combined, the missing vertical space above the *verso*'s columns 2–3 would be at minimum ca. 10.9 cm or ca. 20 lines.

The *verso*'s text is written in semi-cursive (*pace* Grenfell and Hunt). As a means of punctuation, the writer uses space-gaps and once uses a dicolon (col. 2.3). Abbreviations appear regularly and are marked with supralinear stroke and once with a sinusoid (col. 2.3). Rather than Grenfell and Hunt's preferred date of the middle or latter half of the third century, I would place the script broadly within the third century

³ On common types of crops in the Oxyrhynchite nome, see J. Rowlandson, *Landowners and Tenants in Roman Egypt: The Social Relations of Agriculture in the Oxyrhynchite Nome* (Oxford 1996) 19–25, esp. 20–24 on fodder crops.

⁴ Following W.A. Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes in Oxyrhynchus* (Toronto 2004) 12, the formula for estimating the missing 7.9 cm is: $([15 \text{ lines} - 1] \times 0.55 \text{ cm av. leading}) + 0.25 \text{ cm av. letter height}$.

⁵ See Johnson (n. 4) 134.

(cf. e.g. *P.Oxy.* 17.2120 [221 CE]). In further support of this date, I would point to similarities between the *recto* and *P.Oxy.* 2.223 (*term. post quem* 186 CE), *P.Mich.* inv. 3 (*term. ante quem* 192/193 CE), and *P.Oxy.* 69.4736 (*term. ante quem* 194 CE).

Saint Louis Art Museum
inv. 373.23

W × H = 23 × 16 cm

Oxyrhynchus,
third century CE?

Col. 1

 [c.?] .
 2 []
 []
 4 []
 [] . υ
 6 [] . [.] .
 [] ροα
 8 [] κς
 [] . ρλς
 10 [] ικ() να
 [] . λθ
 12 [] . []

 10] ικ̄

Col. 2

] . [.] . []
 2 / . . λευκ . . ς . [] . .
 / Σαραπάμ(μων) ἀπὸ Φοβ(ου): ιβ
 4 / Σε[ρ]ῆνης ἀπὸ Πτώχ(εως) λθ
 c. 4-5 ς ιβ
 6 Τρύφων ιη
 / Φιλοκύριος ιβ
 8 / Χαιρήμων [ν] 2-3 ιβ
 / Ἀπίων γυμ(νασιαρχ-) λθ
 10 / Ὀρίων μ[ι]κρός λθ
 Ὀρίων [Π]αμοῦν ιγ
 12 Ὀρίων [ιε]ρεὺς μ.
 κοινὸν 1-2 [1-2] . . . ιου σξε
 14 . [?] 1-2 ις [] ις

	[]	.	λγ
16	[]	. ρ	λθ
	[]	. [. .]
18	[]	. <i>traces</i>	. .
	[]	. . β	. [.]

3 σαραπαμμ, φοβ̄ 4 πτωχ̄ 9 γυμ̄

Col. 3

	<i>traces</i>	
2	λόγ(ος) ἐκθέσεως	
	γυνὴ Ἰσιδώρου	δέσμ(αι) κθ
4	Ἀχιλλεύς	δέσμ(αι) λγ
	Σ[ε]λευκᾶς	η
6	Ἰσιδωρ(ος) μάγιστρος	ιε
	T . [c. 4] 3–4 [?]	λη
8	Ὡρος ἱ[ε]ρεὺς	κγ

2 λογ̄ 6 ισιδωρ̄

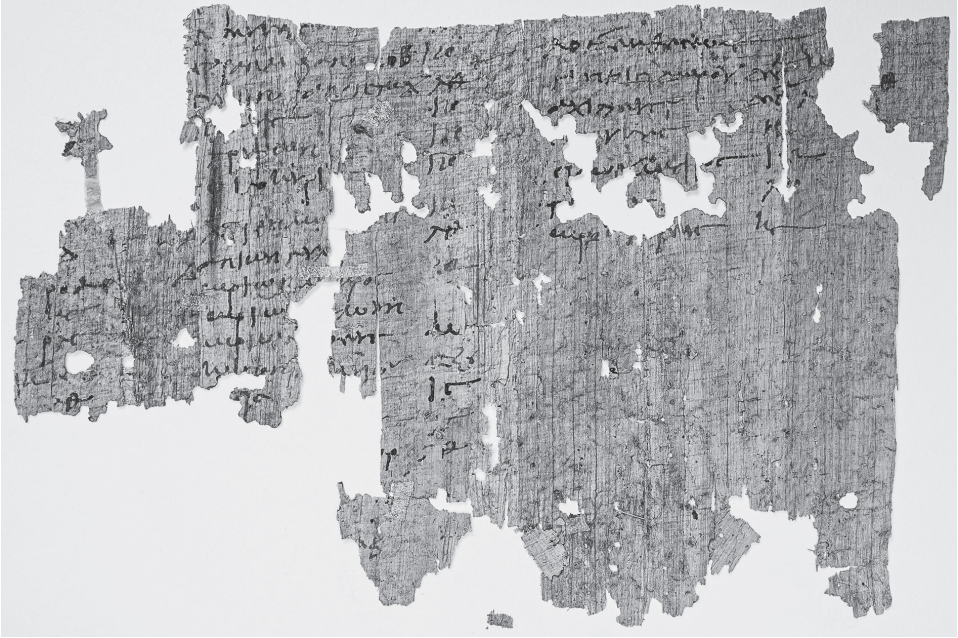
Col. 2: “⁽¹⁾ ..., ⁽²⁾ / ..., ⁽³⁾ / Sarapammon from Phoboou 12, ⁽⁴⁾ / Serenus from Ptochis 39, ⁽⁵⁾ ... 12, ⁽⁶⁾ Tryphon 18, ⁽⁷⁾ / Philokyrios 12, ⁽⁸⁾ / Chairemon ... 12, ⁽⁹⁾ / Apion (the) (former?) gymnasiarch 39, ⁽¹⁰⁾ / Horion (the) younger 39, ⁽¹¹⁾ Horion son of Pamoun 13, ⁽¹²⁾ Horion (the) priest >40, ⁽¹³⁾ community ... 265, ⁽¹⁴⁾ ... 16, ⁽¹⁵⁾ ... 33, ⁽¹⁶⁾ ... 39, ^(17–19) ...”

Col. 3: “⁽¹⁾ ..., ⁽²⁾ Account of arrears, ⁽³⁾ wife of Isidoros 29 bundles, ⁽⁴⁾ Achilles 33 bundles, ⁽⁵⁾ Seleukas ... 8 (bundles), ⁽⁶⁾ Isidoros (the) butcher 15 (bundles), ⁽⁷⁾ ... 38 (bundles), ⁽⁸⁾ Horos (the) priest 23 (bundles).”

Col. 1

1] . : the second fragment (1.4 × 1.7 cm) contains only traces of a single letter (perhaps]σ). Using the *recto*’s first column as our guide, the small fragment must belong to the upper right corner of the *verso*’s first column. The trace of ink in this line would have been c. four lines above the first line in the large fragment below.

6] . [.] . : the final letter is either λ or more likely δ.



Saint Louis Art Museum inv. 373.23

10]ικ() να: conceivably restored ἐποικ(ίου) or ἐποίκ(ιον) (“hamlet”). On *epoikia*, see D. Rathbone, *Economic Rationalism and Rural Society in Third-Century A.D. Egypt: The Heroninos Archive and the Appianus Estate* (Cambridge 1991) 177–183.

Col. 2

1] . [.] . [: the second visible letter is probably ρ (note the long descender).

2 / . . λευκ . . ς . [: the σ is elongated, indicating, as elsewhere, the end of the name. The first letter is probably ε or more likely σ, followed by what may be ε. Presumably, the name cannot be Σέλευκος or Σελευκῆς (cf. Σ[ε]λεγκῆς in col. 3.5), since there seems to be at least two letters between the κ and final σ. One can imagine reading the ending as -αι[ο]ς (cf. the tiny, raised ο in ἀπό in ll. 4–5 below), but this does not pair well with Σελευκ-. There is a small vertical stroke following the final σ, after which surely followed some other identifying word or phrase (perhaps ἀπό + loc. as in the two lines below). There are only traces of what must be the amount paid at the end of the line.

3 This is the only known instance of a Sarapammon from the village of Phoboou (Φοβού or Φοβου). The name Sarapammon is common in third-century Oxyrhynchite papyri (TM People [<https://www.trismegistos.org/ref/>], accessed August 2021, lists 83 attestations). Phoboou, which is well-attested in contemporary village lists, is in the eastern toparchy of the nome (fifth *pagus*). See A. Benaissa, *Rural Settlements of the Oxyrhynchite Nome: A Papyrological Survey* (Cologne-Leuven 2021) 424, 436–438. See also A. Bowman’s projected size of Phoboou based on tax payments in “Agricultural Production in Egypt,” in A. Bowman and A. Wilson (eds.), *The Roman Agricultural Economy: Organization, Investment, and Production* (Oxford 2013) 235 (Table 7.3).

4 The name Serenus is common in third-century Oxyrhynchite papyri (180 attestations in TM People). But our papyrus is the only witness to a Serenus from the village of Ptochis (Πτώχης), which, like Phoboou in the line above, belongs to the eastern toparchy (cf. *P.Oxy.* 14.1659; *P.Oxy.* 44.3170; *SB* 26.16570; *P.Graux* 2.29; *PSI* 8.945). See Benaissa, *Rural Settlements*, 431–432. Benaissa has proposed that Ptochis is an unaspirated spelling of Phthochis (Φθῶχης), which may be the modern village of Abtuga. See Benaissa, *Rural Settlements*, 431, n. 240.

5 c. 4–5 ζ: the first trace of ink could be σ or less likely the second leg of π and the descender below the second letter could be part of ι or less likely ρ (the latter’s descender is generally much longer). None of the resulting readings appear in TM People.

6 The name Tryphon is uncommon in third-century Oxyrhynchite papyri (21 attestations in TM People).

7 The name Philokyrios is rare in our period (3 attestations in TM People) and besides here never appears in an Oxyrhynchite document.

8 The name Chairemon is common in third-century Oxyrhynchite papyri (87 attestations in TM People). Following the name we expect another identifier. The second (or third?) letter after the lacuna best resembles γ.

9 / Ἀπίων γυμ(νασιάρχ-): the name Apion is common in third-century Oxyrhynchite papyri (83 attestations in TM People). Following the name, read either γυμ(νασίαρχος) or γυμ(νασιαρχήσας).

10–12 The name Horion is common in third-century Oxyrhynchite papyri (206 attestations in TM People).

11 The name Pamoun is rare in third-century Oxyrhynchite papyri (9 attestations in TM People).

12 μ . : probably με (45) or μη (48).

13 κοινὸν 1–2 [1–2] . . . τοῦ σξε: without additional context, it is impossible to say what kind of community is being referenced. On the meaning of κοινόν in our period, see L. Berkes, *Dorfverwaltung und Dorfgemeinschaft in Ägypten von Diokletian zu den Abbasiden* (Wiesbaden 2017) 17–18. Following κοινόν the letter may be ρ and the last four letters may be υίου. I cannot find any suitable reading in TM People. I owe thanks to Peter van Minnen for pointing out the possibility that σξε (265) is the sum of the above amounts. Subtracting the amounts preserved (>236) leaves 29 or 24 on the assumption that the amount in l. 12 is με (45; see comm. on l. 12 above). If we read ιβ (12) in l. 2 (the most frequent amount in this list), we only need to reconstruct another ιβ (12) in l. 1 to reach 265.

14 . [?] 1–2 ις: before the possible lacuna there are small traces of what is probably an oblique (cf. the obliques in the lines above). The final three letters may be either σις or τισ. Of the names that fit these readings, Πόσις is plausible (TM People lists 8 attestations in third-century Oxyrhynchite texts). Other possible names, but exceedingly rare in our period at Oxyrhynchus, include Ἀυσις, Πᾶσις, and Πῆσις (each appearing only once according to TM People).

Col. 3

3–4 The third fragment (2.2 × 4.7 cm) contains the final letters in these two lines.

4 The name Achilles is common in third-century Oxyrhynchite papyri (54 attestations in TM People).

5 Σ[ε]λευκᾶς: as elsewhere, the elongated final σ marks the end of the name. I know of only two other instances of the name Seleukas: once in *P.Ryl.Gr.* 4.690 (Σελευκᾶ) and the same form appears in an inscription from Galatia. See G. Petzl, “Epigraphische Randnotizen (II),” *ZPE* 202 (2017) 166 (no. 10).

5–8 Unlike in ll. 3–4, the amounts in these lines are not specified as bundles, though they too apparently reference bundles.

6 The name Isidoros is common in third-century Oxyrhynchite papyri (86 attestations in TM People).

7 T . [c. 4] 3–4 [?]: following T there is a horizontal stroke extending just above the line (but not below), which best resembles ι. Assuming the speck of ink just before the second lacuna is not a letter (so T . [c. 4] . . . [?]), the final two letters may be υς (cf. -υς in col. 2.12, col. 3.4, 8). I cannot point to any names that fit the resulting reading.

8 The name Horos is common in third-century Oxyrhynchite papyri (55 attestations in TM People).⁶

⁶ My thanks to Roger S. Bagnall, Todd M. Hickey, and Peter van Minnen for their helpful comments and suggestions.

A LETTER (P.BERK. INV. 148)
AND SOME MORE VON SCHERLING PAPYRI¹

Leah Packard-Grams *University of California, Berkeley*

Abstract. — This article, inspired by the recent acquisition of a lot of two papyri by UC Berkeley’s Center for the Tebtunis Papyri, contains notes on their provenance as well as an edition of one of the papyri: a letter by a certain Phoibammon to his father Didymos. In carrying out provenance research for the papyrus, a rare sales catalogue has been uncovered that adds some previously unknown papyri to the list of those once owned by Erik von Scherling and transcribed by E.P. Wegener. The first section of this paper summarizes the provenance and history of the papyri. The second part of the article provides an edition of P.Berk. inv. 148, one of the papyri in the lot recently purchased by UC Berkeley. An appendix lists descriptions of the “new” von Scherling papyri.

Keywords: Erik von Scherling, E.P. Wegener, Phoibammon son of Didymos, letter

Provenance

The Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley, purchased two papyri on behalf of the Center for the Tebtunis Papyri (Dreweatts lot 101 of “Western Manuscripts and Miniatures”) on 8 July 2020. The lot of two papyri, now called P.Berk. inv. 148 and 149, included a handwritten transcript of the papyrus signed by E.P. Wegener and a photocopy of selected Maggs Bros. catalogue entries. The photocopied page contained hand-cut-and-pasted Maggs catalogue descriptions of papyri, with inventory numbers corresponding to the numbering system of Erik von Scherling written next to each entry in ink (P.Berk. inv. 148 and 149).

¹ My sincere thanks to Todd Hickey (director of the Center for the Tebtunis Papyri at UC Berkeley), Timothy Bolton (Head of Western Manuscripts and Miniatures at Dreweatts), Klaas Worp (Universiteit Leiden), David Faulds (Curator of Rare Books and Literary Manuscripts at Bancroft Library, UC Berkeley), and to the late Federica Micucci (Cataloguer and Researcher of Greek Papyri, British Library; Postdoctoral Fellow at the Center for the Tebtunis Papyri, UC Berkeley). A brilliant mind and kind heart, this article is for her.

are annotated as G.502 and G.555).² This photocopied page must have come from a previous owner of P.Berk. inv. 148 and 149. Erik von Scherling was a manuscripts dealer based in Leiden who purchased many papyri from Egypt before his death in 1956.³ Upon his death, Maggs Bros. Ltd. and dealer Laurence Witten purchased his remaining collections.⁴ Upon further examination, these pasted descriptions all proved to originate from Maggs Bros catalogue bulletin no. 11 of November 1982.⁵ This Maggs catalogue was quite difficult to access, and it is not digitised. Upon request, Maggs provided a scan of the relevant portions of the bulletin, revealing many papyri that have not been studied or published. This 1982 catalogue contains 18 more papyri that are linked to von Scherling and Wegener. Descriptions of these previously unknown papyri are included in the appendix of this article and make for a sizable addition to the corpus of von Scherling papyri previously collected by Klaas Worp.⁶ Only two of these Maggs papyri were purchased by UC Berkeley in the Dreweatts lot, and it is unclear where the rest of the papyri listed in this Maggs catalogue reside.

Less mentioned in connection with many von Scherling papyri is Eefje Prankje Wegener. Much of Wegener's biographical details have been revealed through the research of Klaas Worp, published in a series of posts on the blog "Mainzer Beobachter" run by Jona Lendering.⁷ Early in life,

² G. 543, G. 509, G. 502, and G. 555 (or 655, the handwriting is quite faded). The papyri G. 555 (or 655?) and 502 were sold together to UC Berkeley; for the others, see appendix below.

³ Apparently von Scherling's papyri were acquired during his 1935–1936 trip to Egypt "from fellahin in Hibeh and Achmim and from Maurice Nahman in Cairo": M. Bakker, A. Bakkers, and K.A. Worp, "Back to Oegstgeest: The von Scherling Papyrus Collection: Some von Scherling Texts in Minnesota," *BASP* 44 (2007) 42.

⁴ Bakker, Bakkers, and Worp (n. 3) 42.

⁵ Bulletin 11 is entitled "European Illumination & Calligraphy, also Early Writing from Egypt."

⁶ Published von Scherling research: Bakker, Bakkers, and Worp (n. 3) 41–73; K.A. Worp and R. Dekker, "Missing Papyri: The Greek and Coptic Papyri in the von Scherling Papyrus Collection," *BASP* 49 (2012) 175–208; A. Suci, "Three Fragments from a Coptic Codex of the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles," *BASP* 49 (2012) 241–250; K.A. Worp, "Greek von Scherling Papyri in Leiden," *BASP* 50 (2013) 15–38; K.A. Worp and R. Dekker, "New von Scherling Papyri in Uppsala," *BASP* 53 (2016) 61–78; B.C. Jones, "Three Unpublished von Scherling Texts in the McGill University Library," *BASP* 53 (2016) 53–60; K.A. Worp, "An Erik von Scherling Papyrus in Copenhagen," *BASP* 54 (2017) 103–111; T.M. Hickey, and J.G. Keenen, "An Enslaved Woman Resold," *P.Hoogendijk*, pp. 114–122.

⁷ The first post leads to the succeeding sections in the link at the end of the section. K.A. Worp, "EP Wegener (1908-1958) (1)," *Mainzer Beobachter*, published 5 Aug 2020. Accessed 27 Mar 2021. <https://mainzerbeobachter.com/2020/08/04/e-p-wegener-1908-1958-1/>.

she studied Latin and Greek in the Dutch “gymnasium” curriculum at the Stedelijk Gymnasium in the Hague (now called the Maerlant-Lyceum) and continued her studies with B.A. van Groningen at Leiden from 1929 to 1934. Wegener is mentioned in many of his letters, some of which are kept at the British Library.⁸ She obtained her master’s degree *cum laude* and completed her Ph.D. with a dissertation consisting of new editions of papyri, some of which she published later as *P.Oxf.*⁹ She contributed to the edition of Oxyrhynchus papyri in *P.Oxy.* 18 (1941), *P.Oxy.* 19 (1948), and *P.Oxy.* 20 (1952). Wegener took on a role contributing to the *Berichtigungsliste* in 1945 and was offered a position in Leiden around 1947–1948 as a lecturer and assistant in Greek papyrology.¹⁰ As a “privaat-docent,” Wegener’s position at the University was unpaid, and this is the occupation listed on her death certificate. It may be the case that her position as von Scherling’s papyrological expert was her main source of income. In any case, Wegener’s transcriptions of von Scherling’s papyri are often uncredited and overlooked. Erik von Scherling’s sales descriptions in his catalogue *Rotulus* often boasted “full” and “provisory” transcriptions accompanying papyri, but their source is not named. After the papyri had been purchased by Maggs Bros. Ltd., their catalogue did, by contrast, credit her by name.¹¹ She even purchased at least one of von Scherling’s papyri.¹² It is unclear exactly how she met von Scherling, but since they both worked in Leiden it is not difficult to imagine mutual contacts between the antiquities dealer and the young papyrologist. She completed numerous transcriptions of papyri he listed, while her publications (a near-complete bibliography can be found in *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* 23, pp. 60–61)¹³ were praised

⁸ For this information, I thank Todd Hickey and Federica Micucci, per corr.

⁹ See *P.Oxf.*, texts published in 1942 and plates published 1948.

¹⁰ K.A. Worp, “EP Wegener (1908–1958) (5),” *Mainzer Beobachter*, published 5 Aug 2020. Accessed 20 May 2021. <https://mainzerbeobachter.com/2020/08/08/e-p-wegener-1908-1958-5/>.

¹¹ “European Illumination & Calligraphy, also Early Writing from Egypt,” Maggs Bros. Bulletin no. 11 (1982).

¹² *P.Select* 23 (P.Wegener 1) is one example, published by E. Boswinkel. Worp and Dekker mention this in *BASP* 53 (2016) 72, as does Worp in *BASP* 49 (2013) 176, n. 7.

¹³ There are omissions in Pestman’s bibliography in *Pap.Lugd. Bat.* 23: E.P. Wegener, “Egypte,” in J.H. Waszink, W.C. van Unnik, and Ch. de Beus (eds.), *Het oudste Christendom en de antieke cultuur*, vol. 1 (Haarlem 1951) 39–52. My thanks to Peter van Minnen for alerting me to this. Her article for *JEA* co-authored with T.C. Skeat is also absent from Pestman’s bibliography: T.C. Skeat and E.P. Wegener, “A Trial before the Prefect of Egypt Apapius Sabinus, c. 250 A.D. (P. Lond. Inv. 2565),” *JEA* 21 (1935) 224–247.

by other notable papyrologists in the field. H.I. Bell wrote of her transcriptions for *P.Oxf.*: “a glance at the excellent plates will show how difficult her task was but how good a reader she has shown herself.”¹⁴ Her transcription of P.Berk. inv. 148 is nearly perfect (see fig. 2), and it is high time to recognize her work.¹⁵

Discussion

P.Berk. inv. 148 is a complete (albeit brief) letter of twelve lines written against the fibers of a well-preserved papyrus. It is an ash-tan color, and there is a prominent stain running up the fibers from the bottom. This discoloration is likely damage incurred from ancient deposition. There is a horizontal fold-line roughly one fourth of the way up this papyrus at line 9, also likely sustained from its ancient deposition process. This fold-line has caused minor damage to line 9. There is abrasion damage to the ink at the top right of the papyrus, damaging the ends of lines 1 and 2. The top, left, and right margins are preserved, while the bottom margin is ragged, cutting off half of the final line. There seems to be a shift in writing style at lines 10–12, perhaps a hand shift from the scribe to Phoibammon in order that he could autograph the subscription, or perhaps just the writer’s rapid ending to the letter. The general impression this papyrus offers is that it is complete and in a rather good state of preservation. The reverse side is blank, and no address is written, perhaps suggesting that the courier knew both parties personally or that this letter is a draft and was never sent. There are many possible reasons an address may not have been necessary, perhaps the courier knew Didymos.

Wegener dated this papyrus to the fourth/fifth c. CE based on paleography, and the date of the fourth century is correct. For paleographic parallels, see *SB* 14.11551 (*P.Cairo inv.* 10544, TM 18148, 324–337 CE), *P.Oxy.* 46.3308 (TM 15769, 373 CE), and *P.Mich.* 3.153 (TM 23942, 431 CE). The fact that the text is written against the fibers accords well

¹⁴ H.I. Bell, “Papyri,” *CR* 63 (1949) 25–26.

¹⁵ Other early Dutch female papyrologists include Cornelia Adriana Noordegraaf and Cornelia Elizabeth Visser (mentioned by Klaas Worp in K. Worp, “EP Wegener (1908–1958) (2),” *Mainzer Beobachter*, published 5 Aug 2020. Accessed 27 Mar 2021. <https://mainzerbeobachter.com/2020/08/05/e-p-wegener-1908-1958-2/>). They, too, deserve further study.

with a date in the late fourth through fifth centuries, as the *transversa charta* format reappears for letters in the late fourth century, according to Sarri.¹⁶ The identification of the individuals named here presents a few possibilities in these centuries, but as of the present data available, there are no attestations of the pair in an obviously patronymic construction. The names corroborate a date to the fourth to fifth centuries CE, with the name Φοιβάμμων being especially well attested in those centuries (TM Names 3302; Δίδυμος is attested to a lesser extent, see TM Names 2834). The issues at stake in this letter are unclear due to the lack of context of Phoibammon and Didymos's situation, a consequence of time and survival. The edition is as follows:¹⁷

P.Berk. inv. 148 H × W= 14.5 × 8 cm Unknown provenance, 4th–5th c. CE¹⁸

- (m.1) τῷ δεσπότη μου καὶ
τιμιωτάτῳ πατρὶ Διδύμῳ
vacat Φοιβάμμων.
παραυτὰ δεξάμενός μου
5 τὰ γράμματα μὴ θελήσης
ὀχλῆσαι αὐτοὺς διὰ τῆς
ἐμῆς προφάσεως.
ἐδεξάμην αὐτά,
κύριέ μου πάτερ.
10 ἐρρωσθαι σε εὐχομαι
πολλοῖς χρόνοις,
δέσπ[ότ]α μου πάτερ.

1 τῷ Wegener δεσπότη: a smaller *delta* overwrites a taller, wider *delta* μο⁻ pap. 2 τιμιωτάτῳ Wegener 3 Φοιβάμμων: long final *nu* overwrites a smaller *nu* 7 προφάσεως: long final *sigma* 8 ἐδεξάμην: large *epsilon* written over the beginning of a smaller one αὐτά: long final *alpha* 11 χρόνοις: long final *sigma* 12 μο⁻ pap.

¹⁶ See A. Sarri, *Material Aspects of Letter-Writing in the Graeco-Roman World* (Berlin 2018) 113.

¹⁷ The transcription is entirely Wegener's, except where I have indicated.

¹⁸ Wegener dated this papyrus to the fourth/fifth c., likely on palaeographical grounds.

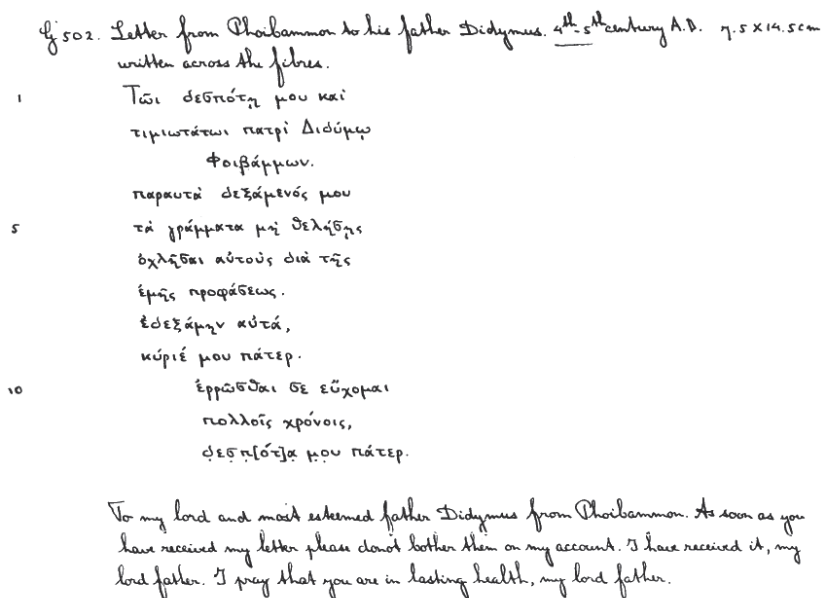


Figure 2: E.P. Wegener's transcription of P.Berk. inv. 148, courtesy of the Center for the Tebtunis Papyri, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

“To my lord and most honored father Didymos, from Phoibammon. Immediately upon receiving my letter, please do not bother them on my account. I received them, my lord father. I pray for your good health for many years, my lord father.”

1 This form of address is well-documented in the Byzantine era. The use of superlatives and flattering adjectives (such as κύριος and δέσποτα) as epistolary adjectives is also a common feature of opening formulae and originates from Latin epistolography.¹⁹ Where Wegener read an *iota* adscript

¹⁹ Sarri (n. 16) 48, n. 210, notably citing: J.N. Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language* (Cambridge 2003) 76–84; E. Dickey, “Κύριε, δέσποτα, domine. Greek Politeness in the Roman Empire,” *JHS* 121 (2001) 1–11; E. Dickey, “Latin Influence on the Greek of Documentary Papyri: An Analysis of Its Chronological Distribution,” *ZPE* 145 (2003) 249–257; E. Dickey, “Literal and Extended Use of Kinship Terms in Documentary Papyri,” *Mnemosyne* 57 (2004) 131–176; E. Dickey, “The Greek Address System of the Roman

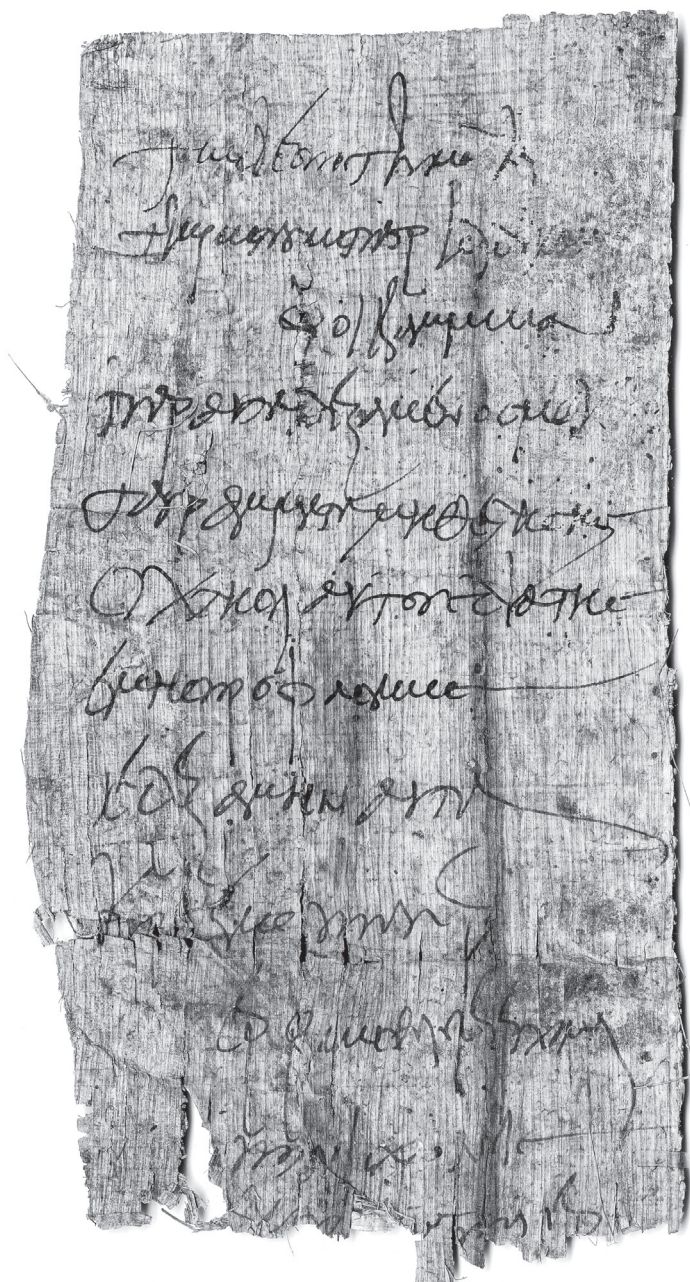


Figure 1: P. Berk. inv. 148, courtesy of the Center for the Tebtunis Papyri,
The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

in τῶι, this is simply the *delta* of δεσπότη that was overwritten with a neater *delta*. The larger *delta* is connected to the *omega*, surely written first without lifting the *kalamos* pen off the page. The smaller *delta* was written over the larger one, since the ink in the smaller *delta* is darker and the letter more legible.

2 Wegener's reading of an *iota* adscript here is simply the tail of the *omega* in τιμιωτάτῳ that leads into the *pi* of πατρί.

3 The use of *ekthesis* in the address of Greek letters is attested from the Ptolemaic period.²⁰ The later layout of a multi-line address in which the second line is indented is attested from the fourth century.²¹

5 This is a prohibitive subjunctive with a complementary infinitive. This phenomenon is explained in Mandilaras, *The Verb* §563.²²

6 αὐτοῦς: Phoibammon asks his father not to bother a certain group of people for him, the most likely meaning behind the *prophasis* is that Didymos was about to “bother” an unknown party of people responsible for sending something to Phoibammon.

8 ἐδεξάμην αὐτά: The meaning behind αὐτά here is unclear. The things Phoibammon could have received include shipment of goods, as the verb ἐδεξάμην is common in receipts from this period. Unfortunately, the exact meaning cannot be known at this time.

9 There is a faint *paragraphos* above this line, possibly erased. It may also be an ink smudge from a rewritten kappa in κύριέ. The word αὐτά refers to the matter(s) Didymos was going to “bother” some people about, which was most likely goods or money.

10 The form of subscription from lines 10–12 is similar to other letters of the Byzantine period in which forms of the phrase ἐρρῶσθαι σε εὖχομαι πολλοῖς χρόνοις are followed by a vocative valediction with a superlative. Parallels can be found in P.Corn. inv. 127 (fifth/sixth c. CE with κύριε μου τιμιώτατε), and P.Oxy. 59.4004 (fifth c., with κύριε τιμιώτατε

Period and Its Relationship to Latin,” *CQ* 54 (2004) 494–527; E. Dickey, “Latin Influence and Greek Request Formulae,” in T.V. Evans and D. Obbink (eds.), *The Language of the Papyri* (Oxford 2010) 208–220.

²⁰ Sarri (n. 16) 115.

²¹ See *BGU* 4.1082, e.g.

²² B.G. Mandilaras, *The Verb in the Greek Non-Literary Papyri* (Athens 1973).

ἄδελφε). The adoption of this closing formula ἐρρωσθαι εὖχομαι likely occurred in the first century, and it is accepted that this shift was influenced by Latin epistolary formulae.²³

The hand in the subscription (ll. 10–12) is noticeably different from the main hand. There are two possible explanations for this. Either it is a more rapid version of the main hand that is hastening to write the closing remarks of the letter, or the letter is written by a scribe and this subscription is the autograph of the actual sender of the letter.²⁴ Both possibilities remain plausible.

Appendix

Von Scherling Papyri from Maggs Catalogue 11

The following is a list of papyri from Maggs catalogue 11 along with abridged descriptions. The pieces transcribed by Wegener must be from von Scherling's collection, since E.P. Wegener worked so closely with him. However, for the other papyri listed, the links to von Scherling and Wegener (if any) are unclear. The descriptions and notes in the catalogue occasionally omit names of transcribers and associated researchers, and thus concrete links to von Scherling and Wegener are not sound. This volume was rather difficult to obtain, and thus these descriptions may aid in future research and identifications. Every effort was made to find papyri matching these descriptions, but at times the description of the papyrus is quite vague, and thus I have noted their publication status as "vague description, likely unpublished."

No. 1: Unpublished. Description and transcript by E.P. Wegener, likely von Scherling's papyrus. Unknown G number.

Fragment of a letter, second/first c. BCE, from Sarapion to Aruotes, sealed with a cord and clay seal with a double portrait of a man and woman. An image of this papyrus is included in the Maggs catalogue on the front cover. Only the upper left portion of the papyrus is preserved, 6 partial lines of Greek. No size given.

²³ Sarri (n. 16) 48–49, citing in particular the work of P.J. Parsons for this: P.J. Parsons, "Background. The Papyrus Letter," *Didactica Classica Gandensia* 20/21 (1980–1981) 3–19. See also above citations (n. 19).

²⁴ For autographed subscriptions and scribal writing, see chapter 6 in R.S. Bagnall and R. Cribiore (eds.), *Women's Letters from Ancient Egypt, 300 BC-AD 800* (Ann Arbor 2008).

No. 2: Unpublished. No description or transcript by E.P. Wegener, unclear if the papyrus is von Scherling's. Skeat worked with Wegener on a publication in 1935, but there is no evidence he worked for von Scherling. This papyrus would interest him in his chronology of the Augustan period.²⁵ Unknown G number.

Transfer of a loan, Oxyrhynchus, *Pauni*, 30th year of the reign of Augustus. Much attention is given to this fragment in the Maggs catalogue, since it dates to the year of 1 BCE–1 CE. The papyrus is 32 lines of Greek, and T.C. Skeat gives an extensive description: "The deed is executed by a woman named Tanetbeuis, with the guardianship of her husband Achilles, in favor of her daughter, Berenice, and the loan is stated to be of a hundred and ten (?) drachmae. The original loan appears to have been contracted by a son of Tanetbeuis (and therefore a brother of Berenice), named Zoilos, and there is a reference to the registration of a contract (perhaps the original contract of loan) in the record-office of Oxyrhynchus, in the 28th year of Augustus, month Epeiph (25 June–24 July, 2 BCE). There is also a reference to occupation of a "room on the second [floor of a house] belonging to the borrower" (11.16–17), and the original contract of loan may have provided for free occupation of the room in lieu of interest; for an example of this type of document from Oxyrhynchus, see Oxyrhynchus Papyrus no.1641." 80 × 90 mm, between glass.

No. 3: Unpublished. Description and transcript by E.P. Wegener, likely von Scherling's papyrus. Unknown G number.

Census declaration from 15 Feb. 33 CE written on behalf of an illiterate person. Contains the census-oath formula μήτε ἐπίξενον μήτε Ἀλεξανδ(ρέα) μήτε Ῥώμαϊον οἰκεῖν, *vel sim*. Beginning is lost, contains description of inhabitants and part of the oath above. An image of this papyrus is included in the Maggs catalogue as "plate II," but was not provided to me in the scan by Maggs. The description emphasizes that the papyrus dates to around the crucifixion of Jesus and the conversion of the apostle Paul and notes further that there is "demotic writing" at the bottom of the *recto* and some on the *verso*. 150 × c. 70/40 (unit of measurement not specified, likely mm.)

²⁵ See T.C. Skeat, *The Reign of Augustus in Egypt: Conversion Tables for the Egyptian and Julian Calendars, 30 B.C.–14 A.D.* (München 1993).

No. 4: Unpublished. Description and transcript by E.P. Wegener, likely von Scherling's papyrus. Dreweatts photocopy identifies as von Scherling G.543.

Payment of rental, 12th year of Claudius (53 CE), between sons of Ὅρσεους and Ἰππαλος. Likely from Arsinoite nome. The Maggs catalogue emphasizes that this was a few years before Paul's letter to the Galatians was written. An image of this papyrus is included in the Maggs catalogue as "plate III," but was not provided to me in the scan by Maggs. 60 × 100 mm.

No. 5: Unpublished. No description or transcript by E.P. Wegener, unclear if the papyrus is von Scherling's.

Partial repayment of a loan, 10th year of Domitianus (91 CE), containing 21 lines of Greek. No transcription, but rather an unattributed description: "The original contract of loan is referred to as a deed with six witnesses. Debtor is Onnophris, the son of Harphesis; creditor is Horus, a freedman and his (wife?) Taharpagathes." 150 × 38 mm.

No. 6: Vague description, likely unpublished. Description and transcript by E.P. Wegener, likely von Scherling's papyrus. Dreweatts photocopy identifies as von Scherling G.509.

Second century CE petition from priests to a *strategos* of the Herakleides division of the Arsinoite nome. Similar description to no. 1502 in *Rotulus* 2. 19 lines of Greek, top margin preserved, broken at the left and bottom. Lines 10 onward have "cross-strokes through the writing." 140 × 78 mm.

No. 6A: Unpublished. No description or transcript by E.P. Wegener, unclear if the papyrus is von Scherling's.

Payment of 600 *drachmai* "by Pabous (?) son of Horus (?)." Dated to the 18th year of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus (178 CE), mentions Soknopaiou Nesos. 6 lines of Greek in "cursive script." 225 × 135 mm.

No. 7: Unpublished. No description or transcript by E.P. Wegener, unclear if the papyrus is von Scherling's.

Rental account payments. Written in the 22nd year of Commodus (182 CE), 14 lines of Greek "rapid cursive" in three columns, the middle column is only one entirely preserved. Unattributed description: "Recto contains an account of payments of land, the village Bakchias being mentioned and land belonging to Alexandrians. Payments are made by

Ptolemaios, the son of Harphesis, Deios, the son of Zoilos, etc. Verso contains an account of rental received on *Tybi* 8 of the 22nd year of Commodus, with proper names, viz. *Peteresis*, *Sisoïs*, *Mythos*, *Orsenouphis*, *Thoulis*." 135 × 195 mm.

No. 8: Unpublished. Description and transcript by E.P. Wegener, likely von Scherling's papyrus. Unknown G number.

Petition to the prefect, probably concerning the appointment of the *basilikos grammateus*, mentioned at line 5. Dated to the late second century, 7 lines of Greek. 55 × 80 mm.

No. 9: Vague description, likely unpublished. No description or transcript by E.P. Wegener, unclear if the papyrus is von Scherling's.

Letter from the second or third century CE. Described as twelve lines of Greek, "very defective." 100 × 85 mm.

No. 10: Vague description, likely unpublished. Description and transcript by E.P. Wegener, definitely von Scherling's papyrus. *Rotulus* 5 attests von Scherling G.206.

Fragment of a contract for "partnership," two lines of Greek, third c. CE. Listed in *Rotulus* 5 (1949) 37 as no. 2202, G.206. (See Worp and Dekker, *BASP* 49 [2013] 184; see also in the table in Bakker, Bakkers, and Worp, [n. 3] 45.) 20 × 110 mm.

No. 11: Published above, P.Berk. inv. 148. Description and transcript by E.P. Wegener, surely von Scherling's papyrus. Dreweatts photocopy identifies as von Scherling G.502.

Letter from Phoibammon to his father Didymos, fourth/fifth c. CE. E.P. Wegener's translation is typed and included: "To my lord and much esteemed father Didymos from Phoibammon. As soon as you have received my letter please do not bother them on my account. I have received it, my lord father. I pray that you are in lasting health, my lord father." This translation is identical to Wegener's on the document accompanying the papyrus (see fig. 2).

No. 12: Unpublished. Description and transcript by E.P. Wegener, likely von Scherling's papyrus. Unknown G number.

Greek letter from Victor to the Deacon Johanne, mentioning a request to "forward enclosed letters" to Boethus and Victor, who are in "Alabastrine," and to a certain Silvanus. Greek, fifth c. CE, 9 lines, first two lines are fragmentary. 106 × 293 mm.

No. 13: Unpublished. No mentioned description and transcript by E.P. Wegener, but surely von Scherling's papyrus. Listed in *Rotulus* 6 as von Scherling G.29.

Collection of "Gold-Tax", *recto* preserves the names of taxpayers, and the *verso* the *myriads* of *denarii* paid. Fifth c. CE. Listed in *Rotulus* 6 (1952) 35 as no. 2453. (See Worp and Dekker, *BASP* 49 [2013] 186; see also table in Bakker, Bakkers, and Worp [n. 6] 44, where it is inadvertently listed as from *Rotulus* 7.) 80 × 80 mm.

No. 14: To be published, P.Berk. inv. 149. Part of Dreweatts lot. Description and transcript by E.P. Wegener, surely von Scherling's papyrus. Dreweatts photocopy attests as von Scherling G.555 (maybe 655? The handwriting is faded.).

Fragment of a letter from Cynopolis, sixth c. CE. 5 lines of Greek. 65 × 110 mm.

No. 15: Unpublished. No description or transcript by E.P. Wegener, unclear if the papyrus is von Scherling's.

A "homiletic or liturgical text", seventh c. CE, 22 lines of Coptic, a few "small portions of a number of other lines", in dark brown ink in "large uncial script", *verso* blank. Four large fragments, the largest is "about 200 × 250 mm," one smaller fragment in small pieces. The Maggs catalogue notes that "the text which is underlined contains a quotation from Matthew 16:24." It is unclear when or how the line(s) are underlined. The fragments are in plexiglas.

No. 16: Unpublished. Description and transcript by E.P. Wegener, surely von Scherling's papyrus. *Rotulus* 5 attests as von Scherling C.29.

Coptic contract and oath to work for one year, signed by the scribe Constantinus and one Georgios son of Cyriacus, seventh/eighth c. CE. Listed in *Rotulus* 5 (1949) 46–47 as no. 2255. (See Worp and Dekker, *BASP* 49 [2013] 202.) Dekker says this papyrus was mentioned in a letter by Wichita State University's rare books collector Robert Aitchison, but was not purchased.²⁶ 110 × 150 mm.

²⁶ Worp and Dekker write that "one of von Scherling's contacts was Robert T. Aitchison, 'an artist, collector, bibliophile and map maker' in Wichita (Kansas, USA), who showed an interest in Greek and Coptic texts. Judging from his correspondence, which is kept in Wichita State University, Aitchison certainly purchased three Coptic papyri in about September 1956, two months after von Scherling's death (16 July). Their present location is unknown." (Worp and Dekker, *BASP* 49 [2013] 194.)

No. 17: Vague description, likely unpublished. No description or transcript by E.P. Wegener, unclear if the papyrus is von Scherling's.

A list of workmen, seventh/eighth c. CE, "about 20 lines" of Greek, mounted between glass. 335 × 80/200 mm.

A LEASE OF A VINEYARD FROM THE LATE ANTIQUE HERMOPOLITE NOME (BL PAPYRUS 2871)*

† Federica Micucci, *University of California, Berkeley*

Abstract. — Edition of a fragmentary contract for the lease of a vineyard in the Hermopolite nome, dating from the summer of 593. Some of the text's personal names and toponyms are of particular interest.

Keywords: Hermopolite nome, tenancy, viticulture

The fragmentary text edited below is a contract for the lease (μίσθωσις) of a three-*aroura* vineyard in the Hermopolite nome: only the word χωρίον survives in l. 13 to describe the object of the lease, but the adjective ἀμπελικόν must have followed in the lacuna at the beginning of l. 14. The duration of the lease is unknown but was undoubtedly more than one year; see further l. 12 n. Although only the beginning of the text survives, Hermopolite vineyard leases often involved a sharecropping arrangement (*Teilpacht*), with the yield divided equally between the lessor and the lessee, as e.g. in *P.Heid.* 5.352 (Herm.; 558) or *P.Giss.* 1.56 (Herm.; seventh century? cf. *CPR* 30, p. 114, n. 146). See further A. Jördens, *P.Heid.* 5, chapter V, esp. the table on pp. 233–238, and p. 256, and *eadem*, “Die Agrarverhältnisse im spätantiken Ägypten,” *Laverna* 10 (1999) 122–126.

The names of the parties involved are only partly preserved: the lessors, Elisabet and Helladia (a rare name; see l. 6 n. §2), were two sisters of now unknown parentage (ταῖς εὐγενεστάταις, l. 6, with l. 7 n.) from Hermopolis. The lessee, whose name is lost but who almost certainly was an ἀμπελουργός, originated from the Hermopolite village of Magdola Mire and, more specifically, from a farmstead called “place of Gerontios,” attested as such for the first time in this text (for these points see further

* A complete manuscript of this article was found among Federica Micucci's files after her untimely death. With the consent of her husband and parents, Todd Hickey submitted it to this journal to be considered for publication and responded to the referees' reports. He thanks the journal's editor and referees for their useful comments and Nick Gonis for additional advice. Any deficiencies that remain should be ascribed to Hickey.

l. 9 n.). The location of the vineyard itself was also recorded, given that a place “of Aphous” is mentioned, but the preceding lacuna obscures the details: see l. 15 n. Supralineations, long horizontal strokes suggestive of the overstroking most typically found on Egyptian-language toponyms, were placed above both the “place of Gerontios” and that “of Aphous”: see further l. 9 n. §3.

The text is written in a proficient and sloping cursive typical of the sixth century. The papyrus, medium brown in colour, is complete on the right but breaks off at the bottom and on the left; as the upper edge is irregular, the margin at the top may be imperfect too. The writer left no blank space on the right, to the extent that the final letters of the last word in lines 10–11 and 15 were superscripted. The fabric of the fragment is well preserved, displaying only a few insect holes, especially on the left-hand side. The writing runs parallel to the fibres. The back is presumably blank, given that the fragment is mounted on cardboard. Comparable leases usually carry an endorsement (μίσθωσις + details), which could have run parallel to the fibres in the missing portion of our papyrus.

The British Museum formally accessioned the papyrus in December 1930, but it was acquired before then.¹ Although the archival materials in the British Library that I have consulted do not record when it was bought, three major purchases of Hermopolite papyri were made by the British Museum through the Reverend Chauncey Murch in 1901, 1903, and 1906.² Our document may have been part of one of these batches, put aside like other fragments in these lots and then numbered at a later stage, following their transfer from the Museum’s Department of Egyptian Antiquities to its Department of Manuscripts, where the Greek papyri were kept.³

¹ The register of papyri in the British Library records that it was transferred from the Museum’s Department of Egyptian Antiquities to its Department of Manuscripts and numbered on 30 December 1930 along with Papyri 2860–2900. This lot is miscellaneous and includes documents of the early Roman and Byzantine periods with varied provenances.

² The aforementioned lots correspond to BL Papyri 884–1178 (1901), BL Papyri 1200–1520 (1903), and BL Papyri 1545–1753 (1906). Another possible source is the Myers lot (BL Papyri 835–878), which entered the Museum in 1900 but stemmed from purchases made earlier. For Ch. Murch (1856–1907), an American missionary and collector, see M.L. Bierbrier, *Who Was Who in Egyptology*⁵ (London 2019) 332; for W.J. Myers (1858–1899), a British army officer who began collecting after being posted to Egypt, *idem*, 335.

³ “[O]ther fragments”: e.g. BL Papyri 1847–1872, accessioned only in 1910, but originally part of the 1901 and 1903 lots.

BL Papyrus 2871

H × W = 15 × 13 cm⁴Hermopolite nome,
25 July–12 August 593

- 1 [† ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου καὶ δεσπότης Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ
[τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ σ]ωτῆρος ἡμῶν. βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου
[ἡμῶν δεσπότης] Φλαυρίου Μαυρικίου Νέου Τιβερίου τοῦ
[αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου] Αὐτοκράτορος ἔτους ἑνδεκάτου Μεσορη
5 [c. 12] δωδεκάτης ἰνδ(ικτίων)ο(ς).
[Αὐρηλίας Ἐλισα]βητ καὶ Ἑλλαδία ταῖς εὐγενεστάταις
[c. 14] ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς Ἑρμοπολιτῶν
[παρὰ c. 15] υἱ Πρασίου μητρὸς Τινουθίας
[c. 10 ἀπὸ ἐποι]κίου καλουμένου τόπου Γερωντίου
10 [πεδίων κώμης Μαγδῶ]λων Μιρη τοῦ Ἑρμοπολίτου νοῦμοῦ.
[ὁμολογῶ ἔκουσίως καὶ] ἀθαιρέτως μεμισθῶσθαι παρ' ὑμῶν
[ἐπὶ x-ετῇ χρόνον λογι]ζόμενον ἀπὸ καρπῶν τῆς σὺν θεῷ
[τρεῖςκαίδεκάτης] ἰνδ(ικτίων)ο(ς) τὸ ὑπάρχον ὑμῖν χωρίον
[ἀμπελικὸν ζωόφυτον ἐ]ν συστάσει ἀρουρῶν τριῶν
15 [c. 18] Ἀφούτος σὺν φυτοῖς διαφόροις

1 ἱησου 3 φλαυρίου 5 ἰνδ^ο 12 συν^ο 13 ἰνδ^ο ὑπαρχον ὑμιν

“[In the name] of the Lord and Master Jesus Christ, our [God and] Saviour. In the reign of [our] most godly [master], Flavius Mauricius Novus Tiberius, the [eternal August]us Imperator, eleventh year, Mesore [day], twelfth indiction.

“To [Aurelia Elisa]bet and [Aurelia] Helladia, the most noble [daughters (?) of NN], from this (city) of the Hermopolites, [from NN son (?) of] of Prasis, mother Tinouthia ..., [from] the hamlet called “place of Geron-tios” [in the territory of the village of] Magdola Mire in the Hermopolite nome. [I acknowledge that of my own free will and] choice I have leased from you [for a period of x years], reckoned from the produce of the, God willing, [thirteenth] indiction, the [productive] vineyard that belongs to you consisting of three arouras [located in (?) ...] of Aphous with various plants ...”

1–2 ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου καὶ δεσπότης Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. For this Christian invocation, introduced by the emperor Mauricius and first attested in September 591, see R.S. Bagnall and K.A. Worp, *Chronological*

⁴ Information kindly provided by Peter Tóth (Curator of Ancient and Medieval Manuscripts in the British Library).

*Systems of Byzantine Egypt*² (Leiden-Boston 2004) 100, 102, 290 (formula 1). The earliest dated Hermopolite document bearing this invocation remains *P.Stras.* 4.190, of 27 July 592.

The *omicron* in Χριστοῦ seems to be a correction over another *omicron* of smaller size.

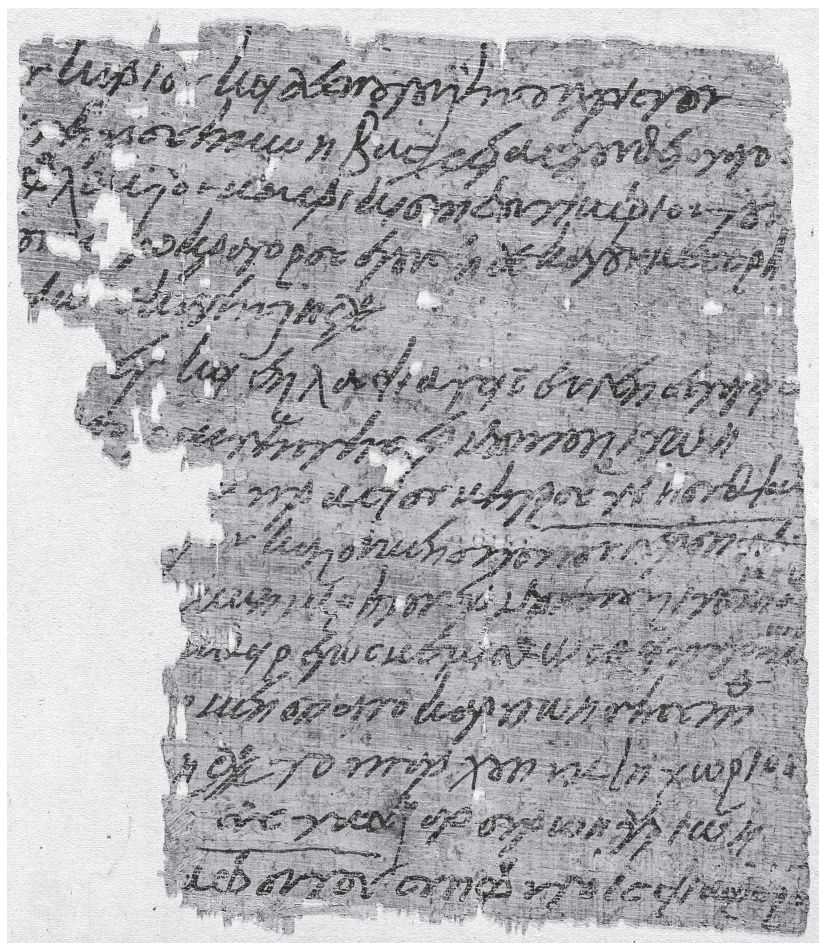
2–4 βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου κτλ. This is the most common regnal formula of the emperor Mauricius in Hermopolite texts: see *CSBE*² 262, no. 7.

3 Φλαυρίου Μαυρικίου Νέου Τιβερίου. In Hermopolite texts, Νέου could appear before or after Τιβερίου, or it could be omitted: see *CSBE*² 262, 265.

4 [Αὐγούστ]ου Αὐτοκράτορος. The omission of καί between Αὐγούστου and Αὐτοκράτορος is recurrent in contracts from Hermopolis, Antinoopolis, and Aphrodite. For contemporary Hermopolite parallels, see *SB* 16.12866.2 (583), 12867.2 (584), *P.Stras.* 4.190.4 (592), *SB* 16.12868.2 (592/593), *BGU* 19.2827r^o.4 (595), and *SB* 6.9586.3 (600).

5 [c. 12] δωδεκάτης ἰνδ(ικτίων)ο(ς). The contract was drawn up in the month of Mesore (25 July–23 August) of the eleventh year of the emperor Mauricius, which ran from 13 August 592 to 12 August 593. Given that the reference to the twelfth indiction (593/594) sets our papyrus in 593, the contract must have been written sometime between 1 and 19 Mesore (25 July–12 August) of that year: see the discussion in K.A. Worp, “Some Late Byzantine Papyri from Hermopolis,” *CdÉ* 59 (1984) 144. This is the first Hermopolite text that can be securely dated to 593. *SB* 16.12868, which also dates from the eleventh year of Mauricius, does not preserve the indiction and, consequently, may have been written either in 592 (eleventh indiction) or 593 (twelfth indiction): see Worp, *ibidem*.

The day was presumably spelled out in full, as in other contemporary Hermopolite texts, such as *BGU* 12.2205.3 (590), *P.Stras.* 4.190.5 (592), *SB* 6.9586.4 (600), and *BGU* 12.2206.5 (591–602). In view of the length of the lacuna, and under the assumptions that no other word was present and that the line was not indented, the best options are ἑπτακαιδεκάτη and ὀκτωκαιδεκάτη, but ἑκκαιδεκάτη, τρεῖσκαιδεκάτη, πεντεκαιδεκάτη, or ἑννεακαιδεκάτη cannot be ruled out. If this list of possible supplements is complete, the date range of the document is limited further, specifically to the period 6–12 August 593 (excluding 7 August, i.e. the too-long τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτη).



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6 Ἑλισα]βετ. Just a hint of the *beta*, the end of its ligature to *epsilon*, is present; the much rarer alternatives, Aleet (TM Nam 28364), Deuret (TM Nam 30461), and Kamaleet (TM Nam 28328) would have left more traces. Elisabet (TM Nam 9242) is attested in the sixth to eighth centuries, especially in papyri from Aphrodite.

– Ἑλλαδία. The name is extremely rare in the papyri: it is attested only in *P.Sorb.* 2.69.111.D.8 (Herm.; 618/619 or 633/634), δ(ιὰ) Ἑλλαδίας ἐλε(υθέρας) Μάρκου διοικ(ητοῦ), but it seems unlikely that we are dealing with the same person. In addition, the name occurs in *SEG* 50.1568,

an ivory comb of the fifth or sixth century from Antinoopolis, now in the Louvre (inv. E 11874), containing the acclamation of Helladia and the blue faction: see *L'art copte en Égypte, 2000 ans de christianisme* (Paris 2000), p. 222 and fig. 277. The masculine Ἑλλάδιος is much better attested, mostly in papyri from Hermopolis and Oxyrhynchus.

– ταῖς εὐγενεστάταις. On the use of the epithet εὐγενεστάτη, mostly applied to women of middle social standing, see K.A. Worp, “Εὐγενεστάτος,” *ZPE* 109 (1995) 181–186.

7 [c. 14]. The father’s name must have appeared in the lacuna. Usually we find θυγατρί/θυγατράσιν followed by the name of the father, which here would have to be very short without prior abbreviation. ἐκ πατρός + name is also attested: see e.g. *BGU* 17.2685.5–6 (Herm.; 585).

– ὁπρὸ ταύτης τῆς Ἑρμοπολιτῶν. The first *omicron* in Ἑρμοπολιτῶν seems to have been made larger. For this phrase, occurring in a handful of other Hermopolite contracts from the sixth century, see e.g. *BGU* 12.2202.4 (565) and 19.2837.3 (582).

8 [παρὰ c. 15] ὑ Πρασίου. If the preposition was abbreviated (cf. e.g. *P.Herm.* 34.6), [π(α)ρὰ c. 18] ὑ Πρασίου. Given that the grandfather’s name is not usually provided in contemporary Hermopolite contracts, Πρασίου should be the father’s name, and we can perhaps restore [υῖο] ὑ Πρασίου. The name, in any case, is not common. Trismegistos suggests Prasis as its nominative (Nam 8215), and though a declension of -ις, -ίου, -ίω, -ιν is perfectly plausible (cf. Gignac, *Gram.* 2.25), the texts hitherto attesting the name do not offer much illumination. *P.Ant.* 3.189.7, 17 (sixth or seventh century) has Πρᾶσιν, but *P.Köln* 12.491.4 (Herm.; first half of the eighth century) has the indeclinable Πρασίου. The other documents are nonresponsive. A Ptolemaic outlier, *UPZ* 2.180a.33.5 (113 BC), has only the nominative (Πρᾶσις), while the edition behind *SB* 26.16682.3 (Herm.; fifth century) prints Πρασί(ου) without comment. *P.Iand.* 3.39.11 (fifth or sixth century), with Πράσιτος in the *ed. pr.*, in fact has Πραούτος (thus the digital image).

– Τινουθίας. Hitherto attested only in *P.Bodl.* 1.38.2 (Apoll. Hept.; sixth or seventh century in *ed. pr.* but note *BL* 12.40, indicating an earlier date), *P.Hamb.* 3.222.6 (Herm.; sixth or seventh century) and *SB* 6.9595.8 (Herm.? cf. *BASP* 56 [2019] 289; seventh century). It is a variant of the name Tinoutis (TM Nam 12562), which occurs in some twenty Hermopolite papyri.

9 [c. 10. ἀμπελουργοῦ suits the space well and seems all but inevitable for a vineyard lease with this one's context: cf. e.g. *P.Heid.* 5.352.4 (Herm.; 558), *P.Select.* 16.3 (Herm.; sixth century [*BL* 8.200]), *SB* 16.12866.6–7 (Herm.; 583). Other conceivable supplements, such as ὀρμωμένον (with no preceding *métier*), are much less convincing.

– ἐποικίου καλουμένου τόπου Γερωντίου. An ἐποίκιον with this exact name is otherwise unknown, but a Hermopolite ἐποίκιον Κερωντίου appears in *SB* 26.16737.3 (sixth or seventh century). This has been localized in the southern part of the nome (cf. e.g. M. Drew-Bear, “Deux documents byzantins de Moyenne Égypte,” *CdÉ* 54 [1979] 288–289), though another settlement Γερωντίου, recorded in the Arab-period fiscal account *P.Lond.* 5.1763/1.9, seems to have been north of the city (thus *CPR* 30, p. 113). *TM Geo* 9004 treats these settlements as one and the same. A location north of the city is required for our ἐποίκιον (see l. 10 n.), and it thus may correspond to the Γερωντίου that the editor of *CPR* 30 indicates (*ibid.*) was “alla zona in cui si trovava Sinarchebeos.”

It is non-Greek toponyms that typically have supralinear marks in late antique documents from the Hermopolite; cf. e.g. *SB* 14.12131.10 (553), *SB* 16.12867.12 (584),⁵ and *BGU* 19.2788.4 (607/608). Here (and in l. 15), the supralineations may serve to indicate that the proper noun is not functioning as a personal name.

10 [πεδίων κόμης Μαγδῶ]λων Μιρη. Supplemented *exempli gratia*, based on *BGU* 19.2788.4 (607/608), γεωργὸς ἀπ[ὸ] ἐποικειῖου Κουτᾶ πεδίων κόμης Μαγδῶλων Μιρη τοῦ Ἑρμοπολίτου νομοῦ. Alternatively, [ἐν πεδιάδι κόμης Μαγδῶ]λων Μιρη may be considered: cf. e.g. *P.Hamb.* 3.222.15–16 (sixth or seventh century), ἐν πεδιάδι τῆς αὐτῆς κόμης[ς] | Μαγδῶλων Μιρή. In this case, however, we would have to assume compression of the letters.

For the village of Magdola Mire (*TM Geo* 2961), see M. Drew-Bear, *Le nome Hermopolite. Toponymes et sites* (Missoula 1979) 160–163. Most recently, a summary of the discussion about the possible vicinity of this village to Thynis (*TM Geo* 2923), located to the northwest of Hermopolis, has been offered by A. Free, “Die Lebenswelt von Hermopolis Magna am Beispiel griechischer Papyri der römischen Zeit,” in M.C. Flossmann-Schütze, A. Free, and F. Hoffmann (eds.), *Weltentstehung und Theologie*

⁵ Supralineation is not mentioned in the *ed. pr.*, but the online image shows a series of short dashes above the place name.

von Hermopolis Magna III. Alltag und Religion – Funde aus Stadt und Nekropole (forthcoming), footnote 5.⁶ Note also *CPR* 30, p. 116.

– νο`μοϝ´. Here, in the following line, and in line 15, the final word was completed by adding the outstanding letters *supra lineam* rather than by starting a new line. For something similar, see e.g. *P.Lond.* 3.1012 (Herm.; 633).

12 [ἐπὶ x-ετῇ χρόνον λογι]ζόμενον ἀπὸ καρπῶν. Given the length of the gap, only a short compound will fit here: the best option is probably διετῇ, but we may also consider τριετῇ and ἐξαετῇ. For this formula, typical of Hermopolite leases running more than one year, see R. Ast, “BGU XVII 2685: An Eleven-Year Lease?” *ZPE* 156 (2006) 144.

13 [τρεῖσκαίδεκάτης] ἰνδ(ικτίων)ο(ς). The crops would have been of the following indiction, which began in May. The upcoming indiction is usually accompanied by a participle such as εἰσιούσης or μελλούσης, but σὺν θεῶ alone is also common; cf. e.g. *BGU* 17.2685.11 (Herm.; 585), τῆς σὺν θ(εῶ) πέμπτῃς ἰνδ(ικτίωνος).

13–14 τὸ ὑπάρχον ὑμῖν χωρίον κτλ. For the details usually included in the description of the object of the lease, see *P.Heid.* 5.352.7 n.

14 [ἀμπελικὸν ζώοφυτον ἐ]ν συστάσει. The supplement ἀμπελικόν is secure, as the term χωρίον is usually determined by this adjective in Hermopolite leases dating from the late fifth to the seventh century. Discussion of the usage of the term χωρίον as “vineyard” prior to the Islamic conquest has been offered in T.M. Hickey, *Wine, Wealth, and the State in Late Antique Egypt* (Ann Arbor 2012) 41–44; see also R.S. Bagnall, “The Date of P. Kell. I G.62 and the Meaning of χωρίον,” *CdÉ* 148 (1999) 330–332.

For ζώοφυτον, which suits the space perfectly and, in any case, seems the only viable supplement, cf. *P.Giss.* 1.56.6–7 (Herm.; seventh century?), χωρίον ἀμπελικὸν | ζώοφ[υ]τ[ον] ἐν συστάσει ἄρουρῶν ὅσων ἐστίν, as well as *SB* 4.7369.9 (Herm.; 512). For the expression ἐν συστάσει, “consisting of,” mostly occurring in Hermopolite vineyard leases, see *P.Oxy.* 82.5331.12–13 n.

– τριῶν. Over both *tau* and *omega* there is an angular curve with a downward-pointing apex; something similar but not identical seems to be present over the *tau* of τριῶν in *BGU* 19.2784.5. The meaning of these signs remains obscure.

⁶ I thank Alexander Free for kindly sharing his chapter prior to publication.

15 [c. 18] Ἀφοῦτος. The supralineation suggests that this was a place name (cf. n. 9 §2 above), apparently the location of the vineyard itself. The gap may have contained [διακείμενον ἐν/περί], as e.g. in *P.Coll.Youtie* 2.89.12 (Herm.; 485) and *P.Giss.*1.56.9 (Herm.; seventh century?). An “irrigated parcel [ὄργανον] of Aphous” is known from *P.Lond.* 3.1003.9 (562–563), ἐκ το(ῦ) λεγ[ο]μένο(υ) ὀργάνο(υ) Ἀφοῦτος. This was situated in the territory of the village named Pesla that Drew-Bear (10 n.), 250, indicates was north of Hermopolis and near Sinageris, i.e. a fair distance from the *origo* of our tenant. For additional discussion of the location of the Hermopolite settlements named Pesla (subsumed under TM Geo 2950), see B. Kemp in J. Faiers (ed.), *Late Roman Pottery at Amarna and Related Studies* (London 2005) 36 (but oddly suggesting that the papyri indicate that it was “a paired settlement, with one part on each bank of the river”).

– σὺν φυτοῖς διαφόροῖς. Typically followed by additional details about what the plot of land included.

APOSTROPHES BETWEEN DOUBLE CONSONANTS BEFORE THE THIRD CENTURY CE

Nicholas E. Wagner *Duke University*

Abstract. — The paper aims to reevaluate the evidence for the use of the apostrophe to separate double consonants before the third century CE, by offering an overview of the papyri which possibly attest this practice before this date and discussing in detail each case.

Keywords: apostrophe, geminates, third century, writing practices, paleography

Use of the apostrophe to separate double consonants has long known to be rare in papyri before the third century CE. Yet the available research on the topic is rather limited and no one to date has attempted to assess the evidence *en bloc*.¹ Moreover, some of the evidence cited before this century turns out, upon verifying the sources, to be ambiguous. My goal in this paper is simply to reevaluate the evidence presented thus far and to provide readers with an up-to-date list of texts securely dated or dateable before the third century that attest this phenomenon.

Most cited are the four examples in Turner and Parsons's *GMAW*.² Their first reference is α᾿χχοριμφικ in *BGU* 3.715.5 (101/102 CE; fig. 1). While the ink does resemble an apostrophe, it sits above and between α᾿ rather than the expected position above γ or χ or between these letters.³ One solution is to read the ink as a smooth breathing (so ἀχχοριμφικ). But this reading may be no less plausible than the apostrophe, since to my knowledge there is no single text containing a smooth breathing that

¹ In addition to E.G. Turner and P.J. Parsons, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World* (London 1987) 11, evidence for apostrophes between consonants is amassed in W. Crönert, *Memoria graeca Herculanensis* (Leipzig 1903) 18; Gignac, *Gram.* 1.162–165; J.-L. Fournet, “Les signes diacritiques dans les papyrus documentaires grecs,” in N. Carlig *et al.* (eds.), *Signes dans les textes. Continuités et ruptures des pratiques scribales en Égypte pharaonique, gréco-romaine et byzantine* (Liège 2020) 151–152. — My thanks to William A. Johnson and Peter van Minnen for their helpful comments and suggestions.

² Turner and Parsons (n. 1) 11, n. 50.

³ Turner and Parsons cite this example from Crönert (n. 1) 18. The *ed. pr.* prints the ink just as it appears on the papyrus, but the editor does not comment on its purpose.

can be firmly dated before the third century.⁴ This first example is therefore uncertain.

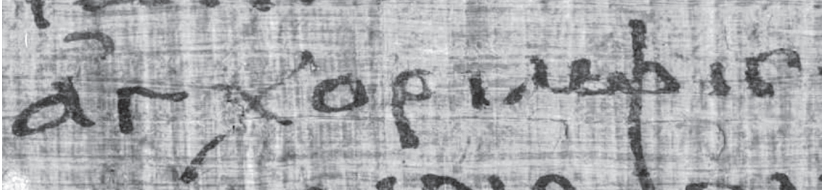


Fig. 1: BGU 3.715.5 (αγ'χοριμφοι or ἀγχοριμφοι?).
Image from <https://berlpap.smb.museum/>

Turner and Parsons's second and third examples are secure: read αγ'γηων (so *ed. pr.*) in P.Mich. inv. 6871.9 (184/185 CE; fig. 2) and read επενεγ'κωσι (so *ed. pr.*) in SB 14.11342.11 (193 CE; fig. 3).⁵ I pass over their fourth example (*P.Oxy.* 42.3013.30), since it is dateable solely by paleography (they prefer the second century).

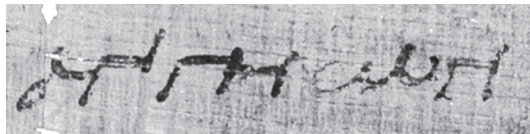


Fig. 2: P.Mich.inv. 6871.9: αγ'γηων.
Image from <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/a/apis>.

⁴ This shape of smooth breathing is closest to Turner and Parsons's "Form 2" in (n. 1) 11. There is presently no exhaustive study of *spiritus lenis* in the papyri. See Fournet (n. 1) 158, n. 62 on the available research. I have only been able to locate two texts containing smooth breathings that may date before the third century. Both texts are paleographically dated. The first is *P.Col.* 8.199 (1–2 CE?): 1 ἡτορ (pap.), 2 εἰ (pap.). These breathings belong to Turner and Parsons's "Form 2" and both sit above and just after the letter to be marked. I have checked the breathings against the high-resolution image available at <http://papyri.info/>. The second text is *P.Yale* 2.96 (2 CE?): col. 1.8 ὅτιθεν (pap.), 18 ἐκλυες (pap.), col. 2.1 ἄρα (pap.), 5 ἀρ' (pap.), 10 ἄνδρ' (pap.). These breathings belong to Turner and Parsons's "Form 1" and they sit directly above the letter to be marked. I have checked the breathings against the high-resolution image available at <https://findit.library.yale.edu/>.

⁵ P.Mich. inv. 6871 is one of three duplicate copies (P.Mich. inv. 6871–6873). P.Mich. inv. 6871–6872 are referenced in the apparatus for *P.Petaus* 86 (= P.Mich. inv. 6873). Gignac, *Gram.* 1.162, also cites the apostrophe in P.Mich. inv. 6871. P.Mich. inv. 6872 is lacunose where we expect the apostrophe (l. 12), while P.Mich. inv. 6873.11 clearly reads ἀγγηων. Initially, I had wondered whether, like in P.Mich. inv. 6873, what we are seeing in P.Mich. inv. 6871 is not Γ'Γ, but ΝΓ, in which case the supposed apostrophe is actually the raised second leg of ν. But since in P.Mich. inv. 6871 there is no cupping of the second leg of ν, which is common in this hand, and the ink in question sits much higher than the second leg of ν elsewhere on the papyrus, the apostrophe appears to be indisputable.

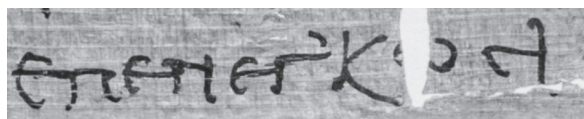


Fig. 3: *SB* 14.11342.11 (επενεγκωι).

Image from <https://www.onb.ac.at/>.

In an earlier publication, Parsons, in addition to citing the aforementioned *BGU* 3.715, references *απυγ'χεωι* in *SPP* 22.2.22 (fig. 4). This papyrus is now securely dated to 207/208 CE (see *BL* 5.144) and in any case the alleged apostrophe is almost certainly ligaturing from *γ* to *χ*.⁶



Fig. 4: *SPP* 22.2.22 (απυγ'χεωι).

Image from <https://www.onb.ac.at/>.

Cairncross and Henry have already addressed three of the above references in their introduction to *P.Oxy.* 82.5299 (*BGU* 3.715, *P.Petaus* 86, *SPP* 22.2) and they rightly question Gathercole's more recent reference to *αλ'λωι* in *CPR* 15.3.5 (11 CE; fig. 5).⁷ What Gathercole takes (following the *ed. pr.* by Wessely) as an apostrophe I might read as a hook or decorate flourish, which, because the writer was working quickly, was not joined precisely with the upper part of the second oblique. A similar hook above the second *λ* is more successful, but there too a close look reveals the hook floating just above the second oblique. Messeri Savorelli comes to the same conclusion in the most recent edition of the papyrus.⁸ On the other hand, while there are large hooks atop *λ* elsewhere on the papyrus (cf. figs. 6–7), only in *αλλωι* are the hooks detached and thus it seems best to leave open the possibility of the apostrophe.

⁶ P.J. Parsons, "Review of Cavallo, *Ricerche sulla maiuscola biblica*," *Gnomon* 42 (1970) 379.

⁷ S. Gathercole, "The Earliest Manuscript Title of Matthew's Gospel (BnF Suppl. Gr. 1120 ii 3 / P4)," *Novum Testamentum* 54 (2012) 229. Gathercole cites the papyrus as P. Wess. Taf. Gr. 6,7. He also references *BGU* 3.715, *P.Petaus* 86, *SB* 14.11342, and *SPP* 22.2 (incorrectly cited as second century), on which see above.

⁸ Gathercole is unaware of the newer edition (*CPR* 15.3). Messeri Savorelli writes in the apparatus: "*αλ'λωι* pap., ma il segno non è una *diastolé* fra le due consonanti (così Wessely), bensì un lapsus di scrittura: un tentativo di allungare la seconda obliqua del primo *lambda*."

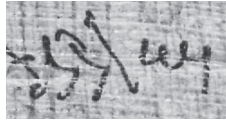


Fig. 5: CPR 15.3.5 (αλ'λωι or αλλωι).
Image from <https://digital.onb.ac.at/>.



Fig. 6: CPR 15.3.1 (λεγει).
Image from <https://digital.onb.ac.at/>.



Fig. 7: CPR 15.3.4 (μεγαλου).
Image from <https://digital.onb.ac.at/>.

So far as I know, Fournet is the only other commentator to have offered possible examples of this use of the apostrophe in papyri securely dated before the third century.⁹ Excluding those already cited by Turner and Parsons, Fournet references five texts. The earliest is what Fournet and the editor read as οξυρυγ'χων in *P.Turner* 17.3 (69 CE; fig. 8). Although the ink is somewhat faded, an apostrophe is surely present above and between γχ (the papyrus is damaged where we expect the apostrophe in οξυρυγ-χων at line 6).¹⁰



Fig. 8: *P.Turner* 17.3 (οξυρυγ'χων).
Image from <http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/>.

⁹ Fournet (n. 1) 151–152.

¹⁰ At first glance, I was tempted to read the apostrophe as nothing more than curling at the upper left of the χ. But since this letter is written without any such flourish elsewhere on the papyrus and, moreover, the ink in question is separated from the upper left of χ by a distinct gap, the apostrophe seems to be secure.

Next chronologically is $\alpha\lambda\cdot\lambda\omega\varsigma$ (pap.) in *O.Claud.* 1.165.8 (c. 100–120 CE; fig. 9). The editor, Bülow-Jacobsen, writes with hesitation: “the dot may be an apostrophe.” Because in this hand μ looks like two overlaid *lambdas* (cf. fig. 10), Fournet further suggests, plausibly in my view, that the dot may be intended to prevent the reader from a misreading.¹¹ If Fournet’s suggestion is granted, the dot would not, strictly speaking, serve the same purpose as the apostrophe. I would not, however, rule out the apostrophe since there is not to my knowledge evidence elsewhere of this practice of placing dots between letters.

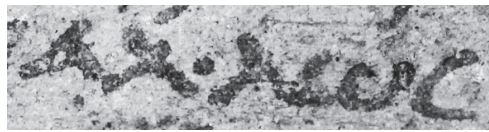


Fig. 9: *O.Claud.* 1.165.8 ($\alpha\lambda\cdot\lambda\omega\varsigma$).
Photo (IR) courtesy of Adam Bülow-Jacobsen.

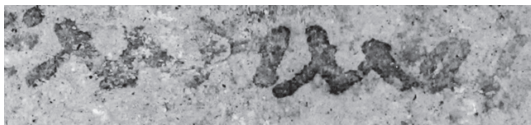


Fig. 10: *O.Claud.* 1.165.3 ($\mu\eta\ \mu\omicron\iota$).
Photo (IR) courtesy of Adam Bülow-Jacobsen.

Next is *P.Köln* 5.229.36 (178 CE; fig. 11): both the editor and Fournet read $\mu\epsilon\tau'\tau\iota\upsilon$. While the right half of the top bar of the first τ appears to have worn away, the apostrophe is plainly visible.



Fig. 11: *P.Köln* 5.229.36 ($\mu\epsilon\tau'\tau\iota\upsilon$).
Image from <https://papyri.uni-koeln.de/>.

Finally, three other texts cited by Fournet date to the late second or early third century, each of which unambiguously attests an apostrophe

¹¹ Fournet (n. 1) 151.

between geminate consonants: μιτ'ταχις in *P.Marm. recto* (*term. post quem* 191 or 215 CE) col. 11.17 (fig. 12), 19, 33, col. 12.8; εγ'γονων in *P.Turner* 26.12 (195–198 CE; fig. 13); παραγ'γελλειν in *PSI* 13.1357.13 (199/200 CE [see *BL* 8:410]; fig. 14); and απ'πιανος in *BGU* 7.1617.24 (198 or 227 CE? [see *BL* 7:21]; fig. 15).

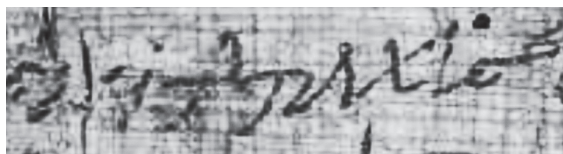


Fig. 12: *P.Marm. recto* col. 11.17 (μιτ'ταχις).
Online image from <https://digi.vatlib.it/>.



Fig. 13: *P.Turner* 26.12 (εγ'γονων).
Image courtesy of Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

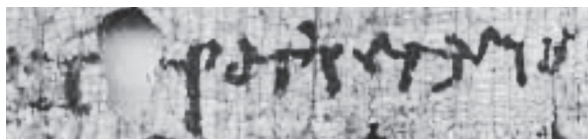


Fig. 14: *PSI* 13.1357.13 (παραγ'γελλειν).
Image from <http://www.psi-online.it/>.



Fig. 15: *BGU* 7.1617.24 (απ'πιανος).
Image from <https://berlpap.smb.museum/>.

To the above examples, I would add παραγ'γειλας in *SB* 16.12239.10 (192 CE; fig. 16), εγ'κληματος in *P.Ryl.* 2.116.1 (194 CE; fig. 17), and εγ'γ[υ]ητου in *P.Rainer Cent.* 63.14 (198 CE; fig. 18).

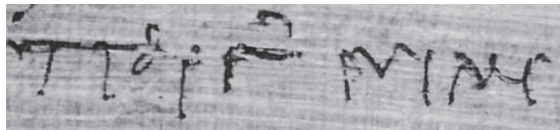


Fig. 16: *SB* 16.12239.10 (παράγειλας).
Image from <https://www.onb.ac.at/>.

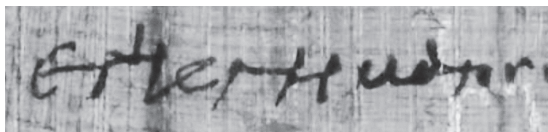


Fig. 17: *P.Ryl.* 2.116.1 (εγκληματος).
Image from <https://luna.manchester.ac.uk/>.

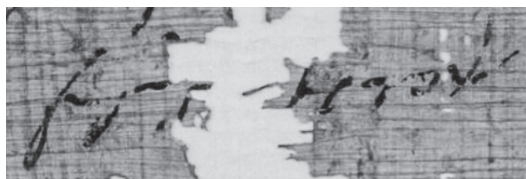


Fig. 18: *P.Rain.Cent.* 63.14 (εγγ[υ]ητου).
Image from <https://www.onb.ac.at/>.

I would also point to three less secure examples from around the same period. The earliest is]αγγ[, possibly]αγ'γ[(so *ed. pr.*), in *CPR* 17b.7.11 (184–185 CE [see *BL* 10:60]; fig. 19). The second and third letters are uncertain and, though the ink above and between these two letters looks like an apostrophe, there is also ink above the first letter (nearly resembling a circumflex), which further leads me to question the presence of the apostrophe.



Fig. 19: *CPR* 17b.7.11 (]αγγ[or]αγ'γ[).
Image from <https://www.onb.ac.at/>.

The second example is απυγχεωσ (pap.) in *BGU* 2.627.fr1.15 (c. 192–200 CE [see *P.Worp* 21.9–11 comm.]; fig. 20). An oblique is indeed

present above χ (supposed an apostrophe in the *ed. pr.*). But because the oblique sits much further above the word than expected and in fact it is closer to the line above, I am inclined against reading the oblique as an apostrophe.

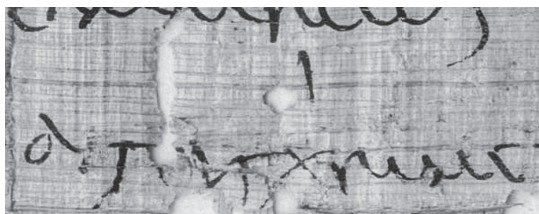


Fig. 20: BGU 2.627.fr1.15 (απνγχεωc).
Image from <https://berlpap.smb.museum/>.

Lastly, the editor of *P.Mich.* 11.623 (188–190 CE [see *BL* 7:115]; fig. 21) reads φιλ'τατω in l. 4 (*verso*). But the alleged apostrophe is almost certainly the left half of the top-bar of τ .

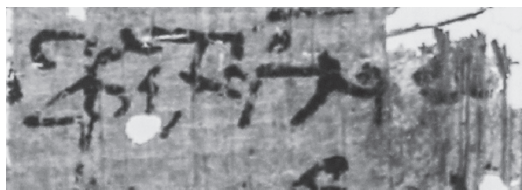


Fig. 21: *P.Mich.* 11.623 (φιλτατω or φιλ'τατω).
Image courtesy of the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

In summary, the earliest evidence for use of the apostrophe between double consonants is the lone outlier in *P.Turner* 17 (69 CE), followed just over a century later by the examples in *P.Köln* 5.229 (178 CE) and *P.Mich.* inv. 6871 (184/185 CE). *P.Turner* 17 could support dating documents that attest this use of the apostrophe to significantly earlier than is commonly recognized. Three other possible, but ultimately uncertain examples (*CPR* 15.3, *O.Claud.* 1.165, *BGU* 3.715) may also attest this practice earlier than expected and perhaps even as early as the beginning of the first century CE (*CPR* 15.3). Still, the available evidence (see table below), in so far as it can be trusted to reflect normative writing practices in Egypt, indicates that this usage was exceedingly rare in documents until the final decades of the second century and thus the claims by Turner, Parsons, and others remain valid to this day.

Text	Apostrophe	Date (CE)
<i>CPR</i> 15.3	uncertain	11
<i>P.Turner</i> 17	certain	69
<i>O.Claud.</i> 1.165	uncertain	100–120
<i>BGU</i> 3.715	uncertain	101/102
<i>P.Köln</i> 5.229	certain	178
<i>CPR</i> 17b.7	uncertain	184–185
<i>P.Mich.</i> inv. 6871	certain	184/185
<i>P.Mich.</i> 11.623	unlikely	188–190
<i>P.Marm. recto</i>	certain	after 191 or 215
<i>SB</i> 16.12239	certain	192
<i>BGU</i> 2.627 fr. 1	uncertain	c. 192–200
<i>SB</i> 14.11342	certain	193
<i>P.Ryl.</i> 2.116	certain	194
<i>P.Turner</i> 26	certain	195–198
<i>P.Rainer Cent.</i> 63	certain	198
<i>PSI</i> 13.1357	certain	199/200
<i>BGU</i> 7.1617	certain	198 or 227?

A TRIFLE, REPRISED:
BRITISH LIBRARY SCHOOL TABLET ADD MS 34186(1)(2)

William A. Johnson *Duke University*

Abstract. — Detailed investigation of two schoolroom tablets in the British Library reveal additional aspects of the life story of these artifacts. Earlier publications did not mention the reverse sides of the two tablets, one of which has legible writing. Legible writing at the bottom of MS 34186(1) has also not been previously reported, nor have the partial erasures on both tablets which are part of their story. The analysis brings to light several interesting details about teacher-student interactions, shows the presence of trisyllabic as well as disyllabic syllabification exercise, and challenges the view that the use of double guidelines for elementary copying exercises is established ancient practice.

Keywords: wax tablet, elementary education, aphorism, syllabary, mathematical exercise, teacher-student interactions

The wax tablet inventoried as Add MS 34186(1) in the British Library (formerly in the British Museum) is almost certainly the most commonly reproduced wax tablet from a school context, and thus an unusually influential witness to our impression of ancient school texts. A glance at the Figure 3 will conjure to mind how familiar this tablet is – many of us will have first come to know it from the reproduction in Eric Turner’s *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*, and it has been reproduced many times.¹ That tablet, published by description in 1909 and with a transcription as *P.Lond.Lit.* 253, is one of a pair of tablets. The other, a matching tablet also complete and in excellent condition, is inventoried as Add MS 34186(2), published only in 1991.² Both tablets contain one side with the wax intact

¹ No. 4 in both the original 1971 edition (Princeton) and the revision by Peter Parsons from 1987 (London). For a convenient list of reproductions, see R. Criboire, *Writing, Teachers, and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (Atlanta 1996) 271, and the bibliography in the British Library catalogue for the entry, http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_34186, accessed March 28, 2021.

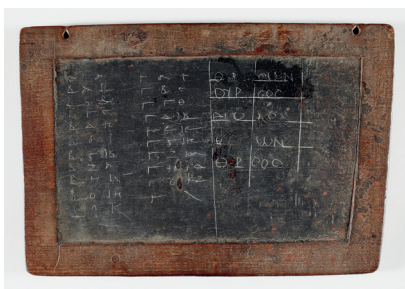
² Tablet 1 back (Side 1B) was described in a brief paragraph at the end of F.G. Kenyon, “Two Greek School-Tablets,” *JHS* 29 (1909) 39 and transcribed (incompletely) in *P.Lond. Lit.* (1927) by H.J. Milne as no. 253. For Tablet 2 front (Side 2A), see W.M. Brashear, “A Trifle,” *ZPE* 86 (1991) 231–232. Trismegistos catalogues the two tablets as TM 61495.



(a) Tablet 1, Side 1A



(a) Side 1B



(c) Tablet 2, Side 2A



(d) Side 2B

Fig. 1: Conspectus. Tablet 1 = B.L. MS 34186(1), Tablet 2 = B.L. MS 34186(2).
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and the writing almost entirely legible. The physical features of the tablets allow us to put them in order (see evidence below), such that the two sides with wax intact would have faced each other in the manner of a diptych. In what follows I will refer to the side of Add MS 34186(1) without intact wax as Side 1A, and the side with wax as Side 1B; for Add MS 34186(2), the wax-intact side will be Side 2A, and the reverse Side 2B (Fig. 1). Side 1A has almost entirely lost its wax but has some (previously unremarked) legible remains (m1). Side 1B contains a schoolmaster's model text (m2) consisting of two lines in iambic trimeter, which were then copied twice by a student in an alphabetic hand (m3); at the bottom is another line (previously unnoticed) in what appears to be a different hand (m4). Side 2A contains a set of multiplication tables in a rapid, experienced hand (m5), followed by a syllabification exercise in a hand that appears to match the alphabetic hand (m3) on Side 1B.³

³ For the terminology "alphabetic hand" and "rapid hand" see Criore (n. 1) 112; and cf. her comments on Tablets 1 and 2 at pp. 271–272.

“Chalking” (White Paint)

The first goal of this note is to be sure viewers of these tablets understand what they are looking at. Many will be aware of the antiquarian habit in the Victorian period and spilling well into the last century of “restoring” the original red paint of Roman inscriptions by adding red paint to the lettering.⁴ But white paint was also deployed for this unfortunate habit. In the Vindolanda Museum, for example, two inscriptions discovered during the antiquarian era of the site (i.e. before the excavations) have white paint added to make the inscription visible.⁵ The habit was not confined to antiquarians: the Serabit Sphinx in the British Museum with its striking transitional “proto-Sinaitic” writing has its famous inscription painted white in this way; the current curator of the papyrology collection of the British Library, Peter Toth, tells me that this practice is referred to as “chalking” (since chalk is sometimes used before photographing inscriptions on dark materials like slate), and was once a common practice. It is thus uncertain whether the white paint “chalking”⁶ on the faces of these wax tablets was added by the original owner prior to its acquisition in 1891, or by the British Museum staff.⁷

It may well be that many of the learned audience of this journal readily understand the matter of chalking, but that it is worth remark is beyond doubt. The distinguished papyrologist and long-time curator of the papyrus collection at the Ägyptisches Museum in Berlin-Charlottenburg, William Brashear, mistook what he was seeing when, in 1991, he published Side 2A under the title “A Trifle” (whence the title of this note).⁸ Undoubtedly working from a photograph, Brashear writes that in the syllabification exercise part of the tablet “the epsilon [of $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$ in line 4], vaguely discernible in [the plate in the publication by] Stuart, is no longer visible in Dilke.”⁹

⁴ Restoring the original Roman red lettering has been a common if increasingly controversial practice: see L. Keppie, *Understanding Roman Inscriptions* (Baltimore 1991) 15, 40–41.

⁵ *Roman Inscriptions of Britain (RIB)* 1699, Altar dedicated to the Veteres, inv. no. unknown; per *RIB* found in ca. 1830 among “loose stones at Vindolanda fort”; similar, and alongside in the museum, is *RIB* 3334 (forthcoming), Altar to the god Moguns and the Genius of the place, inv. no. unknown.

⁶ To be clear, the white here and on the examples given above is clearly paint and not chalk. I use “chalking” as a convenient technical term for this phenomenon.

⁷ Milne in *P.Lond.Lit.* 253, followed by Brashear (n. 2), mistakenly gives the acquisition date as 1892. On the acquisition, see further below.

⁸ See n. 2.

⁹ Brashear (n. 2) 232. Stuart = D.M. Stuart, *The Boy through the Ages* (New York 1926) 63; Dilke = O.A.W. Dilke, *Mathematics and Measurement* (London 1987) 16 and pl. 7.

But the *epsilon* is undamaged and clearly visible on the wax tablet today. What changed between the plates in Stuart (published in 1926) and Dilke (1987) was that the white paint flaked off, as it has in several other places on the tablet (as, for example, off part of the first *alpha* and the entirety of the middle *alpha* in column 1, line 1 of Side 2A).

The chalking is important for the interpretation of these tablets in at least two respects. (1) It misleads viewers into thinking that what is chalked is all that remains of the writing on these tablets. There is in fact other writing, and additional ruling as well. The final line of Side 1B, evidently *not* something left after an imperfect erasure but not painted by our “chalker,” goes unremarked in the literature. (2) The chalking was thickly applied, which obscures the reading in a couple of places, and makes it difficult to judge whether the chalked writing was similar in kind to the unchalked writing. Was the chalked writing finely inscribed, as are the unchalked remains at the bottom, and thus part of the same round of this exercise? Or was it more heavily inscribed, thus from a different round of the exercise? Were the remains under the chalking completely clear, or, as in the case of an unchalked syllabification exercise in Side 2A at line 8, were the remains in part obscure? The chalking makes it impossible to judge.

Provenance, Discovery, Physical Features

There is little information on the provenance. The British Museum purchased three tablets from Rev. Greville John Chester on 9 May 1891, two with school exercises, which are assumed to be the two under consideration here. (Thanks to Dr. Peter Toth for supplying this information from the British Library written records.) Chester was a friend of Flinders Petrie, and like Petrie, an “indefatigable explorer and collector” from 1865 to his death in 1892. Many of his purchases were made on behalf of the British Museum. In the latter part of his career as an explorer, his activities centered around Egypt. But he explored far and wide in the Middle East, so the Egyptian provenance is probable but no more than that.¹⁰

We thus know nothing of the circumstance of discovery, but one can surmise that the two tablets were found together, such that the two faces with extant wax faced one another and thus were protected. In any case,

¹⁰ On Chester, see G. Seidmann, “The Rev. Greville John Chester and ‘The Ashmolean Museum as a Home for Archaeology in Oxford,’” *Bulletin of the History of Archaeology* 16 (2006) 27–33; quote from p. 29.

the wax has almost entirely disappeared from Side 1A, which also contains an inset designed to hold wax. Side 2B, the reverse of Side 2A, is bare wood, without an inset for wax. It appears then that Tablet 2 was the final tablet in whatever series formed the notebook, and that Side 2B functioned as a back cover. As is usual, each tablet is made from single piece of wood; that is, the inset is formed by chiseling out and smoothing, not by adding a frame around the edge.

It is worth remark that *two* pairs of holes have been drilled so as to be able to fasten or hang the boards with a cord. The landscape orientation as shown in Figure 1 has two holes at the bottom which however were plugged with wood (as one can see most clearly on Tablet 2). The holes at the top (as shown in Figure 1) are then a later addition. One can guess that the reason for the change would be to hang the tablet up (as a model?).¹¹ As we'll see, there are reasons to believe that the life of these tablets started as a codex, with the original set of holes – those now on the “bottom” – used for binding cords to hold the tablets together. The tablets themselves would have been originally held and used in portrait orientation.

The size of the two tablets, roughly 26 × 18 cm, is large compared with the many Latin examples from anaerobic contexts in Britain and northern Europe.¹² There are, however, several parallels for size among other school tablets from Egypt, which seem to have been used to similar purpose, as notebooks and ersatz blackboards.¹³

¹¹ On hanging up school tablets, see P. van Minnen, “A Late Antique Schooltablet at Duke University,” *ZPE* 106 (1995) 177, n. 17.

¹² Anaerobic contexts have produced dozens of well-preserved wooden tablets. See R.S.O. Tomlin, *Roman London's First Voices: Writing Tablets from the Bloomberg Excavations, 2010–14* (London 2016) 25–26 for an analysis of over 250 tablets with full width or height from Bloomsberg, where only a dozen fall outside the range of 11–17 cm wide and where the tablet heights cluster around 11 cm. At Vindonissa, while far fewer survive to full width or height, tablets show a normative range of 12.5 to 15 cm for the width and 7 to 12 cm for the height, with maximum width of 17.7 cm and maximum height of 12.4; see M.A. Speidel, *Die römischen Schreibtafeln von Vindonissa* (Brugg 1996) 23–24.

¹³ Egyptian wax tablet examples also show the smaller format characteristic of the north, but the larger format (>20 cm) is common, as seen in the following school texts or writing exercises: TM 62664 = Crihiore no. 381 (24.2 × 10.6 cm), TM 65308 (37 × 17), TM 59789 = Crihiore no. 182 (27.6 × 21.4), TM 68798 (25 × 14), TM 64298 (23 × 19), TM 64299 (21 × 17), TM 64313 (22.3 × 16.7), TM 64463 = Crihiore no. 146 (30.5 × 17.5), TM 65210 = Crihiore no. 320 (21 × 11.5), TM 63314 = Crihiore no. 200 (26.5 × 12.3), TM 64825 (26 × 12.5), TM 35129 (21 × 10), TM 65245 (24 × 13), TM 64365 = Crihiore no. 400 (22 × 15.5), TM 65009 = Crihiore no. 408 (21.5 × 13.5), TM 65105 (23 × 13.7). Dimensions are taken from K.A. Worp, *A New Survey of Greek, Coptic, Demotic and Latin Tabulae Preserved from Classical Antiquity* (Version 1.0, 2012), Trismegistos Online Publications 6.

Tablet 1

BL inv. Add MS 34186(1) W × H (in landscape orientation) = 26.0 × 17.6 cm
 wax inset area, Side 1A: 23.5 × 15.5 cm
 wax inset area, Side 1B: 20.9 × 12.9 cm

Side 1A

Side 1A, the reverse to the well-known schoolmaster's exercise (= Side 1B), draws not even cursory remark in any publication. Side 1A has an excavated inset for wax with however a narrower frame around the edges than 1B: roughly 1–1.25 cm wide as opposed to ca. 2.5 cm. On this side only traces of the wax survive. High-resolution MSI does, however, allow us to read a partial line of a text that was scratched into the wood deeply enough to be legible. That line reads (Fig. 2):

1 (m1)] . τ [. . .]ακῶιςενδεθεοις] . τ [. κ]ακῶις· ἐν δὲ θεοῖς

1 *kappa* is distinct, but ambiguous, since the separation of the strokes makes ις a possible reading

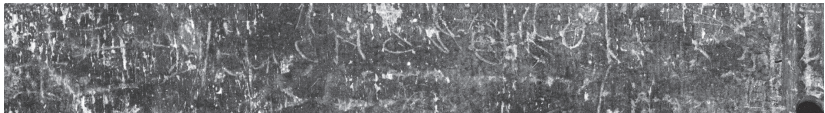
If the reading]ακῶις stands, κακῶις seems inevitable (“... [for/among good and] evil men; but among gods...”). The contrast is perhaps between the condition of the gods, as being beyond good and evil, and the mortal condition. There are a variety of ways such a theme can play out: cf., e.g., passages like *Odyssey* 1.32–34, 4.235–236, or Solon, fr. 13.63–64. This then seems to be some model expression, unknown, not a trimeter as in 1B, for a student to copy. If the *gnome* on 1A is elegiac the pentameter caesura (or a new line) starts with ἐν δὲ θεοῖς; if hexametric, a new line starts with those words.

The line of writing runs along the top of the narrow dimension, thus at 90 degrees from the writing on 1B, with the plugged holes (pretty well invisible because of the vestigial wax) at left and the unplugged holes to the right. That is, the writing was executed with the tablet held in portrait orientation, with the original binding cord holes at left. Letters are separately formed, but the hand is assured and rapid, writing a near-cursive form of *epsilon*. Faint scratches towards the bottom (in portrait orientation) suggest grid lines similar to the lines for the syllabification exercise found on Side 2A.

In short, the traces on this side are consistent with use in a school context.



(a) Visible writing (MSI) τ[.]ακροίενδεθεοις



τ α κ ρ ι ε ν δ ε θ ε ο ι ς

Fig. 2: Tablet 1, Side 1A. Box marks location of the inset.
MSI kindly provided by the British Library. © The British Library Board.

Side 1B

In addition to the highly legible “chalked” lines, Side 1B has partially erased entries still visible, unchalked and unremarked, that have interesting implications for our understanding of how the student performed this exercise; 1B also contains an unchalked, unnoticed line at the bottom, imperfectly ruled, with four letters. To help the reader follow the discussion I supply here a transcription, which corrects as well as augments Milne’s transcription in *P.Lond.Lit.* 253:

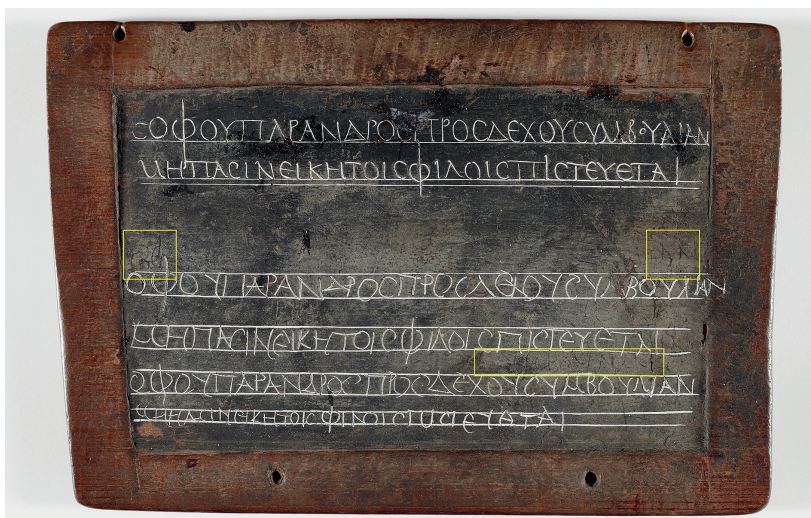
1	(m2)	οφου	παρ	ανδρ	ος	προ	δε	χου	συ	μβου	λιαν
2		μη	πα	σιν	ει	κη	τοι	ς	φι	λοι	ς
3											πι
4	(m3)	[[οφ]]									[[αν]]
5		οφου	παρ	ανδρ	ος	προ	δε	χου	συ	μβου	λιαν
6		[[μη]]									[[ε]]
7		μη	πα	σιν	ει	κη	τοι	ς	φι	λοι	ς
8											πι
9											..συμβουλιαν]]
10		οφου	παρ	ανδρ	ος	προ	δε	χου	συ	μβου	λιαν
11		μη	πα	σιν	ει	κη	τοι	ς	φι	λοι	ς
12	(m4)	ε				π			Ϟ		ς

1 = Menander, *Monostichoi* no. 476 Meineke, who however emends προσδέχου to ἐκδέχου 2 Another gnomic trimeter, author unknown 2,7,11 Read πιστεύετε 5 The wax ends at the penultimate letter, and the white paint obscures whether the *nu* at the end is in fact scratched into the wood framing the wax inset, or is an addition by the “chalker” 7 ΠΙCΤΕΥΕΤΑΙ Milne 11 ΠΙCΙΕΥΘΤΑΙ Milne

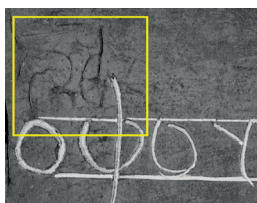
The teacher (m2) writes two *gnomai* as a model (οφου παρ’ ἀνδρὸς προσδέχου συμβουλίαν, “Receive favorably advice from a wise man”; μη πᾶσιν εἰκῇ τοῖς φίλοις πιστεύετε, “Don’t trust in just any old friend”). The first line is written above a single-ruled line and the second above a double-ruled line. Below, the student (m3) copies these out twice, famously omitting the model’s (faint?) initial *sigma*¹⁴ in both copies, thus starting the first *gnome* with the nonsensical οφου. The student also writes with poor control over letter formation and spacing. The chalking gives the appearance that the student writes using the help of guidelines ruled at both top and bottom (unlike the teacher’s model). This interpretation was part of the basis for Turner’s 1965 note on “Athenians Learning to Write.”¹⁵ But above the

¹⁴ The initial *sigma* in line one of the teacher’s model is painted over, thus it is hard to tell how exactly the model looked to the student; but high-resolution MSI suggests that the *sigma* was more lightly inscribed than what follows. One *BASP* referee wonders whether the *sigma* might be a later insertion by the teacher, pointing to its smaller size. I think not: the letter begins at the left in alignment with the *mu* that starts line two, and we see variability in letter size throughout the two lines of the teacher’s model.

¹⁵ Eric G. Turner, “Athenians Learn to Write: Plato, *Protagoras* 326d,” *BICS* 12 (1965) 67–69. Turner used the tablet under consideration plus two other examples to argue that providing parallel guidelines at top and bottom was normative teacher practice in antiquity, and that this, rather than tracing of letters, is what Plato’s audience was to envision at *Protagoras* 326d. Turner is followed by P.J. Parsons, “Copyists of Oxyrhynchus,” in *Oxyrhynchus: A City and Its Texts* (London 2007) 268, commenting on our Tablet 1, Side 1B: “the pupil copies between two ruled parallels, which aim to produce consistency at the upper as well as the lower level”; so also id., *City of the Sharp-Nosed Fish* (London 2007) 143–144, in which Parsons cites an instructional text from the sixteenth century advising elementary students to proceed from



(a) Line 4, left (MSI) οφ[



(a) Line 4, right (MSI)]αν



(c) Line 8 (MSI) συμβουλαν

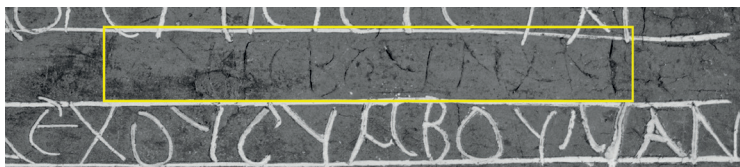


Fig. 3: Tablet 1, Side 1B. Boxes mark locations of the partial erasures (see insets). © The British Library Board.

practice with double-ruled guidelines to single lines. There is, however, nothing in the Plato passage to resolve whether single- or double guidelines are in view. Using a single line as a guide in school tablets is amply exemplified. As for Turner's other examples of double guidelines, one, *P.Lond.Lit.* 63 = TM 63841 is the wax tablet pictured in plate 4 of H. Diels, "Die Elegie des Possidippos aus Theben," *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* (1898) 860, which seems to show the usual single baseline guides: note that the top line (line 1) has no ruling line above it, and most lines (3, 4, 5 for instance) indicate that the writer orients to the bottom line without regard to the line above. For Turner's second example, wood tablet T.Berol. inv. 13234 = TM 63987, high-quality plates show no ruled lines at all (see S.F. Bonner, *Education in Ancient Rome* [Berkeley 1977] 61, fig. 10; W. Schubart, *Das Buch bei den Griechen und Römern*, 3rd ed. [Heidelberg 1962] 41).

student's first chalked ruling line we can see a partially erased line (line 4), beginning with οφ[, that is also without *sigma* (Fig. 3a), and at the end]αv (Fig. 3b), neither with any signs of a ruled line above. Similarly, above the top chalked ruling line of the student's second attempt at this line, at line 8, we read at the end, faintly but securely, συμβουλιαν with faint traces of the letters preceding (Fig. 3c).

At least in some earlier round of this exercise, it seems, then, that the student copied to a conceptual guideline that was the single ruled line at the bottom, single-spaced (as it were), in accordance with the teacher's model. In this earlier attempt the student may also have copied twice the number of verses. We know for certain now that the student copied the teacher's model for more than one iteration – not a surprise, but not observed before. Moreover, we now have reason to doubt what is commonly reported, that in ancient school contexts teachers used pairs of guidelines, top and bottom, to assist elementary students in letter formation. If, as it appears, our tablet is an instance of that, it is an outlier – the only example alongside many examples where a base line only is used as a guide.¹⁶ That the teacher *intended* to have the student orient the writing using guidelines above as well as below can certainly be doubted.

Through these partially erased bits, we can also see that the student wrote a previous exercise (line 4) with the *sigma* of κοφοc already omitted. That, importantly, then tells us that neither teacher nor assistant stopped to review the exercise between attempts. It also suggests that there was no oral recitation of the written copy before erasing and copying again.¹⁷

What has made Tablet 1 (Side 1B) so widely cited is the electrifying example it provides of the writer with such feeble reading skills that s/he is unable to sort out the nonsense caused by writing οφου rather than κοφου at the front.¹⁸ Milne's transcription piles onto this narrative by reporting that the writer also wrote the non-sensical ΠICTEYETAI for ΠICTEY-ETAI in line 7 and the equally odd ΠICIEYΘTAI in line 11, an apparent demonstration that the writer could not read at all and had trouble with understanding which letter was which. But high-resolution MSI imaging proves beyond any doubt that the student wrote *alpha* rather than *lambda*

¹⁶ See n. 15 for reasons to doubt the two other examples adduced by Turner, which are also the only examples cited by Cribiore (n. 1) 67.

¹⁷ In the idealized schoolroom scene of the late antique text known as the *Hermeneumata*, teachers and assistant teachers are constantly engaged in correction: see R. Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind* (Princeton 2001) 15. The many mistakes in school texts on papyrus show, however, that “not all teachers were conscientious in correcting errors” (Bonner [n. 15] 177, with further examples in the notes).

¹⁸ As is shown in other papyri as well: see Cribiore (n. 17) 169, n. 35.

in line 7. Though the white paint interferes, the MSI image also suggests that the writer did in fact manage a clumsy *epsilon* rather than *theta* in line 11; the paint entirely obscures whether the horizontal for the first *tau* in line 11 was included, but Milne's assumption that it was not is an overreach. That the writer cannot read well is, however, true; and it is a telling detail that the same student is meanwhile also working on elementary syllabic division (Side 2A).¹⁹

Finally, at the very bottom, below the last chalked line, Side 1B has an additional, unchalked ruled line, and several previously unnoticed unchalked letters that appear to be original, that is, unerased material (Fig. 4). The unchalked ruled line, as elsewhere on both tablets, appears more like an impression on the wax from a dull edge, distinctly less fine and sharp in comparison with the incision of the sharp stylus that has drawn the letters.²⁰ That detail is interesting given a recent suggestion by Glynn Davis that the writing implement called a "bone rule" or "bone spatula" may have been used to impress straight ruling lines across the width of a wax tablet.²¹ Experiments in my shop using a replica of this bone implement (Davis's Type A) with a replica wax tablet (following the technical specifications of the Bloomberg tablets)²² result in an impression very much like that seen here.

Along and slightly overlapping the unchalked ruled line at the very bottom are written four letters, of uncertain import, spaced along the full width of the tablet (line 12); the first and last letters are near the edges. The letters are distinct and do not appear to be remains from an earlier erasure. The first two of these letters, *epsilon* and *pi*, are written in a manner consistent with the alphabetic hand above (cf. the ductus of the

¹⁹ Criatore (n. 17) 177. On syllables practice as an early component of elementary education, see W.A. Johnson, "Teaching the Children How to Read: The Syllabary," *Classical Journal* 106 (2011) 445–463.

²⁰ The same is true of the unchalked parts of the lines that form the table grid for the syllabification exercise on Side 2A. In general, wherever the paint does not obscure the stroke, one has impression of a dull ruling line not made by a stylus. Look for instance at the unpainted bits at the very far left edge of the student ruling lines on Side 1B. Two folios of the Louvre wax tablet set, *T.Varie* 24–25 (pl. 35–36) = TM 64510 = Criatore no. 394 (4th c. CE) show the same impression for its ruled lines, clearly not made with a sharp stylus, but impressed onto the wax with a dull edge roughly triple the thickness of the letters.

²¹ Glynn J.C. Davis, "Bone Spatulate Strips from Roman London," *Lucerna* 51 (2016) 6–12. Davis goes on to argue that this is not the "primary function" of these objects. For more on these multi-functional bone objects, specifically on their other possible uses and for a review of the evidence that they are writing implements, see my "Scribal Tools of the Trade: Bone Rules, Dividers, and Lamps as Writing Aids," in preparation.

²² Tomlin (n. 12): for scientific analysis of wax, 284–286; wood species 6, 11–13; tablet size and type, 26.

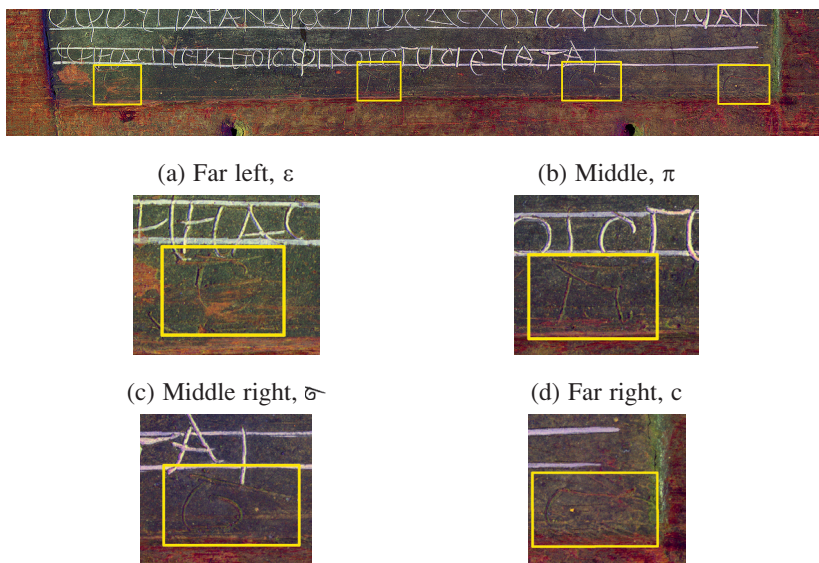


Fig. 4: Tablet 1, Side 1B, bottom. Boxes mark locations of the 4 letters of line 12 (see insets). © The British Library Board.

first *epsilon* in line 11 and the *pi* of $\pi\rho\omicron\varsigma\delta\epsilon\chi\omicron\nu$ in line 9, though the *pi* in line 12 is more elaborated), but the writing is considerably more assured. The final letter is *sigma* with a long top stroke not in keeping with the oval style used by teacher or student. The third letter (σ) is odd. Perhaps a schoolboy playing around with sigma or stigma? In any case, a new hand (m4) has written these four letters along the bottom. At the bottom of a school tablet we expect something like a date, or a count of the number of exercises written, or perhaps a name.²³ These four letters do not accord with those expectations, and remain of obscure import.

Tablet 2

BL inv. Add MS 34186(2) W × H (in landscape orientation): 26.2 × 17.7 cm
wax inset area, Side 2A: 21.3 × 12.9 cm

Side 2A

Brashear's 1991 publication of Tablet 2 can stand, excepting remarks on partially erased remains; ruled lines that were partially chalked or not

²³ See, e.g. *T.Varie* 4, 5, 6, 22, 38, 56; *P.Leid.Inst.* 15; T.Duke inv. 232 = Criore no. 95; T.Leiden Univ. Libr. Ms BPG 109 = Criore no. 386; T. Borely inv. 1564-67 = Criore no. 389; Louvre MND 552 L-K-I-H = Criore no. 396.

chalked at all; the fact of two hands, the second of which matches the alphabetic hand on Side 1B (m3); and the back (Side 2B), which Brashear does not mention.

I include Brashear's transcription to make the discussion easier to follow, and to add the unreported content at the bottom of Col. 3.

	Col. 1	Col. 2	Col. 3
1 (m5)	α α α	γ α γ (m3)	θαρ cων
2	β α β	γ β ζ	θυρ coc
3	β β δ	γ γ θ	θω ac
4	β γ ζ	γ δ ιβ	θε ων
5	β δ η	γ ε ιε	θαρ coc
6	β ε ι	γ ζ ιη	
7	β ζ ιβ	γ ζ κα	
8	β ζ ιδ	γ η κδ	[traces] πορ ρον
9	β η ις	γ θ κζ	
10	β θ ιη	γ ι λ	
11	β ι κ		

3.2 Brashear reads OYP | COC, perhaps rightly; the trace of the expected horizontal of initial *theta* is partial and faint. 3.3 Read θο | ac?

The multiplication exercise in columns 1–2 is written in an experienced hand that however shows no obvious affinity to the hand that wrote the model lines at the top of Side 1B (m2); the hand seems also not to match that of the scanty remains of Side 1A (m1). Given the evidence that the multiplication exercise was a repeated exercise (see below), this hand is either that of a more advanced student or of a teacher or teacher's assistant, perhaps engaged in an interactive exercise with the students (Teacher: "one times one equals what?" Student(s): "one"; T: "two times one?" S: "two"; T: "two times two?" S: "four"; and so forth, with the teacher writing out the results as they go). Column 3 contains a writing exercise in which the student divides words by syllables into a pre-fashioned table grid, first five disyllabic words beginning in *theta*, all but one of which (θύρσος) occur in the *Iliad*. These are followed by at least one trisyllabic example, also possibly Iliadic. The alphabetic hand (m3) matches that of the elementary student of Side 1B.

There are many indications of the reuse of the wax surface, as one would expect. For the multiplication exercise in the two columns at left, the traces are indeterminate, although the faint but still visible *gamma* to

the left and slightly above the second column of the first line suggests that the *gamma* multiplication column (Col. 2) was written more than once.²⁴ The syllabification table in column 3 was also a repeated exercise. Underneath the chalked entries are indications that the exercise dividing words beginning with *theta* was repeated: both lines 2 (ΘYP | COC) and 3 (ΘΩ | AC) have remains above the currently chalked entries that appear to start with *theta*. Close inspection also shows that the chalker did not follow the lines of the table to the full inscribed extent; the second and third verticals in fact extend to within two centimeters of the bottom, and there are two horizontal lines following the last chalked horizontal, which are also distinctly longer, extending close to the right edge of the wax (these ruled lines are partly visible as is, and partly visible as striations – slight grooves in the wax – when viewed under a raking light).²⁵ That is, at one point in the life of this syllabification exercise, there were eight rather than five ruled grids on the right half of the tablet. The last of these, Col. 3.8, was the beginning of a previously unread trisyllabic exercise (which is why the horizontal rules are lengthened), and the last two syllables can be (hesitantly) read as [] | πορ | ρον,²⁶ possibly then the epic word [ξ]πορρον (*Il.* 5.765). It is not clear whether this entry is co-temporal with the entries in Col. 3.1–5 or belongs to an earlier exercise, but the unchalked bottoms of the vertical lines are certainly from this iteration of the exercise and a continuation of the verticals above. It is also not clear whether the entries in Col. 3.6–7 are badly damaged, or whether 6–7 are a gap intended to signal the move from disyllabic to trisyllabic exercise.²⁷

Side 2B

Brashear, undoubtedly working from a photograph, did not mention that the back of the tablet is bare wood, without wax inset or writing. I take Side 2B to be the back cover of the set of tablets forming this notebook. To the left of the top right hole are a few legible characters scratched into the wood, perhaps a list of vowels:] . εοωι[.

²⁴ There are other suggestive traces as well, such as the bottom half of [αβ] perhaps apparent above the current chalked βαβ at Col. 1.2; and another *gamma* visible to the left of the penultimate line of column two.

²⁵ Again, these wider impressions on the wax are consistent with an instrument like the bone rule, discussed above, and not consistent with lines ruled by a stylus. For a discussion of grid lines to form columns and tables on school exercise tablets, see Cribiore (n. 1) 76–77.

²⁶ The alternative reading [] | πορ | ρον would violate a basic syllabification rule, but is not impossible.

²⁷ For the scholastic habit of moving from writing two-syllable words to three-syllable words, see discussion and evidence in Cribiore (n. 1) 42–43.

Date

The teacher's model lines are written in an upright bilinear large oval script that, if written on papyrus, would be typically dated to the late first or second century.²⁸ Kenyon hesitantly offered a second-century date, which Milne and Turner (et al.) followed; Brashear did not offer a date. The large oval style of hand can be deployed for archaizing effect as late as the fourth century,²⁹ and the writing in any case is by stylus on wax rather than by *calamus* on papyrus. The more experienced hand on Side 2A could be from a range of dates if written on papyrus but does not show particularly late features.³⁰ It seems prudent to accept a broad range of possible dates for this unusual artifact, perhaps second to fourth centuries CE.

Conclusion: The Life of the Notebook

The two tablets studied here were the last two tablets in a notebook. Evidence from all periods of the tablets' life points to use in a schoolroom context, where the tablets could be conveniently passed around, or (later) hung up as a model using holes newly drilled for that purpose. Early in its life, it appears (Side 1A) that the notebook was used in portrait orientation, using binding cords on the side. Later, the notebook seems to have been redeployed so that the users could write along the long side (in landscape orientation), as is typical for tablets used in school contexts,³¹ and new holes were drilled to allow them to be hung on the wall. The tablets' final use was (1) by a teacher who wrote out a pair of maxims as a model and an elementary student who copied these out for writing practice with little or no reading comprehension (Side 1B); (2) by a teacher or advanced student practicing multiplication tables, perhaps *viva voce* with one or more elementary students (Side 2A); and (3) by the same elementary student responsible for the copying on Side 1B, who here (also Side 2A)

²⁸ Cf. e.g. Seider, *Pal.Gr.* vol. 2, no. 22, Turner, *GMAW* no. 28, cf. no. 62. A dated document with single-stroke *alpha* and two-stroke *pi*, but with exhibiting the same essential style is *P.Mich.* 3.202, 105 CE.

²⁹ Such as, for example, the case of *P.Oxy.* 3529, where the hand mimics a slightly different instantiation of the early oval style (see Turner, *GMAW* no. 62) but whose content guarantees a date no earlier than 307 CE. See B. Nongbri, *God's Library: The Archaeology of the Earliest Christian Manuscripts* (New Haven 2018) 69–70. My thanks to Adeline Harrington for bringing this example to my attention.

³⁰ Look esp. at the forms of *alpha*, *delta*, and *eta*.

³¹ Cribiore (n. 1) 67.

practiced writing by copying groups of disyllabic and trisyllabic words, divided by syllables, onto a pre-fashioned grid.

Along the way, we have also discovered a few tidbits that help us understand better certain details of ancient schooling. Side 1B is the poster child for Turner's narrative that pairs of parallel guidelines at top and bottom were "often" ruled by teachers to help elementary students.³² The evidence for that from our tablet turns out to be ambiguous and the two other examples adduced for the phenomenon offer no evidence at all (see n. 15). Until better witness surfaces, we need to abandon the anachronistic narrative that providing double guidelines was normative teacher practice in antiquity. Side 1B also now shows, through previously unreported erasures, that the student wrote out the nonsense οφου for κοφου in a previous iteration of the copying exercise, which allows us to infer that the student's work was not checked before being told to repeat the writing drill. As mentioned just above, Side 2A seems to suggest that the use of the tablets alternated between teacher and student.

We have, then, unlocked more of the life story of these two amazing artifacts with details that help animate our understanding of the ancient classroom. The newly observed four letters along the bottom of Side 1B, which one would expect to be a date or name or exercise count, remain a mystery unresolved.

³² "Often": Turner, *GMAW* no. 4; Cribiore (n. 1) 67, citing the same evidence, more cautiously says "occasionally."

NARRATIVES OF DISCOVERY: PETRIE, GRENFELL AND HUNT, AND THE FIRST FINDING OF THE OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI

Roberta Mazza *University of Bologna*

Abstract. — This article analyses contemporary sources concerning the first discovery of papyri at el-Bahnasa in 1896–1897 and argues that later accounts about the first season at the site depend too heavily on the official narratives written by Grenfell and disseminated in archaeological reports and newspaper and magazine articles that aimed to sensationalize the achievement in order to foster subscriptions to the Egypt Exploration Fund, which sponsored the excavation. A close reading of more private archival material shows that the choice of excavating at Oxyrhynchus was less a decision of Grenfell and Hunt and far more the result of negotiations between different actors. Close readings of the journals of Flinders Petrie, who was the holder of the excavation concession, demonstrate that surveys he conducted before the arrival of the two papyrologists with the help of the brother of the local shaykh, Ahmed Sayed, were conducive to the great haul of papyri. While mainstream portraits of Grenfell and Hunt tend to mythologize their discoveries at Oxyrhynchus, this article argues that this event needs to be framed in the wider colonial context and read as a collective complex achievement, with long lasting and not always positive consequences.

Keywords: Oxyrhynchus, Bernard P. Grenfell and Arthur S. Hunt, colonialism, William Matthew Flinders Petrie, Egypt Exploration Society

Introduction

The ancient city of Oxyrhynchus has become the most famous archaeological site in the history of papyrology due to the sheer volume of fragments it has produced since the first season of excavation carried out there by William Matthew Flinders Petrie and his younger companions, Bernard P. Grenfell and Arthur S. Hunt. Any introduction to papyrology has a section devoted to Grenfell and Hunt's discovery of hundreds of thousands of papyri in the ancient rubbish mounds covering the area at the outskirts of the modern town of el-Bahnasa on the western bank of the Bahr Yusuf. For instance, in his landmark *Greek Papyri* (1968) Eric Turner stressed the importance of the excavations of Grenfell and Hunt, sponsored

by the Egypt Exploration Fund (nowadays the Egypt Exploration Society, from now on EEF and EES), as they opened a new phase in the chase for papyri. Instead of purchasing manuscripts on the antiquities market, the forefathers of papyrology understood that proper archaeological campaigns were needed in order to save as many documents as possible from future destruction and damage, including those inflicted by illicit digging. Oxyrhynchus, where Grenfell and Hunt worked first in 1896–1897, and again from 1902 to 1907, became the most prolific source of papyri.¹

In 2007, Peter Parsons published a splendid book on the ancient town targeted at a general audience, in which the tale of discovery is narrated once again. According to it, Grenfell and Hunt, at that time both fellows of Queen's College Oxford, set off for Oxyrhynchus, a site they had chosen for its fame as a centre of early monasticism, and therefore a promising source of early Christian papyri besides Greek literature. As many others before and after him, including myself, Parsons mainly based his account on the archaeological report that Grenfell published after the campaign.² A more critical approach to discovery stories has been recently taken by Brent Nongbri in his monograph on Christian books from Egypt. The volume has a chapter on the Oxyrhynchus material and offers a refined reading and interpretation, in particular, of the press reports that Grenfell started producing very early on with a view to fostering sponsorship. Nevertheless, the narrative does not change: in Nongbri's account too, Grenfell and Hunt remain the sole discoverers of the Oxyrhynchus papyri on the basis of their intuition and knowledge of the Roman and Late Antique history of the town.³

As Nongbri explains, the EEF archaeological reports are not the only sources available on how those excavations evolved; newspaper and magazine articles, and archival material, especially letters, should also be

¹ E. Turner, *Greek Papyri: An Introduction* (Princeton 1968) chapter 3, esp. 29–31. In an obituary of Grenfell, Hunt stressed the change of approach to the sourcing of papyri taken in 1895: "Might it not be more satisfactory, perhaps in the long run more economical, to go to the source and to dig them up for oneself instead of buying them at second or third hand and thereby encouraging an illicit traffic?" See A.S. Hunt, "B.P. Grenfell 1869–1926," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 12 (1926) 359.

² P. Parsons, *City of the Sharp-Nosed Fish: Greek Lives in Roman Egypt* (London 2007) 3–30; R. Mazza, *L'Archivio degli Apioni: Terra, Lavoro e Proprietà Senatoria nell'Egitto Tardoantico* (Bari 2003) 13–16; B.P. Grenfell, "Oxyrhynchus and Its Papyri," *Egypt Exploration Fund: Archaeological Report* 6 (1896–1897) 1–12.

³ B. Nongbri, *God's Library: The Archaeology of the Earliest Christian Manuscripts* (New Haven 2018) 216–246 on Oxyrhynchus, but see also important considerations in the Prologue, 1–20.

considered in reconstructing how findings took place. A recently published letter of Grenfell to the demotist Francis Llewellyn Griffith, written in May 1897 when he was back from Egypt, has provided previously unknown details about the *partage* and the papyrologist's role as buyer of papyri for colleagues and friends.⁴ A new article by Todd M. Hickey and James G. Keenan has brought to light a rich dossier of letters sent by Grenfell to officers of the EEF and to Petrie from el-Bahnasa during the period of 19 February to 21 March 1897. They add further information on the *partage* and funding problems and offer direct insights into the way discoveries unfolded and were later presented to the public.⁵ Like Nongbri's chapter, however, this article does not delve into other sources such as the journals of Petrie, now fully available online.⁶ My contribution wishes to bring together all the evidence and reassess the chain of events that led to the first discovery of papyri at Oxyrhynchus during the 1896–1897 season and the roles played by various actors, including those who were usually left out from the narratives that were destined for wider circulation through newspapers, magazines and archaeological reports. As I shall demonstrate, the choice of excavating at Oxyrhynchus was the result of a series of circumstances in which chance and the politics of funding and concessions played a far bigger role than the hopes and wishes of the three scholars at the centre of this article. Moreover, careful reading of Petrie's journals shows that the first finding of papyri on the site took place *before* the arrival of Grenfell and Hunt. While the over two hundred boxes of fragments sent to Cairo and later to Oxford are, for the most part, the result of the following excavation of the two young papyrologists and their Egyptian workforce, the fact that it was a member of a prominent family of Sandafa, the village front facing el-Bahnasa on the east shore of the Bahr Yusuf, who showed Petrie where to look for Greek papyri needs to be

⁴ R. Mazza, "Papyri, Ethics and Economics: A Biography of *P.Oxy.* 1780 (P39)," *BASP* 52 (2015) 136–138. Cf. N. Gonis, "Further Letters from the Archive of Apa Ioannes," *BASP* 45 (2008) 70: "Grenfell was already a busy private dealer in papyri by the time he began his partnership with Hunt." As Gonis explains, the Bodleian Library and the British Museum were the institutions that bought the most from him.

⁵ T.M. Hickey and J.G. Keenan, "At the Creation: Seven Letters from Grenfell, 1897," *Analecta Papyrologica* 28 (2016) 351–382.

⁶ The so-called journals of Petrie have been all transcribed, digitised and made available online through the Griffith Institute Archive website (<https://archive.griffith.ox.ac.uk/index.php/petrie-collection>). The journals consist of letters that Petrie regularly sent to his family, friends or colleagues while excavating; they were meant to be for semi-public consumption and had been later collated according to each excavation season. They are also sources that Petrie later used in his autobiographical books, *Ten Years Digging in Egypt, 1881–1891* (London 1892) and *Seventy Years in Archaeology* (New York 1932).

accounted for.⁷ This part of the history of the discovery of the Oxyrhynchus papyri has been overlooked by all those who have studied and written about it, but it is central to reassess the “Oxyrhynchus Grenfell and Hunt” origin myth of papyrology and its colonial roots.⁸

Before Oxyrhynchus: Petrie and the Search for Papyri

Before delving into the various narratives of the 1896–1897 season, it is necessary to situate the excavation of Oxyrhynchus in the wider context of British archaeology and the search for papyri in Egypt at the close of the 19th century, as Oxyrhynchus came after other achievements. Since 1877 a steady stream of papyri from the Fayyum was entering European collections via the Egyptian antiquities market,⁹ but it was Petrie’s fresh findings at Gurob, Hawara, and the Fayyum in general that showed how excavations could offer direct access to material, a fact that opened an entirely new phase in the sourcing of papyri. In 1887–1888, Petrie was able to obtain a concession for the whole Fayyum where he excavated during that and the following season. The findings of Graeco-Roman papyri and other objects, first and foremost the famous mummy portraits, were groundbreaking for research and public outreach, too.¹⁰ Petrie, however, was

⁷ Local people have considered Sandafa and el-Bahnasa as a unit: Sandafa is often referred as el-Bahnasa al-Sarqiya (i.e., the Eastern Bahnasa), while the “papyrology” Oxyrhynchus/el-Bahnasa is called el-Bahnasa al-Gharbiya (i.e., the Western Bahnasa). I thank Usama Gad for the information, cf. S. Sadek El Gendi, “Christianity and Monasticism in al-Bahnasa according to Arabic Sources,” in G. Gabra and H.N. Takla (eds.), *Christianity and Monasticism in Middle Egypt* (Oxford 2015) 21–23.

⁸ While this myth is mainly British for the nationality of the protagonists and the fact that Great Britain had a major political role in Egypt at the time, Grenfell and Hunt became international models. This is documented, for instance, in standard introductions to papyrology produced in countries other than Great Britain and in archival materials relating to the birth of the academic discipline. For manuals, see, e.g., Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, pp. xx–xxii. For archives, see, e.g., Girolamo Vitelli’s fascination with and emulation of Grenfell and Hunt, as shown by D. Minutoli, “*Il Marzocco*” e la Nascita della Società Italiana per la Ricerca dei Papiri Greci e Latini in Egitto nella *Corrispondenza di Girolamo Vitelli con Adolfo e Angiolo Orvieto (1896–1934)* (Florence 2017) esp. 15–19. Needless to say, the various national papyrology schools that were born at the turn of the twentieth century developed in different ways.

⁹ On the selling of huge quantities of papyri from Fayyum towns and villages from 1877 onwards see P. Davoli, “Papyri, Archaeology and Modern History: A Contextual Study of the Beginnings of Papyrology and Egyptology,” *BASP* 52 (2015) 88–91.

¹⁰ On the importance of the Fayyum seasons and the excitement generated by papyri and portraits among other scholars and the public, see D. Montserrat, “‘No Papyrus and No Portraits’: Hogarth, Grenfell and the First Season in the Fayum 1895–6,” *BASP* 33 (1996) 133–135; cf. also Petrie’s reports and publications, e.g., W.M. Flinders Petrie, *Hawara*,

facing a series of challenges. First, his relationship with the EEF, which had supported his work, deteriorated in 1886 when he left the organization and had to rely on his own sources and private sponsorship.¹¹ This meant that he had to cultivate his patrons and once back in London he had to organize exhibitions and events to promote his finds.¹² Second, Eugène Grébaut, at the time Director of the Antiquities Service, was revealed to be not as supportive as Petrie expected. Tensions arose especially at the end of each season, when cases were opened in Cairo and decisions on the *partage* taken. Petrie felt threatened especially when he was back in the Fayyum for the second season in the autumn of 1888 and realised that an Egyptian and also a German dealer were given permission to excavate in what he felt was his own concession.¹³

The necessity to publicize finds to attract economic support had a definite impact on the construction of discovery narratives. Sensationalism was achieved by presenting Egypt through orientalist tropes; the country was depicted as a repository of antiquities that British archaeologists were unlocking and saving from loss. Such literary construction can be observed, for instance, in the way Petrie's discovery of the so-called "Hawara Iliad" was disseminated. The papyrus roll, found during the first Fayyum season, was presented to the Oxford Bodleian Library by Jesse Haworth (1835–1921), the wealthy Manchester cotton trader who was one of the main sponsors of Petrie in those years. A few years later, the patroness of the EEF, Amelia Edwards, recalled the discovery in one of her successful books:

It is not three years since Mr. Petrie found a complete copy of the Second Book of the Iliad, written on papyrus in most beautiful uncial Greek by a scribe of the second century after Christ, and buried under the head of a woman in the Græco-Egyptian necropolis of Hawara, in the Fayûm. The woman had apparently been young and beautiful. Her teeth were small and

Biahmu and Arsinoe (London 1889) esp. 3–4 on private sponsorship mainly from two cotton merchants, Jesse Haworth and Martyn Kennard, and the success of the exhibition of the objects, which the Egyptologist brought back, at the Egyptian Hall in London Piccadilly; see also Flinders Petrie, *Ten Years* (n. 6) 97–106.

¹¹ In his autobiography, Petrie states that he left the Fund because of "constant mismanagement" and in dissent with the leadership, although he always remained in very good terms with Amelia Edwards. See Petrie, *Seventy Years* (n. 6) 75. In her biography of Petrie, Drower documents a series of conflicts, especially regarding the excavation funds, and provides more complex explanations for the breakup, including Petrie's disappointment for the re-appointment of the Swiss archaeologist and Biblical scholar Édouard Naville as Explorer of the Fund. See M. Drower, *Flinders Petrie: A Life in Archaeology* (Madison 1995) 99–104.

¹² Cf. *supra*, n. 10.

¹³ Petrie Mss 1.8 – Petrie Journal 1888 to 1889 (letter 24 Oct. to 3 Nov. 1888), pp. 5–6.

regular, and her long, silky black hair had been cut off and laid in a thick coil upon her breast. Was she a Greek, or was she an Egyptian lady learned in the language of the schools? We know not. There was no inscription to tell of her nationality or her name. We only know that she was young and fair, and that she so loved her Homer that it was buried with her in the grave. Her head and her beautiful black hair are now in the Ethnographical Department of the Natural History Museum at South Kensington, and her precious papyrus is in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.¹⁴

The sources of Edwards's passage were archaeological reports and publications, in particular the section on papyrus findings compiled by Archibald Sayce, fellow of Queen's College and later professor of Assyriology in Oxford, for Petrie's volume *Hawara, Biahmu and Arsinoe* (London 1889). It should be noted that the volume, and all the others of this kind, including the archaeological reports published by the EEF, were conceived for a wide circulation and aimed at keeping donations incoming and maintaining those subscriptions that made excavations possible. Sayce's portrait of the lady, who presumably owned the roll, differs, however, from that given by Edwards as he is inclined to make her a Greek. The scholar states that "The skull of the mummy showed that its possessor had been young and attractive-looking, with features at once small, intellectual and finely chiselled and belonging distinctively to the Greek type." In the following sentence, he refers to her as "the unknown Hypatia," transforming the woman into an ancient female philosopher.¹⁵

Sayce's publication is also interesting in other ways, as it presents two typical tropes of the narratives of discoveries, i.e., the search for the most ancient and beautiful example of a certain class of items (in this case a very important one, Homer's *Iliad*) and the ranking of one's finding in the context of the wider international academic competition:

The papyrus [i.e., the Hawara *Iliad*] is assigned to the fifth century by Maunde Thompson.¹⁶ The text is written in large, beautifully formed capitals, and

¹⁴ A.B. Edwards, *Pharaohs, Fellahs and Explorers* (New York 1891) 23. The paragraph in question needs to be read also in light of contemporary race theories and eugenic projects, which are an important aspect of Petrie's cultural background and impacted also the work and training of Grenfell and Hunt, as will be shown in the following. On Edwards see B.E. Moon, *More Usefully Employed: Amelia B. Edwards, Writer, Traveller and Campaigner for Ancient Egypt* (London 2006); A. Stevenson, *Scattered Finds: Archaeology, Egyptology and Museums* (London 2019) chapter 1 and 2 are essential reading on Edwards's biography and her role in Egyptology.

¹⁵ Same portrayal as Hypatia in his later memoirs, A.H. Sayce, *Reminiscences* (London 1923) 264.

¹⁶ Edward Maunde Thompson (1840–1929), palaeographer and Principal Librarian of the British Museum from 1888 to 1909. He served in various roles on the EEF committees.

has been revised and annotated with singular care. It thus takes rank with the Louvre papyrus containing the first 175 lines of the Thirteenth Book of the Iliad, which was found at Elephantinê [*sic*], though the latter is earlier in date.¹⁷ The three oldest texts of the Iliad hitherto known are all written on papyrus, and have all alike come from Egypt. Besides the Louvre papyrus, a papyrus containing the larger portion of the Twenty-fourth Book of the Iliad was brought from Elephantinê by Mr Bankes, and, like the papyrus of the Louvre, is assigned to the first century before our era.¹⁸ The third papyrus was discovered by Mr Harris in the crocodile caves at Manfalut.¹⁹ It contains fragments of the Eighteenth Book, but is somewhat carelessly written, and of comparatively late date. Another portion of the same roll was subsequently obtained by the discoverer.²⁰

An analysis of Sayce's paragraph in light of what we now know of the papyri will demonstrate the manipulation, and consequently unreliability, of discovery narratives provided by purchasers and local dealers, how quickly papyri moved from one owner to another in the European competition to build museum collections of Egyptian antiquities, and also how little attention was paid to find spots. The Louvre papyrus (*P.Paris* 3, now joined with *P.Vat. inv. G 18*) was part of the collection of the British diplomat and collector Henry Salt (1780–1827), which was acquired for the Louvre in 1826. It is said to come from Elephantine, which does not mean that it was found there, but rather that it had been purchased on the island.²¹ The so-called Bankes Iliad takes the name from William John Bankes (1786–1855), a wealthy British aristocrat, antiquarian and Egyptologist who amassed a remarkable collection in his residence at Kingston Lacy, Wimborne. He acquired the roll in 1821 through the agency of Giovanni Finati, an Italian adventurer and dragoman. Finati left a memoir that Bankes translated into English and published in two volumes in 1830. According to it, the papyrus was offered for sale at Elephantine, but it was far from certain where it was found; as the same Finati recalls, Elephantine

The papyrus (TM 60571) was re-dated to the second century CE by Kenyon a few years later; cf. F.G. Kenyon, *The Palaeography of Greek Papyri* (Oxford 1899) 101–103.

¹⁷ This is *P.Paris* 3 now joined with *P.Vat. inv. G 18*; see Mertens-Pack 900 = TM 61187 = P 85; on the Iliad papyri, see M.L. West, *Studies in the Text and Transmission of the Iliad* (Munich 2001) 86–138.

¹⁸ *P.Lond.Lit.* 28 = British Library Papyrus 114 = TM 60500 = P 14; see the British Library online catalogue with images http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Papyrus_114.

¹⁹ *P.Lond.Lit.* 25 = British Library Papyrus 107 = TM 60340 = Mertens-Pack 953 = P 11; see the BL online catalogue with images http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Papyrus_107.

²⁰ Petrie, *Hawara* (n. 10) 24.

²¹ *P.Par.*, pp. 110–111.

was “after Thebes, the place where the greatest harvest of curious antiquities is brought for sale by the natives.”²² In 1879 the papyrus in question was sold by one of Bankes’s heirs to the British Museum; it then passed to the British Library.

Similarly, the Harris Homer is a roll named after its first owner, Anthony Charles Harris (1790–1869), an English merchant based in Alexandria who started collecting antiquities and developed antiquarian interests. Harris was able to buy important papyri ranging from the Pharaonic to the later Graeco-Roman period and was in touch with many Egyptologists and scholars. After his death, Harris’s papyri, including the Homer, were sold by his daughter and heir to the British Museum. Sayce mentions that the Homer papyrus was found in the crocodile caves at Manfalut. This provenance has recently been studied by Nongbri, who has demonstrated that Harris provided different accounts of the purchase of the Homer scroll and a Homer codex, apparently found in the same location. Nongbri’s conclusion is that the provenance of the two Homers is far from certain: the only certainty is that the two papyri entered Harris’s collection in 1849 or 1850 and were then purchased by the British Museum respectively in 1879 and 1888.²³ Sayce’s account of the Harris Homer is imprecise in two ways: it repeats the story of a direct discovery at the pit by Harris that Nongbri has proven to be a myth and confuses the Homer codex with a fragment from the same Iliad roll. Overall, Sayce’s paragraph shows how unimportant provenance was for him compared to securing the manuscripts for his country’s collections and deciphering their contents.

In view of this lack of precision regarding finding circumstances, it is worth asking if in the case of the Petrie’s Hawara Iliad things really went as reported by Sayce. In this instance, we are assisted by a wealth of direct sources, from official publications to diaries, letters, and journals.²⁴ These

²² The sentence means that antiquities could have been sourced locally or from other places in Egypt. See *Narrative of the Life and Adventures of Giovanni Finati, Native of Ferrara; Who, under the Assumed Name of Mahomet, Made the Campaigns against the Wahabees for the Recovery of Mecca and Medina; and Since Acted as Interpreter to European Travellers in Some Parts Least Visited of Asia and Africa*, translated from the Italian as dictated by himself and edited by W.J. Bankes (London 1830) 2.357. Bankes adds in a footnote in the following page that he paid 25,000 piastres for the papyrus, that he equals to ca. 500 British pounds.

²³ B. Nongbri, “The Crocodile Pit of Maabdeh, Florence Nightingale, and the British Museum’s Acquisition of the Harris Homers,” *BASP* 54 (2017) 207–217; for visual evidence on the pit or caves see Id., “The Harris Homers and the Crocodile Pit of Maabdeh,” <https://brentnongbri.com/2017/08/22/the-harris-homers-and-the-crocodile-pit-of-maabdeh/> (last accessed 21 March 2022).

²⁴ S. Quirke, *Hidden Hands: Egyptian Workforces in Petrie Excavation Archives, 1880–1924* (London 2010) is a very important guide to Petrie’s archives, not only regarding his local workforces.

allow us to contrast and compare the register of the narratives given in different types of accounts. Petrie reports the finding of the Homer roll in his journal of 19–26 February 1888:

Beneath the head of a mummy, buried in plain ground without any special tomb, was found a thick roll of Greek papyrus. About half or a third is rotted away, the rest is in bright condition. There remains about 3 or 4 ft length 11 inches high <wide margins top & bottom> with 22 lines of exquisite uncial Greek. I have not opened it much, as I fear losing parts which are rotted. This much is clear, that it is poetry, the lines being of irregular length; and I suspect Homer from the fragments I have seen, which contain ΑΧΑΙΩΝ, (αγ)ΑΜΕΜΝΩΝ, ΚΟΡΙΝΘΩΝ, ΚΑΛΥΔΩΝ; some numbers as ΔΥΟ-ΔΕΚΑ, ΟΓΔΩΚΟΝΤΑ, suggest that it might be the catalogue of the ships. Though this is but a portion, I should say it is worth our week's work & good piece of any text of a classic of the 2nd or 3rd cent. is a valuable find, which will I suppose be edited, facsimiled, commented on & collated for future editions.²⁵

Petrie's pocket diary gives us the precise date of the finding, February 21, but mentions just as a quick note: "large Greek papyrus."²⁶ Neither the diary nor the journal bears details about the sex of the mummy or the hair lock deposited on the breast that we have read in Sayce's description. That this is our Iliad is proven by a passage of the following journal from 26 February to 3 March:

Sayce confirms my guess that the papyrus is of the Iliad; from the scraps I transcribed he says it is part of the 2nd book. He is anxious to get it for the Bodleian, & desires me to consult with certain authorities to ensure its being remitted to me at Bulak.²⁷

²⁵ Petrie Mss 1.7 – Petrie Journal 1887 to 1888, (letter 19–26 Feb. 1888), p. 55. This and all following quotations from the journals reproduce the transcript as provided in the website (see link n. 6). There one finds a scan of each original page with its transcript on the right. In this case, however, I give the ancient Greek letters instead of the symbol used in the transcripts to refer the reader to the original when Petrie penned drawings or words in ancient languages; < > are used in the transcripts for words added later, above the line.

I find the mention of the second and third century CE as possible dates for the roll intriguing; perhaps the archaeological context pointed at that date rather than the wrong attribution to the fifth century suggested by Maunde Thompson.

²⁶ The entry is from partial transcripts of the Petrie's diaries provided in J. Picton, S. Quirke, and P.C. Robertson (eds.), *Living Images: Egyptian Funerary Portraits in the Petrie Museum* (Walnut Creek, CA 2007) 106; on the format and scope of the pocket diaries, see P. Del Vesco, "Day after day with Flinders Petrie. Pocket Diaries from the Archive of the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, University College London," in M. Betrò and G. Miniaci (eds.), *Talking Along the Nile: Ippolito Rossellini, Travellers and Scholars of the 19th Century in Egypt* (Pisa 2013) 83–92.

²⁷ Petrie Mss 1.7 – Petrie Journal 1887 to 1888, (letter 26 Feb.–3 Mar 1888), p. 67. "Bulak" indicates the first Egyptian Museum of Antiquities that was established in the Cairo district named Bulaq, and moved later to the new building of Tahrir Square.

Sayce had arrived at the site with two other guests on 16 February and stayed for some time. The mummy underneath which the roll was found was perhaps dismounted in the meanwhile and revealed to be that of a girl with the famous hair lock. It should be said, however, that nothing about the “unknown Hypatia” and her hair is stated by Petrie in any of his autobiographical works, where one only finds that the corpse was that of a woman.²⁸ The important lesson given by the case of the Hawara Homer is that each one of the accounts of its discovery was crafted according to its genre and personal agendas; the modern historian who wishes to reconstruct how things went must disentangle them carefully. Sayce’s anxiety about securing the papyrus for Oxford and his practical suggestions about whom Petrie needed to contact to avoid problems at the moment of the division with the Museum links back to the preoccupations about the final destination of the manuscripts of the greatest interest and value, as the one in question.

Overall, Petrie’s accounts and publications on the Fayyum seasons were important and appealing to scholars, including classicists, because they demonstrated that hundreds of fragments in Greek and other ancient languages had been found *in situ*: it became apparent that there was scope for archaeological investigations aimed at retrieving papyri. Petrie left key, although unsystematic, information on how and where papyri and other ancient writings were found. At Hawara, for instance, one can distinguish three different types of findings: papyri and wooden tablets entombed with the dead; discarded papyri used for some sort of stuffing; and dispersed material more difficult to locate, perhaps just ancient waste scattered around accidentally over the course of time.²⁹ On the contrary, Sayce’s chapter on the papyri for the volume mentioned above focuses

²⁸ Petrie, *Ten Years* (n. 6) 102–103: “In one instance a far more valuable prize accompanied a body; under the head of a lady lay a papyrus roll, which still preserved a large part of the second book of the Iliad, beautifully written, and with marginal notes.” Petrie, *Seventy Years* (n. 6) 92 is a summary of information from the journals: “There was a flow of small objects from Hawara cemetery, for besides the burial there were chapels or family enclosures, like a modern *hōsh*, where the relations had a funeral feasts and left baskets, papyri, pottery, and many little things. One piece of papyrus had an official block stamp in red, the beginning of block printing with ink. Two plano-convex lenses were found, scarcely intended for ornament as the glass was quite colourless, and though too conical to magnify well they would serve as condensers. A fine roll of the second book of the Iliad was lying behind the head of a woman.”

²⁹ This is what one gathers from information disseminated in the journals of 1887–1888, see e.g., p. 56: “We get a handful of fragments of <Greek> papyri, with perhaps 20 words or so each, every day; mostly accounts & such like waster scraps. They are generally jammed up into a lump used for stuffing into something, or making a ball. In short their accidents are much like those of a lot of waster paper now-a-days.”

exclusively on their contents and possible dates, and does not take into consideration their find spots, except for glamourizing the famous Iliad roll discovery. This difference in the treatment of the material starts to reveal a typical aspect of the work of papyrologists, especially those interested in literature: the focus on the reading of the texts written on these scraps rather than their material features and context of finding.³⁰ From our modern perspective, the state of documentation left by the protagonists is scanty, and in some instances it has also been tampered with by generations of academics and curators who did not care enough to preserve what was eventually extant.³¹ Since ancient texts from Egypt have been treated as textual rather than archaeological evidence, papyrologists have started paying attention to archaeological and acquisition records only in the last decades; in the mid-1990s, a new methodology, “museum archaeology,” had to be introduced to reconnect papyri coming from the same site but dispersed in different collections through the forces of the legal and illegal market.³²

As any other scholar travelling in Egypt for research, Petrie was very active in scanning the local antiquities market and buying as much as possible for himself and others.³³ Information contained in his journals and other writings confirm what Fredrik Hagen and Kim Ryholt have recently argued: in Egypt, the antiquities trade was a very complex entity, made up of a network of official dealers (including the Antiquities Service), local

³⁰ As nicely put by Davoli (n. 9) 105: “The predominantly papyrological interests of Grenfell and Hunt let them to approach the publication of papyri by considering them mainly as bearers of text; the archaeological information on the places and contexts where the papyri were found is limited.” On this and other misconceptions in the field, see R. Mazza, “Descriptions and the Materiality of Texts,” *Qualitative Research* 21 (2021) 376–393.

³¹ For instance, the Rylands papyri that Grenfell and Hunt bought on behalf of the library were sent from Egypt to Oxford and reached Manchester only after their study for publication. Very little if anything is recorded in the Rylands and university archives regarding their sourcing, because the information was irrelevant at the time. This applies also to most of the papyri later bought by Rendel Harris in Egypt on behalf of the same library. Another example is the inventory number system (or rather systems) in use for the EEF/EES papyri, both those stored at Oxford and those later distributed; the editors of the series started providing those inventory numbers, when still extant, only from the fortieth volume onwards (1972). The full meaning of the original numbering system is at the centre of on-going research carried out by Michael Zellmann-Rohrer.

³² On the damages produced by the conceptualization of papyri as texts rather than archaeological objects, see Davoli (n. 9) and Mazza (n. 30); the seminal article on museum archaeology is K. Vandorpe, “Museum Archaeology or How to Reconstruct Pathyris Archives,” *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 17 (1994) 289–300.

³³ Petrie’s activities as a purchaser in Egypt and elsewhere are well known, but a comprehensive study on this remains a *desideratum*, see briefly Del Vesco (n. 26) 87–88.

people who sold “anticas” to supplement their family incomes, and foreigners who bought and re-sold for various purposes and under various titles. In this respect, archaeologists and papyrologists were indeed integral parts of the market as buyers, sellers, and mediators.³⁴ Petrie’s attitude towards the antiquities trade was duplicitous and contradictory, as it was among most of his Western contemporaries who travelled to Egypt for study and collecting reasons. In this respect, too, Petrie’s accounts provide extensive testimonies, and of different kinds. The pocket diaries, for instance, furnish yearly accounts and lists of purchases. These are dry but nevertheless precious documents, while the journals, reports and autobiographies allow us to understand his mentality in more depth. For instance, an episode that happened at the beginning of the 1893–1894 season at Quft (Coptos), where Grenfell arrived in January, provides an example of Petrie’s ambiguity. As soon as he and his men arrived at the site and were busy building the archaeological quarter house, he registered that “dealers and loafers and spies” showed up, and in particular there were repeated incidents with two Copts, a father and a son – the “old beast” and the “little beast” in Petrie’s own words.³⁵ After paragraphs spent despising the attempts of the two men and a third dealer to sell forgeries that Petrie confiscates – without having any right to do so, one would notice today – the Egyptologist moves on to report a pleasant visit to Luxor where he purchased antiquities in the company of the artist Henry Wallis.³⁶ In other words, Petrie seemed to be bothered by dealers only when they represented a threat or nuisance to his own excavations. Through reading Petrie’s various accounts, one gathers that in his mind archaeological excavations and acquisitions from dealers of different kinds were both ways to source objects that needed to be transferred to England to be properly studied and archived.

Learning from Petrie: Grenfell before Oxyrhynchus

Grenfell first joined Petrie in Egypt in the winter of 1894, on suggestion of one of his tutors, the Latinist A.C. Clark, who understood the potential of the new fragments for classical studies.³⁷ When Grenfell embarked

³⁴ F. Hagen and K. Ryholt, *The Antiquities Trade in Egypt 1880-1930: The H. O. Lange Papers* (Viborg 2016) 22–163.

³⁵ Mss 1.12 – Petrie Journal 1893 to 1894, pp. 4 and 9.

³⁶ Mss 1.12 – Petrie Journal 1893 to 1894, p. 12.

³⁷ Biography outlines for Grenfell and Hunt are provided by L. Lehnus, “Bernard Pyne Grenfell and Arthur Surridge Hunt,” in M. Capasso (ed.), *Hermae: Scholars and*

upon his first Egyptian trip, the abovementioned season at Coptos, Petrie's situation had definitely improved, as he had been freshly appointed to the first chair in Egyptology ever created in Great Britain, at University College London, through an endowment left by Amelia Edwards in her testament (1892; chair in Egyptian Archaeology and Philology). In order to spend time excavating, the new professor was allowed to leave his teaching to the demotist Francis Llewellyn Griffith during the archaeological season and to bring with him a student as assistant. In 1893–1894 this was James Edward Quibell,³⁸ while Grenfell was on a college travel fellowship. Petrie's journals mention Grenfell only twice, to record his imminent arrival and later on when he showed Petrie around an area on the west bank of the Nile that he and Quibell had surveyed.³⁹ The season at Coptos was a watershed for Grenfell's formation: working in close contact with Petrie he started learning about archaeology and the scanning of the antiquities market; he was in fact tasked with the publication of some of the papyri bought by the Egyptologist. That year, the best piece among Petrie's purchases was the roll containing the laws of Ptolemy Philadelphus (*P.Rev.*), acquired in Cairo from Farag Ismaïl.⁴⁰

Petrie's acquisitions were made through different channels; by reading the journals, one can distinguish casual purchases from local people, regular visits to specific dealers, especially in Luxor and Cairo, and acquisitions

Scholarship in Papyrology, vol. 1 (Pisa 2007) 115–141, esp. 116 on Clark. See also Hunt (n. 1), esp. 358 on Clark.

³⁸ James Edward Quibell (1867–1935) assisted Petrie for various years and later worked for the Egyptian Antiquities Service and the Cairo Museum, directing his own excavations at many important sites.

³⁹ Mss 1.12 – Petrie Journal 1893 to 1894, (29 December – 12 January 1894), p. 24A: “Grenfell comes next Tuesday he telegraphs”; Mss 1.12 – Petrie Journal 1893 to 1894, (26 January – 9 February 1894), p. 43A: “I went over to the W. Bank with Grenfell, to see some things that Q & he had noticed, & found far more than expected.” See also Petrie, *Seventy Years* (n. 18) 158 and 166 on the west bank site excavated the following year.

⁴⁰ Mss 1.12 – Petrie Journal 1893 to 1894, (27 November – 8 December 1893), pp. 1–2. Petrie thought at first that the papyrus was Roman: “After that Fraser Q[uibell] & self went to old Farag the dealer at Ghizeh. I got several trifles, 2 boxes of with Roman balances, &c: & I plunged on a roll of papyrus. It is Greek, of 2nd cent. or about that. There is about 30 ft of it, of which perhaps 1/8 may be lost in breakages, one end being broken loose. I examined all the pieces which could be safely lifted; & can be certain that it is not accounts or taxes; nor is it a classical text. The only good test words at are Memphis, Sebennytus, artaba, & 2nd year of a Caesar. It is a long text, & some words look legal. I do not remember any parallel papyrus; but it will probably inform us as to the internal business of Egypt under the Emperors, in some way. It may be a loss to me, but is possibly a great prize. Anyhow there is a great deal of it, & in fine hand & good state except the breaks.” On Farag Ismaïl and his important role in the trade and many connections, see Hagen and Ryholt (n. 34) 214–215. George Willoughby Fraser (1866–1923) was a civil engineer based in Egypt who collaborated on EEF excavations and surveys.

from dealers who went to visit him at the sites with objects to offer.⁴¹ The journals of the 1894–1895 season (Nubd, Ballas and Naqada) bear interesting information about Grenfell's purchases, too. He was able to secure more fragments of *P.Rev.*, which he published as a volume dedicated to Petrie two years later.⁴² Grenfell also acquired other papyri from the Fayyum and went with Petrie to Luxor for a dealer trip, where he bought “a fine lot of Ptolemaic papyri.”⁴³

In 1895, building on his experience with the eminent Egyptologist and the forthcoming publications of the papyri, found or acquired, Grenfell was granted some funding from the EEF for a survey in the Fayyum under the direction of D.G. Hogarth, at that time Explorer of the Fund.⁴⁴ It should be borne in mind that Petrie's journals were semi-public reports to sponsors and colleagues, which, together with other accounts and articles for the wider audience, helped the career of Grenfell and other young scholars showing off their progress. Hogarth and Grenfell's findings in Karanis (Kom Aushim) and Bakchias (Kom el-Atl) were so exciting that Hunt was enticed by his Oxford friend to join them a few months later in the winter of 1896. Hunt later recalled that moment as the starting point of their scholarly partnership.⁴⁵ Hogarth and Grenfell authored a short but vivid account of their season in the Fayyum for the reports volume of the EEF, in which they explained the main reasons that led to ask for a concession there: the unabated stream of papyri that was feeding the market since 1877, the results already obtained there by Petrie, the relatively low expenses needed for working in an area not far from Cairo, and the possibility of linking archaeological data to papyrus findings, past and future. The importance of provenance in the interpretation of the material was indeed made programmatic in the opening of the report.⁴⁶

⁴¹ Visits to dealers, see e.g., Mss 2.3 – Petrie Journal 1894 to 1895, (15–18 November), p. 53; more examples below. Dealers' visits on site: see e.g., Mss 2.3 – Petrie Journal 1894 to 1895, (27 November), p. 56 and 62 where “Girghis” (*sic*) is mentioned, i.e., Girgis Gabrial, see Hagen and Ryholt (n. 34) 216–217.

⁴² See *P.Rev.* Introduction; Mss 2.3 – Petrie Journal 1894 to 1895, (15–18 November), p. 53: “Grenfell [oun]d a prize in the Fayūm by gett[in]g ma[n]ly fragments of the great papyrus wh[ich] he was working on this summer; besides several pieces of some of less importance.”

⁴³ Mss 2.3 – Petrie Journal 1894 to 1895, (27 November), p. 54.

⁴⁴ D.G. Hogarth (1862–1927), classicist and archaeologist who spent some years excavating in Egypt for the EEF, but then moved his interests to Crete and Greece where he was director of the British School in Athens.

⁴⁵ Grenfell and Hunt were one year apart in the same college and became friends in 1889. See Hunt (n. 1) 362 on the start of the partnership.

⁴⁶ D.G. Hogarth and B.P. Grenfell, “Cities of the Fayum,” in F. Griffith (ed.), *Egypt Exploration Fund. Archaeological Report 1895–1896*, pp. 14–19, to be read with *P.Fay.*, published only later in 1900.

In view of their success, the authors were confident that they would obtain funds for a second round the following year, as we can guess from the conclusion of the report: “having despatched heavy goods to Cairo,” they state, “we went for a short tour in other parts of the oasis, the outcome of which, we trust, will be the devotion by the Fund of a sum to a second enterprise in the Faiyum during the winter of 1896–7.”⁴⁷ Once back in England, Hogarth, Grenfell and Hunt, with the help of the numismatist Joseph Grafton Milne for the coin section, organized an exhibition in the rooms of the Society of Antiquaries of London at Burlington House, to display objects and papyri and infuse enthusiasm among EEF’s subscribers. The event is recalled in the speech that Hogarth made the following November at the Annual General Meeting of the Fund, where we learn, however, that the papyri on display were not just from the excavations but also from purchases:

Many of you now present were no doubt visitors to that Exhibition, and will recall the curious domestic objects on the centre table – objects common enough in the Roman world, but made of a material which almost invariably perishes elsewhere than in Egypt. Our finds were, most of them, to all intents and purposes, unique. But chiefly, you will recall the brown scraps of written papyrus arranged around the sides of the room – scraps on which the earliest Homer known to us was written, scraps by which fragments of lost tragedies, comedies, and philosophical dialogues were recovered – notably that curious bit of the sixth century philosopher Pherecydes, master of Pythagoras,⁴⁸ and least of all Greek authors to be expected on a Roman papyrus in Egypt. These scraps, too, illustrated all departments in the public and private life of a dead age – an age that seems after all to have been not unlike our own. And you will remember also, that we made that Exhibition include not only the finds at Karanis and Bacchias, but papyri procured by both of us all over Egypt – at Cairo, at Ghizeh, at Medinet-el-Fayum, at Akhmim, at Luxor. And this we did intentionally, for the one thing we wished above all others to demonstrate was the value of this Society maintaining in Egypt a representative with the qualification and zeal of Mr. Grenfell.⁴⁹

Hogarth’s goal was to ensure sustained funding for researching Graeco-Roman sites and retrieving papyri in this way as well as through the antiquities market. However, despite the more than positive results in the Fayyum and the protagonists’ wish to conduct further research there the following year, we know that in 1896–1897 EEF excavations were moved instead to

⁴⁷ Hogarth and Grenfell (n. 46) 19.

⁴⁸ This was to be published as *P.Grenf.* 2.11 and is now kept at the Bodleian Library.

⁴⁹ *Egypt Exploration Fund. Report of the Tenth Ordinary General Meeting (Fourteenth Annual General Meeting), Subscription List, and Balance Sheets 1895–6* (Bristol 1896) 15. This shows that the funds from the EEF were indeed used for purchases and not only for excavations as argued by Gonis (n. 4) 70.

el-Bahnasa. The unexpected change of plan has either been ignored or deemed as puzzling and left unexplained by previous scholarship, but the minutes of the EEF committee meetings of 1896 reveal the interesting chain of events that brought Petrie, Grenfell and Hunt to Oxyrhynchus.⁵⁰ Things were set in motion in the spring of that year. During a meeting on 1 May 1896, E.M. Thompson (Vice President) and H.A. Grueber (Honorary Treasurer) informed the committee that Hogarth decided not to pursue a career in Egyptology and before leaving for the 1895–1896 season had submitted his resignation from Explorer of the Fund to become effective six months later; he declared that he would be happy, however, to do occasional work for the EEF where needed. The committee accepted Hogarth's decision with regret, being reassured by Grueber that conversations with Petrie as his replacement had already started.⁵¹ A letter by Petrie, in which he dictated some conditions and requirements, was read and copied in the minutes.⁵²

University College

Gower St. W.C.

17 April 1896

My dear Grueber,

In reply to your letter as to what position I might occupy in regard to the E.E.F. I would say as follows:—

That in the event of Mr Hogarth leaving, I should be willing to occupy the same position, on the same terms, that he did; it being understood that I gave at least half of each year to the interests of the ~~Fund~~ E.E.F. in excavating and attending to exhibiting and publishing in England.

But I may add that I should then desire:—

(1) That the typical series of connected objects from each place where I may do or direct excavating, shall be kept together, + presented to such a museum as shall permanently exhibit such objects together. (As an illustration of this I may refer to the great series of the New Race objects last year, now complete at Oxford).

(2) That I shall be at liberty – with due regard to the interests of the E.E.F. – to use the assistance of any friends of mine in working on and publishing antiquities found.

(3) That if I work for the Fund at all, I may have the direction of the major part of its excavations, as I do not wish to give myself to supporting work with the method of which I could not agree –

⁵⁰ *General Committee Minutes* vol. 3: 10 November 1892 to 7th April 1903. I thank the EES, in particular, the Director Carl Graves and the Collection Manager Stephanie Boonstra, for giving me access to the volume and allowing the publication of abstracts. The minutes are briefly commented by D. Montserrat, “News Reports: The Excavations and Their Journalistic Coverage,” in A.K. Bowman, R.A. Coles, N. Gonis, D. Obbink, and P.J. Parsons (eds.), *Oxyrhynchus, a City and Its Texts* (London 2007) 29.

⁵¹ *General Committee Minutes* (n. 50) 145.

⁵² *Ibidem*, 146–147.

Such is my position. If the Committee wish to make any proposition, there may doubtless be other points that they desire to define. That will be for them to consider. It may be of interest to you to know the expenditure which I have dealt with in the last three years, including all personal expenses of myself + Quibell.

1894 Koptos about £550

1895 Nagadah + Ballas about £800

1896 7 temples at Thebes about £1000

This does not include publications, as they pay their own expenses.

Yours sincerely

(signed) W.M. Flinders Petrie

The three conditions added to the previous deal shed light on Petrie's personality and his past and later difficulties with the EEF, which he definitively left in 1905 to create his own British School of Archaeology in Egypt (BSAE).⁵³ The Egyptologist was preoccupied with the destination of the archaeological finds and wanted them to be maintained as unit-archives in the custody of a museum, which is certainly not what happened in most cases.⁵⁴ The other two terms for the deal are connected with Petrie's self-confidence and trust in his own methods and people; Grenfell was certainly part of his inner circle of collaborators. Having the direction of most excavations was a means to avoid collaborations or even associations with scholars Petrie disliked. The agreement was reached and formalised at the EEF committee meeting on 19 June.⁵⁵

In late July the committee discussed the worrisome state of finances and agreed that for the incoming season a sum of £500 was to be reserved for Petrie and that Thompson had to communicate by letter to Hogarth and Grenfell that regrettably it was impossible for the Fund to support any further project in the Fayyum at that stage.⁵⁶ The minutes of the meeting on 6 October 1896 report that Petrie's plans for 1896–1897 were still up in the air. The Egyptologist was hoping to excavate at Abydos, otherwise he would have handed in an application for a site in the area of Thebes. Far more interesting is a letter sent by Grenfell to Thompson as an answer

⁵³ After his appointment at University College London Petrie established the Egypt Research Account, which supported the training of students. This was later transformed into BSAE, cf. Stevenson (n. 14) 11.

⁵⁴ Stevenson (n. 14) estimates that three hundred and fifty institutions across twenty-seven countries benefitted from the distributions and shows how materials from the same site were scattered among different museums. Her research did not include the papyri distributions, which followed the same logic but were managed through a separate committee created in October 1900.

⁵⁵ *General Committee Minutes* (n. 50) 150.

⁵⁶ *General Committee Minutes* (n. 50) 158.

to the denial of funding for the Fayyum survey, which was shared with the board and summarized as follows:

Sir Edward Thompson then read a letter which he had received from Mr Grenfell in which he stated that he was unwilling to relinquish the work in the Fayum for a season, for fear the site might in the meantime be excavated by another – and he made the following offer:

1. That the site should be applied for <and excavations carried on> in the name of the Fund.
2. That he should supply the money –
3. That if subscriptions should come in sufficiently for the Fund to help, he would gladly accept the same, but did not stipulate this as a condition.
4. That antiquities found <and brought to England> should be equally divided between himself and the Fund.
5. The Fund to allow him a free hand as to the methods of excavating.
6. That the Fund should publish any papyri found and account of excavation.⁵⁷ (not essential)

It was agreed that £150 or £200 should be voted for Mr. Grenfell's work in the Fayum, if that amount was collected towards the work at Dêr el Bahri.⁵⁸

On the whole, the letter shows Grenfell's determination to carry on the Fayyum project at all costs. But there is more to gauge here. Grenfell asked for the Fund to apply for a permit, which would ensure that he would be excavating and eventually publishing the results in the name of a well-connected institution in the form of archaeological reports (point 6), but he was ready to pay the campaign through *his own resources*, which is surprising. The 1895–1896 season in the Fayyum cost around £350;⁵⁹ where did Grenfell think to find a similar amount of money? We cannot exclude that he was looking for wealthy sponsors, having in mind what Howarth and others did for Petrie in the past. The July exhibition probably widened his connections and introduced his work to a circle of rich collectors and lovers of Egyptology. However, one also needs to consider another possibility: that as soon as he started travelling to Egypt, Grenfell began making money from the purchase and reselling of papyri to museums or collectors, which he may have intended to re-invest in his next Fayyum

⁵⁷ The sentence means that papyri volumes and excavation reports were to be published by the EEF, although the condition was not essential in the negotiation.

⁵⁸ *General Committee Minutes* (n. 50) 162–163. In that period the excavations of Naville at Deir el Bahari were a major project of the EEF that drained a lot of resources and raised many problems over the course of years, as the minutes show.

⁵⁹ *General Committee Minutes* (n. 50) 123: a budget of £200 was established at the meeting of July 1895, but before leaving for the season Hogarth asked for more and in December the committee set a limit of £350 (p. 134). At the same meeting Hogarth was authorised to pay £60 to Grenfell for his work.

enterprise.⁶⁰ The request to keep half of the antiquities eventually brought back from the season demonstrates that objects were conceived by the young papyrologist as rewards for the resources put into excavations, in brief as commodities. We will come back to this point later in the article, while analysing the letters sent by Grenfell from el-Bahnasa.

By 10 November 1896, however, the situation for the incoming season had dramatically changed. Thompson announced to the committee that Petrie, being unable to get a concession for Thebes, applied for one stretching from the entrance of the Fayyum down to Minieh (ca. 80 miles), which was approved by the Antiquities Service although just for a season. The minutes report that “Mr Grenfell finding that *Oxyrhynchos* was included in Prof. Petrie’s concession decided to go there instead of asking for a fresh site in the Fayyum. It was decided that Mr Grenfell’s expenses should not exceed £150 inclusive of his personal expenses of £50.”⁶¹ This turn of events settled the matter for the incoming season and the subscribers to the EEF were informed of future plans at the Annual General Meeting three days later. Hogarth’s and following speeches on that occasion provide exceptional insights into the colonial British academic mentality of the time and into Grenfell’s growing reputation as papyrus hunter:

I need only say that Mr. Grenfell has been trained in the best school of excavation, that of Prof. Petrie. He has worked with exemplary diligence and with singleness of purpose, and has attained a reputation wider and better deserved than most men of the age in any scholarly pursuit. I should like to point out to you that he is in Egypt not only to dig, but to travel and buy to look up the dealers and the tomb robbers from one end of the Nile valley to the other. He is well acquainted with them all now, and they know him; and when, by that strange influence of rumour – that φήμη which passes with incredible rapidity from mouth to mouth in the East, outstripping even the Telegraph and Intelligence Departments, it is known that Mr. Grenfell is going up the Nile, tin boxes full of brown scraps are unearthed in all quarters from their secret places, and find their way to rooms or river barges, ready for his advent. As I have often said, the dealer is an evil, but an evil not on our heads or our knees, and our chief duty for the present is to minimize the harm he does by as quickly and completely as possible getting his finds out of his hands into ours. Let me explain what happens to a papyrus when found by a native. Ten to one he has extracted it from under a heap of

⁶⁰ Cf. Gonis (n. 4) 70–71.

⁶¹ *General Committee Minutes* (n. 50) 165–166. See also H. Valentine Geere, *By Nile and Euphrates: A Record of Discovery and Adventure* (Edinburgh 1904) 51–52: “It must be explained that he [i.e., Petrie] had a permit from the Department of Antiquities to excavate anywhere in the strip of desert between the Fayoum and Minieh, and that Mr. Grenfell and Mr. Hunt were to share the work.” More will be said below on Geere and his book.

superincumbent rubbish, with little circumspection and less skill. It is already torn when it is put into an inside pocket of his galabiah [*sic*], next to his warm person, or into a curving fold of his cloak. There the delicate, tindery fabric suffers still more irreparable injury, and it is well if that be all! But indeed, it is all too probable that the finder will proceed to divide it into pieces. For example: the Revenue Papyrus was bought in several fragments. Then the finder will subject the pieces to a wetting or steaming process, which we only with the utmost care ever attempt, but which he carries out bravely “without fear and without reproach.” The last state of that papyrus I will leave to your imagination! No, this Society must get this papyrus-finding into its own hands as quickly as possible, as well as all other branches of exploration, and the quicker the better.⁶²

To the modern reader, the speech is hideous not only for its orientalist, even racist, tones – which reflect the surrounding cultural climate – but also because it reveals the flaws in Hogarth’s reasoning. Hogarth simply fails to recognize that Egyptians were eventually destroying papyri because he himself, Petrie, Grenfell, and others wanted to buy them; a market was created by Western demand. The international power-game through which Western institutions, including the EEF, were trying to secure the best concessions from the Egyptian Antiquities Service (which by the way was under heavy French and British control) was not providing enough sources of cultural extractions: dealers and local diggers were a means to meet demand, and the antiquities market thrived. The boundaries between licit and illicit sourcing were blurred, as one realizes from the same journals of Petrie; and papyri were not only damaged in the pockets of Egyptian dealers, but also cut and hastily packed into the luggage of foreigners, including British museum curators. For instance, in 1896 E.A. Wallis Budge, keeper of the Egyptian and Assyrian antiquities at the British Museum, was able to fetch a roll containing verses of Bacchylides that appeared on sale in Cairo (*P.Lond.* 733 = TM 59339). When the Antiquities Service raised questions on its illegal provenance and tried to stop the export of the papyrus, he cut it into pieces to hide them more easily in his luggage, as he explained later in his memoirs.⁶³

The other interesting matter introduced by Hogarth was the hope that the Fund would be divided into four different branches, one of which would be dedicated to the research of Graeco-Roman sites and objects.

⁶² *Egypt Exploration Fund. Report of the Tenth Ordinary General Meeting* (n. 49) 20–21.

⁶³ E.A. Wallis Budge, *By Nile and Tigris: A Narrative of Journeys in Egypt and Mesopotamia on Behalf of the British Museum Between the Years 1886 and 1913*, vol. 2 (London 1920) 351–352.

Thompson's answer as Chairman of the meeting is a piece of institutional rhetoric that does not provide a straight answer but rather promises further thoughts and calls for classicists and universities (in particular Cambridge and Oxford) to join the EEF's efforts in fundraising.⁶⁴ Then it was Petrie's turn to speak. He agreed that the thriving of the discipline and research in Egypt needed the establishment of four separate accounts, one of which would be devoted to the Classical material. The on-going destruction of sites and objects was recalled as one of the reasons for increasing efforts to fundraise. As usual, the deterioration of the archaeological heritage of Egypt was attributed to the "nature" of the inhabitants: "Every year whole chapters of history are torn away, and perish without record. Temples are destroyed, towns dug down, and cemeteries plundered. The cause of all this – so little recognized here – is that Egypt is still practically in the hands of barbarians."⁶⁵ According to Petrie, any effort from the Department of Antiquities was in vain because the Egyptian ("native") law courts failed to prosecute and convict culprits. "Beside this," Petrie argues "various influences of an oriental nature are brought to bear in favour of what are mere plundering dealers. Site after site is being ransacked, and everything thrown to the four winds without any record. Here again the interests of science, which are certainly felt in the Department, have to be subordinated to pressure, brought to bear in various ways for private ends of unclean profit."⁶⁶

Then Petrie moved to discuss the imminent season in the famous strip, adding that he would work there with two young assistants, H. Valentine Geere,⁶⁷ who would be paid out of Petrie's endowment, and Grenfell, whose salary would be covered instead by the EEF. Grenfell, Petrie pointed out, would "renew his most successful and interesting researches for early Christian manuscripts."⁶⁸ The benefit to the expedition would be to

⁶⁴ *Egypt Exploration Fund. Report of the Tenth Ordinary General Meeting* (n. 49) 23–24. The Graeco-Roman Branch was established on 1 July 1897, see E.G. Turner, "The Graeco-Roman Branch of the Egypt Exploration Society," in Bowman, Coles, Gonis, Obbink and Parsons (n. 50) 17–25, esp. 19 (originally published in T.G.H. James [ed.], *Excavating in Egypt: The Egypt Exploration Society, 1882–1982* [London 1982] 161–178); *General Committee Minutes* (n. 50) 198.

⁶⁵ *Egypt Exploration Fund. Report of the Tenth Ordinary General Meeting* (n. 49) 25. The paradox is that Egypt was rather in the hands of the British.

⁶⁶ *Egypt Exploration Fund. Report of the Tenth Ordinary General Meeting* (n. 49) 26.

⁶⁷ H. Valentine Geere (1874–1923) joined the University of Pennsylvania's excavation team at Nippur (Iraq) at Petrie's request and was in Egypt with the Egyptologist in 1896–1897, while the Iraqi excavation was interrupted. Both experiences are reported in a book for a wider audience that he published in 1904, cf. Geere (n. 61). He is defined as an archaeologist and an architect.

⁶⁸ *Egypt Exploration Fund. Report of the Tenth Ordinary General Meeting* (n. 49) 26.

have an expert in a period in which Petrie admitted his ignorance, but far more interesting is Petrie's mention of Grenfell's ability to train and keep in check the workforce, a skill that Grenfell learned excavating with him and Hogarth. The examples provided in the speech are again direct insights into the mentality of the time and also into the practices and methods applied by Petrie and his team, including Grenfell. The two main courses of action were those of avoiding the dispersal of findings through the dealers' channels giving prizes in money (*baksheesh*) to the Egyptian discoverers on top of their salaries and being inflexible in punishing any type of negligence.⁶⁹ Petrie noted that his methods worked anywhere except in Thebes (Luxor), "where every man" he explains "is in the hands of dealers."⁷⁰

To conclude, the analysis of the evidence presented in this section demonstrates the great influence that Petrie had on the formation of Grenfell as well as Hunt. At the school of Petrie and Hogarth, Grenfell learnt not just how to lead an excavation in Egypt and find papyri *in situ* or on sale, but more broadly how to behave in Egypt and in England in order to become a successful Egyptologist and papyrologist. The skills one needed to develop included finding funds, obtaining excavation concessions, managing the local workforce, packing the objects, sourcing items from the antiquities market, and negotiating the *partage* with the Antiquities Service. It has also been explained how Petrie's return to the EEF and the politics behind funding and concessions led to the sudden switch from the Fayyum to Oxyrhynchus, which turned out to make both Grenfell's and Hunt's fortunes.

The First Season at Oxyrhynchus (1896–1897)

After many delays and difficulties, Petrie finally obtained from the Antiquities Service the abovementioned permit to excavate the area extending from Beni Mazar for ca. 80 miles to the south, including el-Bahnasa, which was chosen as the headquarters. Petrie's journals of that year give precise indications of the timeline of the archaeological season; but key information, as it will be shown, is also contained in Geere's later memoirs, the official EEF report, and the letters authored by Grenfell.⁷¹ Petrie

⁶⁹ On Petrie's workforce see Quirke (n. 24).

⁷⁰ *Egypt Exploration Fund. Report of the Tenth Ordinary General Meeting* (n. 49) 28.

⁷¹ Petrie MSS 1.14 – Petrie Journal 1896 (Behnesa, Oxyrhynchus [Beni Mazar]) and Petrie MSS 1.15 – Petrie Journal 1896 to 1897 (Deshasheh, Bibehs [Beni Mazar]). Geere (n. 61) 51–83; Hickey and Keenan (n. 5); Mazza (n. 4), 136–138; Grenfell (n. 2).

and Geere arrived in Cairo in late November. As usual, Petrie spent time inspecting what was on sale and connecting with his Egypt-based acquaintances, like Brugsch⁷² and Sayce. Apparently, there were large quantities of papyri for sale:

Certainly I must have seen about two thousand papyri, & searched them all for literary pieces. Nearly all are accounts, but I have a few scraps of literature, & eight complete letters in Greek. The great haul at present is from Eshmunen.⁷³ This shews that there are plenty to the south of my region, as well to the north. I tried to get a fat roll of demotic, but could not for £30. Most of the demotic rolls are contracts, but this roll was probably literary. I did get several pieces of a late hieratic roll, about 2sq. feet of it, with rubrics, & not Book of the Dead which is so common.⁷⁴

The big hit, however, was the Bacchylides roll mentioned above that Wallis Budge purchased for the British Museum and literally smuggled out of Egypt, causing even the direct intervention of Lord Cromer to avert a diplomatic crisis with France.⁷⁵ Interestingly, Petrie reports that Sayce was chasing the same roll, and there were whispers that German buyers had been successful, which clearly was not the case but gives a good idea of the competitive international climate.⁷⁶

At the centre of conversations with his circle of friends, there was the usual commentary on the deplorable state of antiquities; however, positive comments were made on the opportunities provided by the concession obtained that year:

⁷² E.C.A. Brugsch (1842–1930) was a German Egyptologist who spent his entire career in various positions at the Bulaq and Cairo museums.

⁷³ The ancient city of Hermopolis, front facing the Hadrianic foundation of Antinoopolis on the opposite eastern shore of the Nile.

⁷⁴ Petrie Mss. 1.14 – Petrie Journal 1896, (26 Nov.–1 Dec. 1896), p. 19.

⁷⁵ *P.Lond.* 733 = TM 59339. At the time of writing, the provenance provided in the British Library online catalogue (http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Papyrus_733) is still that from a fictitious sale through an acquaintance of Wallis Budge, which was a legal ploy because the real seller was in fact Wallis Budge and it was forbidden to curators to sell objects to their own departments.

See E.A. Wallis Budge, *By Nile and Tigris: A Narrative of Journeys in Egypt and Mesopotamia on Behalf of the British Museum Between the Years 1886 and 1913*, vol. 2 (London 1920) 350–355; M. Ismail, *Wallis Budge: Magic and Mummies in London and Cairo* (Kilkerran 2011) 275–288.

⁷⁶ Petrie Mss. 1.14 – Petrie Journal 1896, (26 Nov.–1 Dec. 1896), p. 13: “Frazer came and had a long talk before returning to his survey-work in the Delta. He tells me that a roll of early Greek poetry, Bakkhilides, found at Eshmunen has been bought by the Germans for £300. Next day I found Sayce much put out by the news, as he had hoped to get it to England.” Perhaps Frazer is a misspelling of Fraser, i.e., George Willoughby Fraser see above n. 40, but this is uncertain.

I called on Sayce at his boat on my way back [i.e., from the Museum].⁷⁷ Justice Scott⁷⁸ came in while I was there, & was very cordial as he always is. Sayce tells me just what I hear & see all round, that matters are going worse & worse. There is no check on pillaging & places are being destroyed in any direction. The police & magistrates will not act, & the guards of the Museum <department> are mostly corrupt. It is a horrible look out, all due to accursed politics. All we can do is to save from the wreck as much as possible while we can. All agree that Behnesa is less worked out than any other region, & think that I have a fine field.⁷⁹

In terms of papyri, Petrie's statement on his concession was true. Nothing from Oxyrhynchus had appeared on the market before the first season – as papyrus publications of the period show⁸⁰ – but it was apparent that sites of ancient nome capitals were very promising for the amount of materials surfacing from Arsinoe (Medinet al-Fayyum) and other cities like Hermopolis (el-Ashmunein).⁸¹

Petrie left Cairo for el-Bahnasa on November 30, having spent the previous night with Grenfell and Hunt who had just arrived. The two papyrologists were happy about the papyrus letters that Petrie had acquired and reserved for them; they travelled down to Oxyrhynchus later on 20 December. In the following pages of the journal, we find Petrie busy with Geere and the Egyptian workforce setting up the excavation house and exploring the neighbourhood. Petrie was joined by one of the few workers he ever

⁷⁷ Due to bad health conditions, in those years Sayce spent most of his time in Egypt where he transformed a dahabia into a boathouse on which he could conveniently sail up and down the Nile, see Sayce (n. 15) esp. 275–276 on the purchase and the following chapter XV on his life in Egypt.

⁷⁸ Sir John Scott (1841–1904), at that time Deputy Judge Advocate-General and later Judicial Advisor of the Khedive. He is often mentioned in Sayces's memoirs (n. 15) as one of his acquaintances.

⁷⁹ Petrie Mss. 1.14 – Petrie Journal 1896, (26 Nov.–1 Dec. 1896), p. 18.

⁸⁰ Gonis (n. 4) 71–72; I thank Nikolaos Gonis for discussing the point with me.

⁸¹ See also Grenfell's considerations in the opening of his EEF report, Grenfell (n. 2) 1: "I had for some time felt that one of the most promising sites in Egypt for finding Greek manuscripts was the city of Oxyrhynchus, the modern Behneseh, situated on the edge of the western desert 120 miles south of Cairo. Being the capital of the Nome, it must have been the abode of many rich persons who could afford to possess a library of literary texts. Though the ruins of the old town were known to be fairly extensive, and it was probable that most of them were of the Graeco-Roman period, neither town nor cemetery appeared to have been plundered for antiquities in recent times. Above all, Oxyrhynchus seemed to be a site where fragments of Christian literature might be expected of an earlier date than the fourth century, to which our oldest manuscripts of the New Testament belong: for the place was renowned in the fourth and fifth century on account of the number of its churches and monasteries, and the rapid spread of Christianity about Oxyrhynchus, as soon as the new religion was officially recognized, implied that it had already taken a strong hold during the preceding centuries of persecution."

mentions by name in his accounts, Ali es Suefi, with whom he had a long and close relationship.⁸² The first description of the site in the journals focuses on the famous mounds, which later provided a flood of papyri, and the spot chosen for settling down:

I went over the immense mounds of Behnesa, about a mile long & ½ mile wide. All I saw was late Roman, excellent for Grenfell but not for me. But there must be a fine cemetery here somewhere. I finally fixed on a piece of spare ground, by the canal, & surrounded with young palm groves, to make our camp.⁸³

While waiting for the luggage on the chosen camping spot, Petrie met some policemen who were also looking for a place to build a station. The Egyptologist commented positively on this, as the west bank of the Bahr Yusuf was exposed to Bedouin raids.⁸⁴ Towards sunset, a local man joined the group:

Still, as no baggage came, I sat waiting on the bank, but at sunset we, myself and two policemen – had the most pressing invitation from a dumb man to come over & stay with him on the east side.⁸⁵

The group decided to accept the invitation and crossed the canal to go to the village of Sandafa, front facing el-Bahnasa. “The dumb man was younger brother of a rich shekh”⁸⁶, Petrie explains, “who is building a very grand house. He received us most cordially; coffee, a long talk & dinner followed.”⁸⁷ The arrival at the excavation site is also recalled in Geere’s book that provides more details about the host’s identity. Geere explains that at Sandafa they “became the guests of the head-man of the village, Sed Ahmed, who was building a fine new house for himself, in which he invited us to pass the night.”⁸⁸ Although Geere never mentions

⁸² He was one of the men hired and trained at al-Lahun, who were regularly employed also in following seasons; Petrie mentions their relationship at length in his journals and autobiographies, cf. Drower (n. 11) *passim*, and more recently Quirke (n. 24) esp. 75–79. Geere’s memoir is also relevant and has a picture that was taken during the campaign, Geere (n. 61) 51–83 with photo at p. 72.

⁸³ Petrie Mss. 1.14 – Petrie Journal 1896, (26 Nov.–1 Dec. 1896), p. 23. The canal is the Bahr Yusuf.

⁸⁴ A night raid is described by Grenfell in one of the letters to Maunde Thompson published by Hickey and Keenan (n. 5) 361–363. In his writings, Petrie used the term “Bedouin” to indicate an Arab often but not exclusively living in the desert, see Quirke (n. 24) 91.

⁸⁵ Petrie Mss. 1.14 – Petrie Journal 1896, (26 Nov.–1 Dec. 1896), p. 24.

⁸⁶ Usual spelling used by Petrie for shaykh.

⁸⁷ Petrie Mss. 1.14 – Petrie Journal 1896, (26 Nov.–1 Dec. 1896), p. 25.

⁸⁸ Geere (n. 61) 53.

the impaired brother, it is clear that this is the same house cited in the journals by Petrie. Sed Ahmed is most probably a misspelling of the name Ahmed Sayed; in European accounts of the 19th century the term shaykh could be employed in a generic way to indicate a notable of a village. However, in this case it seems that the word had the other, more precise meaning of shaykh al-balad (village chief) of the village of Sandafa, not only because of the translation given by Geere as “head-man”, but also because of other elements of the narratives related to the man and his household given by Petrie and his assistant: such as the capacity to build a prominent new house for his family, the kind of hospitality offered to the guests, the gathering of other notables at his home to pay their respects to the British visitors, and his acquaintance with the local policemen.⁸⁹ Ahmed Sayed and his brother belonged to the class of the rural notables from which village officers, with administrative, fiscal and law enforcement duties, were selected; the relative wealth of this social group came from landownership.⁹⁰ To the southwest of Sandafa there is still an estate called “Sayed Ahmed”, and I wonder if this could be a trace left by our shaykh and his family.⁹¹

The morning after, Petrie and Geere carried out their first round of antiquities hunting:

We went to see the villager jeweller who makes nose rings for the Bedawi women of the desert. He had “a statue with a golden girdle” which proved to be a very little Roman glass figure, with a twist of gold wire around it to hang it to a necklace. He also had a few Roman gems: the only one of value a convex amethyst with rather a good figure: worth perhaps a pound or two in Europe, but here thought far more of, as all gems are.⁹²

Geere provided a lively account of the transfer to the palm grove chosen for camping on the west bank, escorted by the headman and the villagers.⁹³ In the following days, while still waiting for the excavation documents to arrive from Cairo, Petrie started a survey of the site. After jotting down a plan with main landmarks, he went to explore the mounds stretching to the northwest of the camp:

⁸⁹ In one of the letters written to Thompson, Grenfell says that he could not rely on the village policemen to guard the site as they were used to spend their nights at the shaykh’s house, Hickey and Keenan (n. 5) 364.

⁹⁰ Cf. K.M. Cuno, *The Pasha’s Peasants: Land, Society and Economy in Lower Egypt, 1740-1858* (Cambridge 1992) 85–99.

⁹¹ Ezbet Sayed Ahmed: <https://goo.gl/maps/SBosKUrZJHpLaFT9>.

⁹² Petrie Mss. 1.14 – Petrie Journal 1896, (26 Nov.–1 Dec. 1896), pp. 25–26. Bedawi is one other spelling of Bedouin.

⁹³ Geere (n. 61) 54.

I then struck out to the north & west to explore & found far-stretching mounds of Roman buildings, & many small isolated mounds which seem to be either separate villas (as at Amarna) or tombs. They are very promising to examine. Then we struck back into the desert at sunset, & found buildings running about two miles back, one large one with Corinthian capitals lying about.⁹⁴

The following morning was dedicated to a similar survey to the south where the presence of heaps of flints suggested the presence of tombs. It is at this point that the journal reports another visit of the shaykh's brother:

Our dumb friend came over to see us & we had a long conversation. He is very sharp fellow, & sees the meaning of anything that is shewn to him very quickly. He gave a long & moving account of our dangers on this side, & how the Bedawin <with masked faces> would attack us, take every scrap of clothing & leave us wounded. I replied that they might take what they liked, there was hardly anything of use to them. So he expatiated on the wounds; & gave a comic description of the visit of enquiry by a pompous official who would count up everything. He urged me to always carry a revolver in a belt; but unluckily for me my revolver has disappeared in the division of baggage up at Luxor by Quibell. He pressed me much to go over & dine with them, and I vaguely told him I would in a few days. He enquired about my large Arabic vocabulary, & took in at once that it was for Arabic and English. He travels about the country, knows Cairo, & the Zoological Garden there. I see that the people here talk to him very freely about business by signs, & he certainly gets on remarkably well without language.⁹⁵

The shaykh's brother, who is always mentioned in terms of his disability and never by name, was a man with some degree of education and a member of the village elite, as we have seen. Despite Petrie's patronising tones, it is clear that the brother was perfectly capable of having conversations with the British visitor on a range of topics. A few days later, the man showed Petrie around the ruins of Oxyrhynchus:

On returning after my morning's surveying I found my dumb friend here, & after lunch he went round the ruins to show me what he knew. The mass of stone work which has served the town as a quarry for years past has passages & chambers in it, & from other people I hear of 3 statues having been found in it. They were smashed up, & made into coffee mills. It looks to me as if it might have been a catacomb for the sacred fish, a tomb for any one prince would not be so large. Then he shewed me the city wall, at the end where it was scarcely visible, & went some way along it, till I told him that I knew it & had planned it the day before. Then he told me that quantities of papyri

⁹⁴ Petrie Mss. 1.14 – Petrie Journal 1896, (2–9 Dec. 1896), pp. 28–29.

⁹⁵ Petrie Mss. 1.14 – Petrie Journal 1896, (2–9 Dec. 1896), pp. 30–31.

were found there, & began grubbing; in a couple of minutes he turned up a piece of Greek accounts of 2nd century AD. But so soon as we got on the Arab part of the mounds – though I had not yet noticed the difference – he observed that there were not any papyri there, that was all no good, all of Muslim age. But the whole of the Roman part not capped with Arab contained writings.⁹⁶

This passage of Petrie's journal is the first extant account of papyrus findings at Oxyrhynchus during the campaign. The discovery took place in early December 1896: it predates the arrival of Grenfell and Hunt at the site, and it shows that papyri were found by a prominent villager of Sandafa who knew the ancient town's remains and was fully aware of what might have interested Petrie the most. Although extensive sections of the journals of Petrie, including these pages, have been published by Drower since 2004,⁹⁷ this account has been overlooked and is lacking from any discussion, even the most recent and critical, of the finding of the Oxyrhynchus papyri. Rather than being suppressed, the account went simply *unseen* because it did not meet the expectations that we (i.e., Western papyrologists) have of narratives of discovery: a white male expert surrounded by secondary characters and local subordinates. There is, in fact, an inversion of roles, as it is an Egyptian who guides the European expert.

After delays and misunderstandings in the issuing of the permit paperwork from the Antiquities Service in Cairo, Petrie started proper excavations and Grenfell was able to pay a quick visit to the site:

I began to work on the isolated small mounds outside the town. Later on I tried some of the rubbish heaps. On Tuesday night Grenfell came, & stayed Wednesday looking over the place.⁹⁸ The result of three days of work has been to show that the isolated mounds are small villas perched on platforms of brick, & that they are IInd–IIIrd cent. A.D. The great stone building I have not yet tackled; but the piece flakes of the statues smashed up there shew that they were Roman, by the quality of the marble, & the style of finish. And immediately outside the enclosure wall are heaps of pottery & pieces of papyri of the late IVth cent. A.D. The enclosure wall is of good stone well dressed, but small blocks. My impression is that it is a great church & monastery of Helena's like the great buildings at Sohag. It cannot be earlier, nor yet much later. The rubbish mounds of the edge of town contain pieces of papyri, & some nearly complete letters of the IInd–IIIrd cent. A.D.⁹⁹

⁹⁶ Petrie Mss. 1.14 – Petrie Journal 1896, (2–9 Dec. 1896), pp. 32–33.

⁹⁷ M.S. Drower, *Letters from the Desert: The Correspondence of Flinders and Hilda Petrie* (Oxford 2004) 99.

⁹⁸ These are December 15 and 16 as the journal is dated 9–19 December.

⁹⁹ Petrie Mss. 1.14 – Petrie Journal 1896, (9–19 Dec. 1896), p. 42.

All these findings are little compared to the mass of papyri found later by Grenfell and Hunt. Nevertheless, it needs to be stressed that before the arrival of the two Oxford scholars, papyri had already come to light, and it was clear that the site was promising in that respect. In other words, Egyptians and Petrie paved the way for the following great harvest.

*“The Great Haul of Papyri”: Grenfell and Hunt at Oxyrhynchus*¹⁰⁰

Grenfell and Hunt reached el-Bahnasa on 20 December, and two days later Petrie and Ali es Suefi left for a five-day trip to Minya, to explore the area (ca. 53 kilometres south of Oxyrhynchus).¹⁰¹ Once back, Petrie learnt that Grenfell had a try at Roman tombs that did not yield any results of notice because they had already been plundered.¹⁰² Petrie then went for another survey trip with Ali up north and when he got back, the two papyrologists were still busy with tombs. It is worth noticing that in the meanwhile they were also contributing to skull collecting and measuring for University College London’s eugenics projects.¹⁰³ To my knowledge, the participation of the Oxford Dioscuri in eugenics research has never been mentioned either in later studies on the Oxyrhynchus seasons or more broadly on Grenfell and Hunt and the birth of papyrology, despite that it is indeed recalled in one of the most-cited outreach articles written by Grenfell once back from the site:

The idea of the natives with regard to the motive of the excavators is that they are in search of gold, or at least of ancient coins. That there should be any interest attaching to “old paper” is, of course, quite beyond their comprehension; and, though ready enough to make a profit out of our apparent folly, they no doubt regarded our desire for papyri as a proof of that madness which is generally attributed to Europeans by the fellaheen second only to that afforded by our taking the skulls found in the ancient cemetery back to England in order to measure them.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁰ The expression “the great haul of papyri” is from Geere (n. 61) 57.

¹⁰¹ Petrie Mss. 1.14 – Petrie Journal 1896, (21–27 Dec. 1896), p. 52.

¹⁰² Petrie Mss. 1.14 – Petrie Journal 1896, (21–27 Dec. 1896), p. 62.

¹⁰³ Petrie Mss. 1.15 – Petrie journal 1896 to 1897, (28 Dec. 1896–10 Jan. 1897), p. 76. On Petrie’s relationship with the projects led by Galton and Pearson, see K.L. Sheppard, “Flinders Petrie and Eugenics at UCL,” *Bulletin of the History of Archaeology* 20 (2010) 16–29; D. Challis, *The Archaeology of Race: The Eugenics Ideas of Francis Galton and Flinders Petrie* (London-New York 2013) and the virtual exhibition on the history of eugenics and scientific racism at University College London co-hosted by the Sarah Parker Remondón Centre for the Study of Racism and Racialisation and the UCL Institute of Archaeology: <https://www.makingdifference.org/>, last accessed 21 March 2022.

¹⁰⁴ B.P. Grenfell, “The Oldest Record of Christ’s Life: The First Complete Account of the Recent Finding of the ‘Sayings of our Lord’,” *McClure’s Magazine* 9/6 October 1897, p. 1029.

Although Petrie decided to leave el-Bahnasa in the hands of Grenfell and Hunt and moved his research to the north of the concession for the rest of the season, he was in constant communication with the two; and towards the end of January he was certainly aware of the great papyrus findings.¹⁰⁵ It is now possible to follow the unfolding of events closely through the above-mentioned seven letters written by Grenfell from the site and recently published by Hickey and Keenan.

The first letter to Maunde Thompson of 19 January 1897 is a report of what happened since the young papyrologist began directing the site on 22 December. It shows that the excavation of the mounds covering the Roman town started on 10 January,¹⁰⁶ after the digging of the cemeteries according to Petrie's instructions; and that in just a week, ten tin boxes full of fragments were obtained. Inside the three boxes he was able to sort out, Hunt had already identified ca. 100 literary fragments, including the *logia* papyrus, later recognized to be an early Greek version of the Gospel of Thomas, which attracted a lot of public interest (*P.Oxy.* 1.1).¹⁰⁷ The letter gives insight into the work method at Oxyrhynchus, with Grenfell supervising the digging and Hunt sorting and packing the papyri. The excavation concentrated at first on one mound and then moved to a second nearby, which was proving equally fruitful. A comparison with the extant plan of the site shows that the two mounds are nearby the city wall towards the north, which seems to correspond to the same area where the brother of Ahmed Sayed found scraps of papyri with Petrie during their walk.¹⁰⁸ After the report of the findings, Grenfell addressed financial matters, as supplementary funds were needed in view of the quantity of the papyri and other small objects that were coming to light. To support his request "to spend £100 to £125 more" on the excavation of the town, Grenfell argued that "the papyri which we found in the first week alone are worth £100 already,"¹⁰⁹ establishing a connection between the market price of the material recovered and his right to receive more money.

¹⁰⁵ Petrie Mss. 1.15 – Petrie Journal 1896 to 1897, (26 Jan.–1 Feb. 1897), p. 115: "Grenfell is having grand times with Greek papyri, both Biblical & Literary."

¹⁰⁶ Hickey and Keenan (n. 5) 356, with footnote 18 on the alternative date of 11th January given by Grenfell elsewhere.

¹⁰⁷ Hickey and Keenan (n. 5) 356–357; Nongbri (n. 3) 224–227 on the press covering of the find.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. the revised plan of Oxyrhynchus in Bowman, Coles, Gonis, Obbink, and Parsons (n. 50) 13. The plan has the mounds flagged according to a numbering system that corresponded to their order of excavations and is attested in an unpublished notebook left by Grenfell and Hunt; K2 is visible while K1, which is not clearly visible on the printed map, was nearby as Grenfell states in the letter.

¹⁰⁹ Hickey and Keenan (n. 5) 358.

The evaluation of findings in monetary terms, which might seem striking, needs to be interpreted in light of the reform of the excavations and the *partage* system introduced by decree in 1891.¹¹⁰ The new provision – which Sayce writes in his memoirs that he helped draft¹¹¹ – established that holders of excavation concessions and the Cairo museum were each entitled to one half *of the same value* of the findings. This conceptualization of archaeological finds as economic assets influenced the finders' approach to the objects of their research and also had consequences on the logic regulating the EEF distributions to their subscribers.¹¹² The mechanics of fixing prices for the objects excavated were also guided by scholars' in-depth knowledge and participation in the antiquities market. Grenfell knew, just as anyone else working in Egypt at the time, the potential market price of the fragments coming to light because he was used to visiting dealers and being offered items. As already mentioned, he sold papyri to museums and libraries, and together with Hunt acted as a broker for collectors like Lord Crawford, Lord Amherst, Enriqueta Rylands, and later the Rylands library.¹¹³ In short, the experts contributed to establish prices based on both their expertise and awareness of current demand and offers.

The second letter to Maunde Thompson of 30 January exhibits the same attitude. In just ten or eleven days the boxes had increased to a total of 65.¹¹⁴ The great haul of manuscripts, however, was causing a steep increase of expenses, especially in *baksheesh*. To make ends meet while eagerly waiting for the extra £100, Grenfell had moved £50 of his personal allowance to the excavation account. The way he describes the quality of the site in order to argue for his requests is worth quoting:

There is certainly no site in Upper Egypt which has been left so <more> untouched, nor is there probably another site in Egypt which in three weeks would for an expenditure of £70 produce papyri which are well worth £700. Hunt and I are perfectly ready to go on here till the end of April,¹¹⁵ if necessary, and would far rather do so than return here last next season. The people

¹¹⁰ A. Khater, *Le régime juridique des fouilles et des antiquités en Égypte* (Cairo 1960) 73–74 and 168–171; for the text of the decree of 17 November 1891 in French translation, 282–283.

¹¹¹ Sayce (n. 15) 334.

¹¹² On papyri distributed to the American branches, see W.A. Johnson, “The Oxyrhynchus Distributions in America: Papyri and Ethics,” *BASP* 49 (2012) 209–222; Mazza (n. 4). For EEF distributions and their dynamics Stevenson (n. 14) is now an essential reading.

¹¹³ Cf. *supra*, n. 4. On Lord Amherst, more below, n. 128.

¹¹⁴ Second letter to Maunde Thompson, Hickey and Keenan (n. 5) 359–363.

¹¹⁵ The excavation ended in mid-April, as we will see in the following.

here fortunately knew nothing about anticas till we came, but they will of course spend the whole summer now grubbing it, to say nothing of dealers who are likely to descend upon it since the Museum either cannot or will not stop them.¹¹⁶

As in the previous letter, archaeological excavation funding is treated as an economic investment, which in this case was highly profitable since it produced a tenfold gain (i.e., an investment of £70 for the expedition returned papyri worth £700).¹¹⁷ The statement about local ignorance of the value of antiquities should be taken with caution, as we have seen that the jeweller of Sandafa offered some for sale and that the brother of the shaykh knew the ancient ruins of the old town and where to find papyri and other objects. What is certainly true, however, is that the arrival of the British mission made it clear to the inhabitants of the area that the search and finding of papyri could become an economic activity to increase their low incomes. In other words, Petrie, Grenfell, Hunt, and their sponsors created the conditions for the licit and illicit antiquities market to thrive in the area. When Geere went back to el-Bahnasa after the closing of Petrie's excavation in the north of the concession in mid-March, he noticed the following:

The village appeared decidedly smarter and less tumble-down than when I left it, and its people were better dressed and wore a more alert and prosperous air. Nor was this astonishing, for hundreds of pounds had been distributed in wages and *backsheesh* amongst the workmen.¹¹⁸

There might be some exaggeration in Geere's description, but the paragraph seems to indicate that the excavation was an occasion for the local population to increase their earnings, which certainly was positive. Colonial control over Egypt, including influencing the legislation concerning antiquities, allowed foreign archaeological missions to secure objects for their own countries' collections; it also opened the way for the illegal trade of papyri, for which local villagers should not be blamed – as colonizer archaeologists were doing – in view of their political and economic situation.

Besides the shortage of money, another source of anxiety that transpires from Grenfell's letters from Oxyrhynchus is the *partage* with the museum.

¹¹⁶ Second letter to Maunde Thompson, Hickey and Keenan (n. 5) 360.

¹¹⁷ See also the letter sent to Grueber on 20 February, Hickey and Keenan (n. 5) 377: "Every pound put into the excavations here yet has produced tenfold its value in papyri and it is worth going on so long as it ^the site^ produces even only thrice or twice the value of the sum spent in digging it."

¹¹⁸ Geere (n. 61) 82.

In his first letter to Maunde Thompson, Grenfell recommended that the items from the 1895-1896 excavations in the Fayyum which were destined for the Gizeh museum should be sent back to Egypt according to the terms of the deal in order to avoid problems and smooth the way for obtaining similar terms during the current season.¹¹⁹ It seems that all the Fayyum finds were packed and reached England under the condition that the objects destined for the museum had to be sent back by a certain date.¹²⁰ Grenfell hoped that the Gizeh museum items from the previous season would reach Cairo by the beginning of March. This point is recalled also in the following second letter to Maunde Thompson, where Grenfell's motivations for such a plea are made clearer and the Bacchylides affair is recalled as a possible cause of tighter checks:

Hunt spends all day cataloguing roughly and packing the papyri. His assistance is simply invaluable since I have not a minute to spare from looking after the men and it is of the utmost importance to have some idea which and where our best finds are.

It will be a difficult task to get from 150-250 or so tin boxes full out of the country even though the vast bulk is of course practically valueless. I shall propose to the Museum the same arrangement that we did last year, and you will I hope excuse my referring again to the urgency of sending back the papyri and coins which we promised them. Failing that, I shall offer the Byzantine rolls as a sop. They will I hope not take the trouble to wade through the mass of rubbish from which it will require a practised eye to distinguish the good things. But I have some qualms lest the loss of Bacchylides may lead them out of spite to take the full half to which they are entitled. I suppose in that case there is nothing to be done. But it is not, I hope, very likely.¹²¹

A third letter to Maunde Thompson was written only two days later, on 1 February.¹²² It adds that in just one day there were discoveries of papyri worth at least £150; Grenfell repeated again his wish for all the

¹¹⁹ Hickey and Keenan (n. 5) 358.

¹²⁰ This is supported also by a passage of the minutes of the EEF committee meeting of 9 July 1896, *General Committee Minutes* vol. 3, 157: "Sir E.M. Thompson stated that Mr Hogarth had undertaken to return some portion of the papyri to the Gizeh Museum after they had been exhibited + read, and Sir Eduard proposed that he should write to M. de Morgan proposing to select for him 1/3 of the best papyri. This was agreed too." For similar arrangement between the University of Michigan and the Antiquities Service, see B. Haug, "Politics, Partage, and Papyri: Excavated Texts Between Cairo and Ann Arbor (1924-1953)," *AJA* 125 (2021) 143-163. Interestingly, the minutes above mentioned add also that a set of coins from the Fayyum season was gifted to each, Milne, Hunt, and Grenfell, to thank them for the work at the exhibition; Stevenson (n. 14) 1 reckons the distributions of such gifts or souvenirs, which are now difficult to be tracked back.

¹²¹ Hickey and Keenan (n. 5) 361.

¹²² *Ibidem*, 363-365.

boxes to be sent to England and the *partage* to take place after sorting and study. This obviously would be a means to control the findings in terms of publication and allocation. Two weeks later, on 14 February, Grenfell writes to Petrie in similar terms to ask for his help on both matters: economic support and the attempt to send everything to England before the division with Cairo.¹²³ One hundred and fourteen tin boxes had been found and Grenfell explains that there were two thousand fragments worth publishing. “The one thing before all the others necessary in order to extract the ~~alone~~ full value of our collection” Grenfell explains “is that we who arranged it and who have experience, leisure and interest to attack the gigantic task of sorting it, should be allowed to do so and not interfered with.” He shares his plan to write to the director of the Antiquities Service, Jacques de Morgan, about the *partage*, following the same line of reasoning and strategy we encountered in his letters to Maunde Thompson. However, Grenfell is more emotional and open with Petrie. The whole collection, he argues, should be transferred to England for study and publication after which “the Museum can pick whatever it likes. Personally we don’t care a d---¹²⁴ what becomes of the papyri so long as we can sort + publish them, but in the interests of European scholars the more broken + less legible ones ought to b remain in England, where they would be accessible.”¹²⁵ Grenfell’s anxiety for the future of the collection as expressed in these sentences stems from the conviction that British activities in Egypt were salvaging the European past from the Egyptians, who were unable to understand the cultural value and meaning of what was coming to light or to take proper care of the papyri. In this way, Egyptians started being expropriated of a segment of almost one thousand years of their own history besides hundreds of thousands of papyri.

Another point that should be noted is that the fragments were deemed as things worth keeping as long as their content was deciphered and published. Besides being traded for a margin when needed, papyri were considered as a means to extract academic value and generate knowledge: after publication, their importance in Grenfell’s eyes decreased. Using the excuse that they are the only ones able to unlock their contents, Western scholars have accumulated – and thus maintained control over – collections of papyrus fragments, thus allowing entire generations of experts and their institutions to amass academic capital. Grenfell was not only

¹²³ *Ibidem*, 365–375.

¹²⁴ Hickey and Keenan think that “damn” is the word expunged here.

¹²⁵ Hickey and Keenan (n. 5) 369.

excited and passionate about his work, but also aware that control over the mass of unpublished papyri he and Hunt excavated or bought could grant them prestige and help advance their careers.

Economic stability is another topic Grenfell addresses in the letter to Petrie:

This¹²⁶ leads to our financial position which just at present is pretty bad. My fellowship (£200) doesn't do much more than pay its expenses, for one cannot live at Oxford very cheaply as a Fellow. Hunt has only 100 a year. "The labourer is worthy of his hire", and after discovering the finest set of paps [*sic*] in Egypt it is clearly not fair to expect us to work hard all our time for the next 5, or 10 years for the Fund, myself for £50 Hunt balash.¹²⁷ If we can raise £750 in new subscriptions + increase of [*sic*] old ones to the Fund, I think it ought to guarantee us me £250 a year + Hunt £150. Even when I stop excavating temporarily I ought to come out to Egypt every winter to buy and further I ought to have money to buy with. Hitherto by borrowing + reselling my purchases at a slight profit, I have been able to get along more or less. But in the future it is obviously impossible for me to buy as to resell immediately for that means renouncing the publication which is all I care about, and I am in debt enough as it is and though I could continue buying for Lord Amherst¹²⁸ for a year or two, that is not desirable... £100 of my 250 would go in paps [*sic*], which would be presented to English + American Museums.

The paragraph documents further that Grenfell acted as a broker of papyri in Egypt for private collectors and institutions and sheds light on his motivations: this side activity was not only undertaken to support himself, but also, and perhaps more interestingly, to ensure that he would have control over the best pieces on offer on the market, so that he could publish them later. In the letter written to Griffith in May 1897, we read that the demotist had entrusted Grenfell with £50 before he left for the season to buy demotic papyri on his behalf. Grenfell was only able to get a few rolls that he offered to Griffith for £4, explaining "If you care to

¹²⁶ Grenfell refers to his opinion on the creation of the Graeco-Roman branch of the Fund, which interestingly he thought was unnecessary; see Hickey and Keenan (n. 5) 352 with note 2.

¹²⁷ "The labourer is worthy of his hire": Hickey and Keenan suggest this is a quote of Luke 10:7 and 1 Timothy 5:18; *balash* is Arabic for "free."

¹²⁸ In 1900, Grenfell and Hunt published a first volume of the Amherst papyri, part of the wider collection of Egyptian antiquities amassed by William Tyssen-Amherst (1835–1909) and held at Didlington Hall Norfolk. The Amherst were part of the circle of collectors and scholars frequented by Sayce in Egypt – where they sponsored excavations – and Great Britain (Sayce [n. 15] 289–290, 292, 318, 321). In their preface to *P. Amherst* 1, Grenfell and Hunt state that they started acquiring on behalf of Lord Amherst three years before, i.e., since 1897, which matches with what the letter implies; see also Mazza (n. 4) 139.

have them at that price, I will send you them and return £46 (when you can come and fetch them), if not I will return you the £50, hoping in any case you will lend it me again next winter when inshallah I shall have better luck.” This kind of cash advance provided Grenfell with some financial stability during his trips and possibly produced some profit. Grenfell saw the flood of 1897, and perhaps the whole system of credit to acquire for others too, as a step towards excellence in the field he was contributing to establish, but the situation also made him very nervous about the overwhelming backlog that was generated.

Excavations at Oxyrhynchus continued with an unabated flow of papyri and Grenfell received funding to stay longer than planned, although not for as long as he wished. “In the second week in April” Geere writes in his book “work was abandoned, the papyri and antiquities were carefully packed, a boat was chartered, and the *spoil* [my stress] was carried by camels across to the Nile, and there shipped for Gizeh.”¹²⁹ *Partage* took place in Cairo according to the second option plan that Grenfell had in mind: “one hundred and fifty of the best preserved rolls, and some specimens of the miscellaneous anticas, were retained for the Gizeh museum.”¹³⁰ However, Grenfell was able to obtain that their study and edition would be reserved for him and Hunt.¹³¹ The archaeological report of the season ended with a plea to EEF subscribers to support the speedy publication of the papyri and further research at Oxyrhynchus. As we know, both requests were fulfilled.

Conclusion

Through a fresh analysis of archival evidence and first-hand accounts, this article has shown that the decision to excavate at Oxyrhynchus in 1896–1897 was the result of a series of events that were for the most part out of Grenfell and Hunt’s control. The reappraisal of the different

¹²⁹ Geere (n. 61) 82. It is worth noticing that similarly to other archaeological terms like “campaign” the word “spoil” comes from the military vocabulary.

¹³⁰ In the letter to Griffith on 2 May 1896 (Mazza [n. 4] 137) Grenfell writes “we got through 270 out of the 273 boxes, including everything of real value. It was a difficult business as De Morgan for some time insisted they must have half, but eventually he was satisfied with the 150 big rolls which I had selected for him.” Grenfell and Hunt used tin boxes for the papyri, which were then packed in larger wooden cases to be transferred to Cairo for the *partage* and then sent to England.

¹³¹ Grenfell (n. 2) 12. The Byzantine rolls were presumably part of the big find of 18–19 March. Some of these rolls, which remained in Cairo, were published later by Grenfell (*P.Oxy.* 16).

narratives here has also shed light on the close relationship between Grenfell and Flinders Petrie and the very important but not fully recognized role that the Egyptologist had in the formative years of Grenfell and Hunt. Petrie taught Grenfell and Hunt how to conduct excavations in Egypt, how to manage the workforce and also how to search for antiquities for sale on the local market. Depending on circumstances, the antiquities trade was seen by Petrie, Grenfell, and the guild as a whole, either as a threat to the preservation of archaeological evidence or as a pool from which to retrieve even more items, which were purchased and exported under the guise of a rescue operation while actually fuelling an entire economy that scholars exploited for financial and academic profit.

While papyrologists have slowly built an origin myth based on Oxyrhynchus and its findings with two young British men as protagonists, the careful untangling of the surviving narratives forces us today to recognize that papyrus discoveries at that site were instead a complex business that was carried out for various reasons and which included many different actors. It is particularly important to recognize the power imbalance that informed the relationship between British occupiers and Egyptian subalterns – something which tends to be forgotten in the reports and other evidence considered here. However, by closely reading Petrie's journals and Geere's memoirs, it has been shown that inhabitants of the area knew what was hidden in the ruins and rubbish heaps of el-Bahnasa. After the first excavation season, the trade of papyri in the area became rampant. When the Bible scholar James Rendel Harris visited the site in 1917, he took pictures of children digging for papyri that were sold to dealers and visitors, including himself.¹³² Archaeologists left long-lasting effects on the landscape, its inhabitants and their relationship with their own antiquities, including papyri.

The first finding of Oxyrhynchus papyri on record took place at the beginning of December 1896, before the arrival of Grenfell and Hunt and the start of their dig and was made by a villager of Sandafa. The episode involving the brother of the shaykh Ahmed Sayed showing Petrie around and grubbing the soil to pick up the papyri that could most interest the archaeologist was forgotten nearly as soon as it took place. As the pre-occupations about *partage* demonstrate, British occupiers and others decided how these objects must be handled, how their discovery needed

¹³² For the picture of the children digging and evidence from Rendel Harris's letters that demonstrate that purchases were made by him (and others) knowing it was absolutely illegal, see A. Falcetta, *The Daily Discoveries of a Bible Scholar and Manuscript Hunter: A Biography of James Rendel Harris 1852–1941* (London 2018) 316–318.

to be narrated, and where archives had to be created: Egyptians were only relevant as a source of information and workforce. Overall, the narratives explored in the article tell a history of papyrus discovery that is different from the creation myth we have perpetuated. This history invites us to question the ethics and principles that have regulated academics' relationships with both the manuscripts at the centre of the discipline and the nation from which they were excavated. The development of papyrology as a discipline and the organization of collections came with a high degree of inequality, as access to papyri and decisions about how they must be studied and handled were and still remain concentrated in the hands of few.

MODEL DOCUMENTS AND THE SCRIBE¹

Susan Fogarty *Université de Genève*

Abstract. — This paper aims to make a clear distinction between model document, sample formulary, draft, and form.

Keywords: model, sample, formulary, draft, form

The complex governance of Egypt could not have functioned without skilled scribes at all levels of the administration. While the evidence indicates that there were scribes of varying levels of ability, little is known about how they were trained.² A basic level of literacy was presumably a pre-requisite skill, but it is unknown whether the further training required was achieved through a “scribal school,” through an apprenticeship, or both.³ Training for those who wished to become scribes went beyond the skill of writing and included arithmetic and metrology, as well as learning the different phrases and formulae that form the basis of most of the documentation.⁴ Training in this latter skill was presumably on-going as formulae changed and procedures were amended. The evidence for this is found in documents which fall into the category of model or sample. However,

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² S. Bucking, “On the Training of Documentary Scribes in Roman, Byzantine, and Early Islamic Egypt: A Contextualized Assessment of the Greek Evidence,” *ZPE* 159 (2007) 229–247.

³ R. Cribiore, *Writing, Teachers and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (Atlanta, GA 1996) 28–29; “Education in the Papyri,” in R. Bagnall (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology* (Oxford 2009) 324.

⁴ R. Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind: Greek Education in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* (Princeton, NJ 2001) 182–183. An example of a scribal exercise may perhaps be seen in T. Garvey, “An Oxyrhynchite Marriage Contract as School Exercise?” *BASP* 47 (2010) 67–73: the hand is described as “an advanced school hand” (p. 68), and while the omission of year and month numbers (l. 10) might indicate a draft, the fact that there are no spaces for their later insertion, artificial amounts (p. 68), no subscription, and corrections in another hand (ll. 2, 10), all point to “a scribe in training” (p. 71). *SB* 4.7434 (second century CE) might also be described as a practice document where the scribe wrote the opening of a contract and repeated it with different (fictitious?) names.

often in the literature the model or sample document can be confused with a draft or a form, and an attempt is made here to draw a clearer distinction between them.⁵ There are a number of examples dating from the Byzantine and Arabic periods,⁶ but the focus here will be on these documents up to the early fourth century CE.

Model Documents

A model document can be defined as one which is an exemplar of a type. It will likely have been written by a scribe establishing a model, learning a new procedure, or practising a text. The surviving examples indicate that these documents were not meant for circulation but served as a template: the defining feature is the use of the indefinite – usually *τις* or sometimes *δεῖνα*⁷ – where names, dates, titles, places and amounts are the variables and the rest of the content is relatively fixed.

It is clear that some of the models emanated from scribal offices of the administration. A distinction can be made between samples which are relatively complete model documents and those which are sample formulae. While both contain indefinites, scribes practicing sample formulae concentrate their efforts on particular sections of a document, but for a model document the scribe reproduces a complete (or relatively complete) sample.

⁵ For a list of model documents see *P.Berl.Cohen* 3, introduction, p. 21, and add: *P.Hamb.* 4.254. In his introduction to *P.Cohen* 3 the editor consistently refers to these models as “blank forms.”

⁶ Model documents from the fifth century CE onwards are also included in the list in *P.Berl.Cohen* 3, introduction, p. 21. See also examples on ostraca: *O.Bru.* 14 (38–43 CE, Thebaid), a declaration of birth, *O. Krok.* 1.79 (98–138 CE, Krokodilo), a grain account, and *O.Kell.* 148 (212 CE, Kellis), the end of a document; and on wooden tablets: *SB* 1.5941 (510 CE) a contract, *SB* 26.16507 (475 CE, Oxy.) extracts of three model documents on a single tablet, see A. Papathomas, “Eine spätantike griechische Holztafel mit drei Mustertexten juristischen Inhalts,” *APF* 45 (1999) 39–46, with n. 8 for further references.

⁷ One Roman period papyrus uses *δεῖνα* rather than *τις*, the formulary *P.Mich.* 2.122 (49 CE, Tebtunis), examined below. *O.Bru.* 14 substitutes *δεῖνα* for names on what may be designated a declaration of birth. See C. Sánchez-Moreno Ellart, “Ὑπομνήματα ἐπιγεννήσεως: The Greco-Egyptian Birth Returns in Roman Egypt and the Case of P. Petaus 1–2,” *APF* 56 (2010) 126–127. The indefinite *δεῖνα* seems to be favoured in later model documents e.g. *SB* 1.6000 (sixth century CE), *P.Rain.Unterricht* 109 *recto* (sixth century CE), and the wooden tablet *SB* 1.5941 (510 CE). Some magical texts write *δεῖνα* in the form of a symbol, e.g. *PGM* 2.78 has Δ, and *PGM* 8 has Δ with a tail at the base.

Four⁸ model documents on papyrus from the Roman period are extant:

Date	Reference	TM no.	Contents	Location
II CE	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 33.2677	26928	Deposit agreement	Oxyrhynchus
II CE	<i>P.Hamb.</i> 4.254	78276	Letter of Condolence	unknown
146–147 CE	<i>SB</i> 20.15004	14918	Declaration to βιβλιοφύλαξ	Arsinoite
II–III CE	<i>SB</i> 6.9226	27285	Surety/Lease	Sok.Nesos

The first, *P.Oxy.* 33.2677, appears to be a model document in every sense of the word. It is a contract of deposit in the form of a *cheirographon*, the opening of which comprises wholly of indefinites, which are carried through wherever variables may appear in the contract; there are no orthographic errors.⁹ This model was written on the back of a sheet cut from a larger account book.¹⁰ The papyrus is squarish in shape, the writing against the vertical fibres, with visible margins and a large space between the end of the text and the lower edge. The text is written as a single block and carefully laid out with an even left hand margin; there are no lines indented or separated from the main text – a layout not unusual for such contracts.¹¹ It is a generic example of a deposit contract with the usual guarantee and κυρία clauses but, as it is a sample, no signatures or subscriptions. While there are no examples matching the formulae exactly, it no doubt served as a template to be adapted according to requirements.

P.Oxy. 33.2677

τίς τινοσ τοῦ τινοσ μητ(ρός) τινός ποθέν
 τινί τινοσ τοῦ τινοσ μητ(ρός) τινός ποθεν
 χαίρειν. ὁμολογῶ ἔχειν παρὰ σοῦ διὰ

⁸ Another model, that of an oath to appear before the court of the prefect, is no. 15 in the PhD thesis of Dominic Montserrat, “An Edition, with Translation and Commentary, of Unpublished Papyrus Texts of the Roman Period from Oxyrhynchus,” which is available online. This model is written in a rapid cursive hand, against vertical fibres on a small piece of papyrus (200–203 CE, Oxyrhynchus). Where the indefinites occur they are abbreviated, see also *P.Hamb.* 4.254, below.

⁹ Bucking (n. 2) 234. Image available on the POxy: Oxyrhynchus Online website.

¹⁰ *P.Oxy.* 33, p. 113: on the other side “some accounts, legible only in part and cut off at the foot.”

¹¹ Compare, e.g., *PSI* 12.1253 (186 CE, Oxy.)

- χ[ε]ιρ[ὸ]ς ἐν παραθέσει ἀργ(υρίου) (δραχμάς) ποσὰς γί(νονται)
 (δραχμαὶ) ποσαί·
- 5 ἄς κ[α]ὶ [ἀ]ποδώσω σοι ὀπηνίκα ἐὰν αἰρή ἂν-
 υπε[ρ]θ[έ]τως. εἰ δὲ μή, ἐκτείσω σοι κατὰ τὸν
 [τῶν] παραθηκῶν νόμον γεινομένης
 σοι τῆς πράξεως ἕκ τε ἐμοῦ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑ-
 παρχόντων μοι πάντων καθάπερ ἐκ
- 10 δίκης. κυρία ἢ χειρ τῆς παραθήκης οὐσά μου
 τοῦ τινος ιδιόγραφος [δισ]σὴ γραφεῖσα παν-
 ταχῇ ἐπιφερομένη καὶ παντὶ τῷ ὑπὲρ σοῦ
 ἐπιφέροντι. (ἔτους) . [. .]

“X son of X and grandson of X, mother X, from X (*place*), to X son of X and grandson of X, mother X, from X (*place*), greetings. I acknowledge that I have received from you by hand on deposit X silver drachmas, which I will return to you whenever you choose, without delay. And if I do not, I will pay a forfeit to you in accordance with the law of deposits, you having the right of execution on me and on all my property just as by a court decision. The instrument of deposit being written in two copies by me X in my own hand, is valid, wherever produced and whoever produces it on your behalf. (*Date*).”

SB 6.9226 carries two model documents on a single sheet; the first is a surety or guarantee, and the second a proposal to lease an olive grove. The editor of this text believes the models to have an official character, probably written or transcribed in the office of the *nomographos*.¹² The presence of two sample documents on the same sheet may imply it was part of a longer papyrus or series of papyri carrying sample texts.¹³ In the absence of an image, the editor describes a papyrus in *pagina* format with evenly spaced top and bottom margins, each model with a heading on a single line before the start of the text.¹⁴ Both samples are complete. The

¹² J. Schwartz, “Un formulaire de nomographe,” *JJP* 4 (1950) 209–214; at p. 210 the editor states: “il s’agit d’un formulaire ... rédigé par un professionnel ...” – this document cannot be described as a form according to the criteria defined below. The suggestion by Schwartz on p. 213 that lines 8–9 should read instead ἐπακροῦσθου(το)ς τιγος ὑπη[ρέ]του seems reasonable.

¹³ The title given to this papyrus on papyri.info is “Abschnitt aus dem Formularbuch eines νομογράφος” – the presence of two sample documents on the same sheet may indeed suggest a “book” of formulae.

¹⁴ The headings are presented in *ekthesis* to the rest of the text in the edition, but this cannot be verified as reflecting the papyrus without the image. There is no information in the edition on the direction of the fibres.

guarantee under oath is a condensed version of many actual such documents and has most of the necessary elements.¹⁵ None of the extant proposals to lease for olive, or olive and palm groves, have all the elements present in this model in a single document, which perhaps indicates that the model could be adapted to more specific requirements.¹⁶ However, the opening formula (ll. 10–17) can be found in all of the olive grove proposals to lease. The way in which the text of the model document is laid out on the papyrus sheet is also significant: often in such lease agreements the opening section of the formula (τινὶ τινός ποθεν) is indented or separated from the text which follows, (παρά τίς τινος τοῦ τινός ποθεν), i.e. the *παρά* clause begins a new line; the layout of the opening lines appears in the model to be presented on the sheet in this same way.¹⁷ This perhaps implies that care was also taken to practice how the text was laid out on the sheet.

A complete document is found upside-down in the lower margin of a bank receipt for the sale of a camel.¹⁸ This is a model of a declaration to be made to the βιβλιοφύλαξ following the submission of a financial report for guardianship.

SB 20.15004

βιβ(λιοφύλαξι) δη(μοσίων) λόγ(ω)ν
 παρά τινος ἐπ(ιτροπού) τινος.
 κατεχώρισα ὑμεῖν
 λόγ(ον) λη(μμάτων) καὶ ἀναλω(μάτων)
 τῇ[ς] πρ[οκ(ειμένης)] ἐπ(ιτροπῆς) τοῦ θ (ἐτους)
 //καὶ [ἔσ]χον τὴν
 ἀπ[ο]χήν.

“To the heads of the archives of the public records from X guardian of Y. I have given you the report of the income and expenses relating to the aforementioned guardianship of the 9th year, and I have received the receipt.”

¹⁵ E.g. *P.Oxy.* 51.3602–3605 (215 CE, Ars.); *P.Oxy.* 43.3091 (216–217 CE, Oxy.).

¹⁶ There are six lease agreements for olive groves only, all from the Arsinoite nome (when known): *SB* 16.13012 (42 CE), *P.Mich.* 9.561 (102 CE), *P.Ryl.* 2.97 (unknown; 139 CE), *P.Lond.* 2.168 (162 CE), *CPR* 1.34 (217–223 CE), *P.Col.* 7.179 (300 CE).

¹⁷ E.g. *SB* 16.13012 (42 CE, Ars.), *P.Mich.* 9.561 (102 CE, Karanis), *P.Lond.* 2.168 (162 CE, Psenarpsenes), *P.Col.* 7.179 (300 CE, Karanis). Although there is no image for the model document, it is clear the *παρά* clause begins a new line.

¹⁸ *SB* 20.15004 (146–147 CE, Ars.). Cf. P. Schubert, “Bemerkungen zu BGU I 88,” *ZPE* 77 (1989) 189–190. The camel sale is *BGU* 1.88 (146–147 CE). Image available on the Berliner Papyrusdatenbank website.

In this instance a specific year is mentioned, but as the names of the guardian and ward have been replaced by indefinites, it is clearly a model text being practised in the space available at the end of the original document.

Another complete model document, *P.Hamb.* 4.254, is not one concerned with administration, rather it is a private letter of condolence. The existence of a sample document in a non-administrative setting suggests a scribe employed by a large household, or perhaps a street scribe. However, rather than it being an exemplary model, the editor of the text believes the number of orthographic and syntactic errors points to the sample having been composed from extracts of real examples.¹⁹ Evidence of ink in the top and left-hand margins and the writing running against vertical fibres (although on the smoothest side of the sheet), certainly point to the re-use of the papyrus for this purpose; this does not necessarily mean that it was used for a single occasion as suggested by the editor.²⁰ Again *τις* is used in place of names, but is abbreviated at each occurrence:

P.Hamb. 4.254.1–5

- 1 τί(ς) τι(νι) εὐθυμεῖν. τῆς ἀπευκταίας
- 2 μοι ἀγγελίας σημανθείσης περὶ τοῦ
- 3 εὐμύρου τι(νός) πῶς ἤχθέσθην πα-
- 4 νοικε(σία) οὐκ ἔχω τῷ λόγῳ παραστῆ-
- 5 σαι κτλ.

“X wishes X good courage. How much it saddened me and my whole family when the sad news of the passing of X was brought to me, I cannot describe in words.”

The text is written as a single block, with no indentations or distinction between lines – often in private letters the opening address is separated from the rest of the text, and many of the examples of letters of condolence follow this pattern; one does not.²¹ It appears that the scribe is not concerned here with how the text is presented on the sheet, but solely with the content.

¹⁹ *P.Hamb.* 4, p. 99. Image available on the website of the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg.

²⁰ *P.Hamb.* 4, p. 98.

²¹ E.g. *P.Oxy.* 1.115 (second century CE, Oxy.), *SB* 18.13946 (third–fourth century CE, Herm.), *P.Giss.* 1.97 (second century CE, Ars.); *SB* 14.11646 (first–second century CE, Bakchias?) is written as a single block of text with only the final salutation indented.

Sample Formulae

A sample formula, or formulary, is not a complete document but contains only sections of a document, with indefinites inserted for the variables, and usually no dates specified. There are four such examples on papyri up to the fourth century.

Date	Reference	TM no.	Contents	Location
49 CE	<i>P.Mich.</i> 2.122	11966	Grapheion reports	Tebtunis
270–275 CE	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 40.2927	16643	Corn dole/ Subscriptions	Oxyrhynchus
III CE	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 42.3075	30339	Opening of a will	Oxyrhynchus
early IV CE	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 49.3478	32487	Subscription	Oxyrhynchus

Two of these concern the business of administration: *P.Mich.* 2.122 is a sample register of contracts recorded in the grapheion, possibly written by the official in charge, a certain Kronion identified from other documents.²² Although there is a date specified for the drawing up of the document, the use of indefinites throughout clearly makes this a document of samples. This formulary makes particular use of δέινα rather than τις,²³ and the formulae closely resemble those found in other registers from the *grapheion*.²⁴ This is a large sheet (H × W = 27 × 24.5 cm), the writing is along the horizontal fibres, and there are traces of another column of sample formulae on the other side, written against the fibres, so that it appears the whole sheet was a compilation of formulae.

P.Mich. 2.122

- 19 . . . ζ (ἔτους) μη(νός) Σεβαστοῦ πόστη
 20 ὁμο(λογία) τοῦ δῖνος τοῦ δῖνος ε[ι]ς <τὸν δέινα> παραχωρήσεως
 κλήρου ἀρο(υρῶν) περὶ ποιάν²⁵ κώ[μην]

²² See *P.Mich.* 2.122.81. Image available on the APIS website of the University of Michigan.

²³ I can think of no apparent reason for this other than a preference. The scribe writes δῖνα for δέινα except at l. 35 (col. 1) where he correctly writes δέινα τοῦ δέινατος (see *P.Mich.* 2.122.83). See also n.7 above.

²⁴ This formulary closely resembles *P.Mich.* 2.121 verso, which does not however include the full nomenclature at each entry, e.g. *P.Mich.* 2.121 verso ll. 15–18: ὁμο(λογία) Ὑδρου καὶ ἄλλω(ν) πρὸς Ψοσνεο(ῶν) παραμο(νῆς) (δραχμῶν) ξ | μίσθ(ωσις) Κρονίω(νος) πρὸς(ς) Εἰρηναῖο(ν) (ἀρουρῶν) κδ | ὁμο(λογία) Ὀρσενο(ύφιος) πρὸς(ς) Ἀπολλῶ(νιον) ἐνοικήσε(ως) (δραχμῶν) ξ | πρᾶσις Παπνεβτνις(*) πρὸς(ς) Ὀρσεῦν (τετάρτου) μέ(ρους) τόπ(ου) ψεῖλ(οῦ)...

²⁵ Originally Πέαν κώ[μην] was read, and also on the following line – but see H.C. Youtie, “*P.Mich.* II 122,” *ZPE* 21 (1976) 206.

- 21 μεσιτέα τοῦ δῖνος τοῦ δῖνος πρὸς τὸν δῖνα κλήρου ἄρο(υρῶν)
 περὶ] ποιὰν κόμην
 22 πρᾶ(σις) τοῦ δῖνος τοῦ δῖνος [πρὸς τὸν δῖνα τοῦ δίνατος οἰκία[ς]
 καὶ αὐλῆ(ς) . . δε τινη()
 23 ὁμο(λογία) τοῦ δῖνος τοῦ δίνατος πρὸς τὸν δῖνα τοῦ δίνατος
 ὑπο[θ]ήκης οἰκία[ς] πρὸς ἀργ(υρίου) (δραχμάς)

“... Year 6, month Sebastos, the *n*th day. Agreement by A son of B with < C > to cede an allotment of X *arourai* at such-and-such a village. Mortgage by A son of B with C of an allotment of X *arourai* at such-and-such a village. Sale by A son of B with C son of D of a house and courtyard and other things ... Agreement by A son of B with C son of D to give a house in security for X silver drachma.”

These entries are followed by other sample formulae for registering different types of contract (col. 2), as well as the formula for an oath to be taken by the official after he has completed his report (lines 27–33). This document certainly raises the possibility that scribes in various administrative offices worked from model “books.” However the layout is haphazard: the information is spread between two uneven columns, with different line lengths, the second column compressed into the top right hand corner of the sheet. There are dividing lines and some spacing between some of the formulae, so an attempt was made at some regularity. It is likely the scribe copied the formulae from other documents: for example at lines 7–8 while copying ὁκοινομημενδι (ὁκοινομημέναι) the scribe mistook the final *alpha* for *delta*.

A second formulaary, also from an administrative office, *P.Oxy.* 40.2927, contains a total of eight formulae – the first three are headings for different categories relating to the corn dole, the remaining five are model subscriptions with τις for the names.²⁶ There are examples of similar formulae.²⁷ This is also a large sheet ($H \times W = 23.5 \times 32.5$ cm), the writing along horizontal fibres, which may imply the papyrus was used for this purpose in the first instance, and each of the formulae are separated on the sheet by a one or two line space. On the other side (*P.Oxy.* 40.2928), written against the vertical fibres, there is a list of totals which may also be connected to the corn dole – these two columns take up the top third

²⁶ Image available on the POxy: Oxyrhynchus Online website.

²⁷ Cf. *P.Oxy.* 40.2927, introduction; and Bucking (n. 2) 235–236 for an analysis of the formulae.

of the sheet and there is other faint writing upside down on this side.²⁸ While the formulae of *P.Oxy.* 40.2927 were originally neatly aligned, the wide bottom margin appears to have been used as a place for a quick note, as evidenced by a list of numbers, some indecipherable lines, and some notes written upside-down. This gives the impression of a formulary lying around the *scriptorium* and used to jot down notes in a hurry. The formulae are free from orthographic errors, but there are scribal deletions (line 1, where another word is overwritten, line 7, where a phrase is struck through), and brackets excluding some words (but not striking them through) (lines 7, 8), indicating that this exemplar was adjusted either during writing, and/or afterwards, perhaps by the same hand as some additions earlier in the text.²⁹

Other surviving formularies concern private documentation and, compared to the administrative exemplars, have been found on smaller slips of papyrus and contain a single formula. The sample subscription by a witness to the opening of a will in *P.Oxy.* 42.3075 is written on a small fragment ($H \times W = 7.5 \times 5.5$ cm) and contains one sentence, the name being the only variable.³⁰

P.Oxy. 42.3075

- 1 [. . . .] . . τῖς τινος παρή-
- 2 [μην τῆς] διαθήκης ἀν[ο]ι-
- 3 [γομένης καὶ ἐπέγνω
- 4 [.] . σφραγεῖδα
- 5 [.] .

“I X, son of X, was present at the opening of the will and recognised (my?) seal.”

The editor posits that the missing part of the first line might “designate the documentary type, as in *SB* 9226” (see under models above). The papyrus was likely re-used and turned to accommodate the writing along horizontal fibres.³¹

Another subscription formula can be found in *P.Oxy.* 49.3478, that of a settlement agreement (διάλυσις).³² Written with the fibres, the back

²⁸ *P.Oxy.* 40.2928, 89.

²⁹ See *P.Oxy.* 40.2927.15n.; on orthographic errors see Bucking (n. 2) 235.

³⁰ Image available on the POxy: Oxyrhynchus Online website.

³¹ Cf. *P.Oxy.* 42.3075, introduction.

³² Image available on the POxy: Oxyrhynchus Online website.

blank, the dimensions of the fragment ($H \times W = 7.4 \times 27$ cm) and the irregular top edge all suggest that this was part of a more substantial text which may have contained a complete model document.³³ There are no exact parallels, but the general sense of the formula can be found in actual subscriptions to this particular type of document.³⁴

Draft

A draft document is by definition a precursor to the main event; it is the preliminary version of a document where mistakes, corrections, deletions, and insertions can be made before the finished document is drawn up. The draft can be distinguished from the model document by the fact that it is drawn up for a specific occasion and as such often has particular names and dates included. It is considered a draft because it contains the precise information needed for the scribe to produce the final version, but is not the fair copy. A close examination of draft documents highlights some common criteria; drafts may have some or all of the following:

- mistakes, corrections, deletions, and insertions;
- inclusion of specific names, placenames, and dates;
- may mention sender but not addressee or *vice versa*;
- may remain unfinished;
- usually has no closing salutation;
- no signatories;
- often written on a re-used sheet of papyrus;
- may not be the main text on the sheet;
- may bear no relationship to other texts on the sheet.

There is a wide variety of content ranging from letters and petitions,³⁵ to wills, reports, and accounts.³⁶ *P.Mich.* 10.582 (col. 2) (49–50 CE, Philadelpheia) may serve as an example which fulfills many of the above

³³ *P.Oxy.* 49.3478, introduction.

³⁴ E.g. *P.Oxy.* 16.1880 (427 CE, Oxy.), *SB* 13.11896 (425–250 CE, Herm.); cf. *P.Oxy.* 49.3478, introduction.

³⁵ Petitions appear to be by far the most drafted type of document with examples ranging from the third century BCE – e.g. *P.Cair.Zen.* 4.59620 (248–239 BCE, Ars.) and 4.59621, a copy of the same petition with an amended ending – into the sixth century CE, e.g. *P.Cair.Masp.* 1.67009 (567–570 CE), or 3.67352 (548–551 CE), petitions from the archive of Dioskoros of Aphroditos.

³⁶ A list of draft documents is certain to be incomplete – there are many examples where the criteria have been met but the description is not specific.

criteria.³⁷ This draft petition was written on a re-used sheet of papyrus containing the remnants of a tax list, to which it bears no relation. There are interlinear corrections and some deletions, an addressee but no sender, and the text includes specific names and dates relating to the petition; there is no closing salutation or signatories. Corrections, deletions, and insertions are an obvious sign of a draft text, e.g. the heavily corrected petition of Zenon,³⁸ or the different hands correcting the petition of Ptolemaios.³⁹

Drafts are very often written on re-used sheets: an official letter to the *strategos* was drafted on the *protokollon* of a roll, the first sheet of which carried some accounts.⁴⁰ A draft petition by a former *sitologos* runs to three columns with many corrections; this sheet was used first for a report,⁴¹ after which, more than a decade later, the draft was drawn up on the other side,⁴² and then at a later stage some accounts were scribbled in the margins on both sides.⁴³ A draft statement of guarantee was written in the space following a wet-nurse contract, by the same hand, but is unconnected to the contract.⁴⁴ A fair copy⁴⁵ of a draft letter from the *oikonomos* Apollonios⁴⁶ is itself later re-used for another draft letter⁴⁷ and a grain list,⁴⁸ all over a period of months.

Some drafts are found to be written after a model version on the same sheet. P.Berl.Cohen 3 (second–third century CE, Soknopaiou Nesos) contains the texts of two tax receipts in two different hands, the first of which contains indefinites for the names but completes the payment information (lines 1–2); the other details payments complete with names and amounts (lines 3–6), repeating the formula almost exactly from the first line of the papyrus. The writing is against the fibres of a sheet where the other side is blank. The exemplar of the first two lines was copied as a draft (note the scribal error on line 3) presumably before being drawn up properly.

³⁷ Image available on the APIS website of the University of Michigan.

³⁸ *P.Cair.Zen.* 5.59832 (246 BCE, Philadelphia).

³⁹ *UPZ* 1.43 (164–161 BCE, Memphis).

⁴⁰ *P.Tebt.* 1.13 (114 BCE, Tebtunis).

⁴¹ *P.Mich.* 18.786 (167 CE, Oxy.).

⁴² *P.Mich.* 18.787 (181–183 CE, Oxy.).

⁴³ *P.Mich.* 11.619 (c. 182 CE, Oxy.?).

⁴⁴ *BGU* 4.1160 (5–4 BCE, Alex.).

⁴⁵ *P.Köln* 6.263 (February 213 BCE, Ars.).

⁴⁶ *P.Köln* 6.264 *recto* (February 213 BCE, Ars.).

⁴⁷ *P.Köln* 12.478.27–37 (March 213 BCE, Ars.).

⁴⁸ *P.Köln* 12.478.1–26 (June/July 213 BCE, Ars.).

A receipt for payment of beer tax is written twice, in two different hands, once on either side of a small slip of papyrus (H × W = 8.5 × 6.5 cm).⁴⁹ The text on both sides is identical, with the same date and amounts; the example written against the fibres supplies Αὐρ]ήλ(ιός) τίς τινος for the name (line 4), but the name at this point on the other side is lost. A large bottom margin on both sides indicates that the fragment contained these texts only. The writing against the fibres is more practised than that on the other side; it appears a more experienced scribe wrote the model and the draft was drawn up on the other side by a slow writer.

A draft instruction to register a loan can be found on the other side of a register of receipts for special taxes relating to a particular region.⁵⁰ The instruction makes up the third of nine columns (of which only the first three are legible), and follows two letters from a *beneficarius* to other officials. The opening address uses indefinites for names, τινὰ παρά τινος, but further down specific names, a place-name, and date are included. In this instance, as the document contains all the precise information needed to produce the final version, apart from the heading, and it clearly refers to a very particular situation, it cannot be said to be a model document but must be categorised a draft. Similarly, a document modifying a previous agreement omits the names of the parties involved and opens with τίς τινι χαίρει[v], but continues with specific information regarding the original contract; coupled with the corrections and lack of subscription, this must also be called a draft.⁵¹

A curious document initially defies categorisation as either a model or a draft: *P.Oxy* 7.1034 (second century CE, Oxy.) is part of a will which, while it specifically states that the heirs will be a daughter, her foster-brother, and a third person, substitutes indefinites for their names:

P.Oxy 7.1034

κληρονόμους καταλείπω τὴν θυγατέρ[α]
μου τινὰ καὶ τὸν {τον} σύντροφον αὐτῆς
τινὰ καὶ τινὰ

“I leave as my heirs my daughter X, and her foster-brother Y, and Z”

It also gives some information on the property to be bequeathed, although there are lacunae where the place-names might be. However, given the

⁴⁹ *BGU* 13.2286 (c. 212 CE).

⁵⁰ *P.Lond.* 3.1157 verso (246 CE, Herm.).

⁵¹ *P.Oxy.* 3.509 (late second century CE, Oxy.).

correction on the second line, the errors in the sentence construction at lines 5–6 (*P.Oxy* 7.1034 n. 3–6), and the fact that there are some lines of a much corrected account on the other side, the conclusion must be that it is indeed a draft of a will as the original edition states.

Some drafts have been practiced more than once. Zenon drew up his petition to the king twice, making an amendment to the final lines in his second draft.⁵² Two drafts of a petition from a prisoner asking for his release were drawn up on either side of a single sheet,⁵³ as was a letter from Zenon regarding an amount of grain.⁵⁴

In some cases both the draft and fair copy of a document have survived. A draft of the marriage contract between Hermias and Thaubarion was written along the fibres on one side of a sheet of papyrus, while a fair copy was written against the fibres on the other side.⁵⁵ A draft reply by Menches the κωμογραμματεὺς concerning a farmers strike is hastily drafted below a letter from Horos the βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς; but on the same day Menches wrote a better version to be forwarded to his superior.⁵⁶

Form

Descriptions of models, samples, and drafts in the literature often refer to “forms,” or “blank forms,” which is somewhat misleading. A form (formulaire, formular) is a document with the standard formulae already written and blank spaces, or windows,⁵⁷ into which variable details can be later entered. Papyri which have τις or δεῖν in place of variables cannot be defined as a form as there are no spaces to insert the information. Key features for the definition of a form on papyrus are the presence of different hands at certain points in the text, or windows where another hand may, or may not, have entered further information or a signature.

⁵² *P.Cair.Zen.* 4.59620 and 59621 (248–239 BCE, Philadelphia).

⁵³ *P.Coll.Youtie* 1.12 (177 BCE, Tebtunis).

⁵⁴ *P.Zen.Pestm.* 56 (251 BCE, Philadelphia).

⁵⁵ *SB* 24.16072, the draft and 16073, the fair copy (12 BCE, Alexandria).

⁵⁶ *P.Tebt.* 1.26, the draft, and *P.Tebt.* 4.1099, the fair copy (both 9th November 114 BCE, Kerkeosiris).

⁵⁷ P. Schubert, “Who needed writing in Graeco-Roman Egypt, and for what purpose? Document layout as a tool of literacy,” in A. Kolb, *Literacy in Ancient Everyday Life* (Berlin 2018) 335–350; cf. especially p. 340 (“windows,” spaces left purposely blank for someone else to fill in at a definite stage of the procedure).

There are many examples of forms following these criteria in the corpus: *SB* 5.7532 (74 BCE, Nilopolis), is a six-witness loan agreement in the form of a double document, where blank spaces have been left in both the inner and outer scripts for the name of the creditor. This may have facilitated the transfer of the loan to another creditor in the future.⁵⁸ Another Ptolemaic loan agreement has a distinct change of hand at the point where the loan amount is entered in two places in the contract, signifying its later insertion into deliberate blank spaces.⁵⁹

Different hands are also discernible in *SB* 16.12648 (338 CE, Oxy.) a declaration of prices drawn up for the guilds of Oxyrhynchus and was clearly prepared in advance with blank spaces for the inclusion of specific information at particular points in the document. Of the six columns, the first four show a single scribe wrote the main text while a different hand entered the variable information each time, and yet another signed under a line after the text on each column. The main text in the two final columns is written by a different scribe, and here the windows are clearly visible where the information has not been entered.⁶⁰

There are clear instances of form filling to be seen in the certificates of pagan sacrifice (or *libelli*) found in third century Theadelphia.⁶¹ A declaration had to be made by individuals in each village as the procedure of sacrificing and tasting was witnessed by officials. To make the whole process move smoothly, the main text of the document was prepared by one scribe and windows left blank on the document for the insertion of official signatures at the time of declaration, e.g. *P.Ryl.* 2.112a: the opening address and statement of sacrifice was written in advance by a scribe (lines 1–9), who also wrote the date at the end of the document, on the bottom of the sheet (lines 13–15); a clear space was left on the sheet for a statement to be written by another scribe at the time of the declarant's sacrifice (lines 10–11), and this was further followed by an official signature in another hand (line 12).⁶²

⁵⁸ On this document and other possible examples see E. Berneker, "Blanketterklärungen in Papyrusurkunden," in *Ius et commercium. Studien zum Handels- und Wirtschaftsrecht. Festschrift für Franz Laufke* (Würzburg 1971) 11–32. Also mentioned by Berneker is *P.Merton* 1.6 where the name of the debtor differs in the inner and outer scripts, but the use of spaces here is not so clear cut (p. 19).

⁵⁹ *P.Ryl.* 4.586 (99 CE, Oxy.) now with *SB* 6.9225 = TM 5736; cf. Berneker (n. 58) 20.

⁶⁰ Image available on the Digitised Manuscripts website of the British Library (*Papyrus* 760).

⁶¹ P. Schubert, "On the Form and Content of Certificates of Pagan Sacrifice," *JRS* 106 (2016) 172–198; for a recent list cf. 192–194.

⁶² Cf. <https://grammateus.unige.ch/document/12907> for an image.

Another example of administrative form filling can be noted in the production of *penthemeros* receipts, a type of certification provided upon completion of the compulsory maintenance of dykes and canals.⁶³ These receipts were produced in large numbers and were drawn up in the office of an official whose scribe began the form with the full regnal year followed by a statement that the work was completed in that same year. After this the remaining information was inserted by another hand, at the site of work, with the specific date of the labour and the location; the name of the labourer may be added in yet another hand, before one or more final official signature.⁶⁴

The structured layout of *libelli* and *penthemeros* receipts are clear examples of forms with pre-filled information, windows for the later completion of the document, and more than one hand involved in the process. Such forms are themselves a type of model document which certainly facilitated their reproduction in an easy and consistent manner.⁶⁵

Summary

While some documents may be less easily distinguished as a model, sample formulary, draft, or form, it is useful to have some basic parameters by which to categorise them. In summary, a model document is one which serves as a template for a particular type of document and which uses indefinites for the variable elements. In a sample formulary, particular formulaic phrases are modelled and indefinites are also used for the variables. The evidence for these models appears to come overwhelmingly from the administration and it is probably safe to say that these models were an essential tool for both the apprentice and professional scribe. A draft, on the other hand, is a practice document which contains specific information, and where there are often amendments to the text; the evidence for these may be found in both the administrative and private arenas, with letters and petitions featuring often. Finally, forms are documents with pre-filled information and windows left for the addition of further information later; the evidence for these appears to be mostly administrative.

⁶³ On this type of document see P. Sijpesteijn, *Penthemeros-certificates in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (Leiden 1964). There are more than 400 published *penthemeros* receipts; for a list consult *P.Col.* 10, p. 256, introduction.

⁶⁴ E.g. *P.Mich.* 15.690 (first century CE, Sok. Nesos), image on the APIS website of the University of Michigan; *SB* 16.12860 (87–88 CE, Philadelphia), image on the Berliner Papyrusdatenbank website.

⁶⁵ P. Schubert (n. 61), especially p. 187.

	Amendments	Indefinites	Names	Dates	Windows	Re-used sheet
Model		•				•
Formulary	•	•				•
Draft	•		•	•		•
Form			•	•	•	

CPR 18.11 REVISITED

Rob Kugler *Lewis & Clark College*

Abstract. — CPR 18.11 (September/October 232 BCE, Theogenis) is an entry in a contracts register that combines a lease for a portion of a garden with a labor for wages agreement. Neither the treatment offered in CPR 18 nor the one in the recent re-edition of the text in CPJ 4 satisfactorily addresses the text's unusual features. Fresh analysis suggests that CPR 18.11 was designed to restore a προσφορά-like arrangement for shared use of the garden entailed in a cancelled marriage agreement (CPR 18.9); that the features of the contract abstract suggest the garden portion had been cultivated as a new vineyard shortly before the marriage ended; and that the land-sharing agreement was extended beyond the end of the marriage in recognition of the extended time necessary for new vineyards to produce remunerative crops.

Keywords: register of contracts, land lease, labor contract, vineyard

Two actions documented in a third century BCE contracts register from Theogenis – the return of a dowry combined with the cancellation of a marriage contract (CPR 18.9) and the lease of a third of a garden (CPR 18.11) – were taken within a month of each other by the same two parties, a Jewish woman and her former son-in-law, also a Jew. That the two acts were somehow related seems certain. Indeed, the editor of the contracts register, Bärbel Kramer, has suggested that a supplementary, Jewish marriage contract, a *ketubah*, which was not canceled by the return of the dowry, explains the relationship between the two events, as well as several features in the lease contract that she regards as peculiar.¹ By way of a fresh examination of CPR 18.11, this article critiques Kramer's hypothesis and offers an alternative explanation for the relationship between the two actions, as well as for the features of the lease which Kramer views as unusual. I argue that the contract abstracted in CPR 18.11 restores a προσφορά-style agreement that accompanied the dowry, whereby the wife and husband enjoyed the use of land belonging to the wife's parent(s) without the land being included in the dowry and subject to liquidation by the groom. While the agreement was vitiated by the dissolution of the marriage and control of the land reverted to the former mother-in-law,

¹ CPR 18, pp. 39–40, 157–160.

features of the contract abstract indicate that the erstwhile son-in-law had started to cultivate the land as a vineyard and had not yet realized a return on his investment; the land contract was intended to ensure that he had the opportunity to achieve that purpose even after the dissolution of the marriage.

Kramer on CPR 18.9 and 18.11: A Critique

The earlier of the two actions is documented in the contracts register in the form of a receipt for the restitution of a dowry because of a marital dissolution, *CPR* 18.9 (col. 5, lines 174–182). Executed in August/September 232 BCE, the receipt is Philoumene's acknowledgement that Menestratos had returned the five hundred copper drachmas he had accepted from her as a dowry when he married her (unnamed) daughter. The receipt also records Philoumene's promise to cancel, in Menestratos's presence, the marriage contract deposited in the public archive.²

Within the ensuing month, sometime in September/October 232 BCE, Philoumene leased to Menestratos a third of a plot of garden land in her possession. An abstract of the lease contract appears in *CPR* 18.11 (col. 6, lines 210–225 of the contracts register). While the actual contract certainly included far more details, the abstract must have reported the most critical elements of the lease agreement.³

Samareia, September 9–October 10, 232 BCE

- 210 Φιλουμένη Διοκλέους Ἰουδαία μετὰ κυρίου
τοῦ αὐτῆς ἀδελφοῦ Πυθοκλέους τοῦ Διο-
κλέους Ἰουδαίου τῆς ἐπιγονῆς ἐμίσθωσεν
Μενεστράτῳ Ἰωναθοῦ Ἰουδαίου[ι] τῆς
ἐπιγονῆς τοῦ ὑπάρχοντος αὐτῇ
215 παραδείσου περὶ Σαμαρείαν τὸ τρίτον μέ-

² The date of 232 BCE proposed by Kramer for the contracts register, challenged by Klaus Maresch, *Bronze und Silber. Papyrologische Beiträge zur Geschichte der Währung im ptolemäischen und römischen Ägypten bis zum 2. Jahrhundert n. Chr.* (Wiesbaden 1996) 76–81, was recently reconfirmed by Christelle Fischer-Bovet and Willy Clarysse, "Silver and Bronze Standards and the Date of P. Heid. VI 383," *APF* 58 (2012) 26–35, esp. 39.

³ The transcription follows that offered in *CPR* 18 (and duplicated as *CPJ* 4.595d). I omit lines 226–236, which provide the usual physical description of the parties to the contract; on the passage see Itzhak Fikhman, "The Physical Appearance of Egyptian Jews According to the Greek Papyri," *SCI* 18 (1990) 131–138.

- ρος εἰς ἔτη τέσσαρα ἀπὸ μ[η]νὸς Δαῖσιου
 τοῦ ις (ἔτους) φόρου καθ' ἔτος χαλκοῦ (δραχμῶν) ἀκο-
 σίωv, ἃς καὶ ἀπέχει τῶν τεσ[σάρ]ωv ἑτ[ῶν].
 ἐργαζέσθω δὲ Μεν[έστρα]τος τοῦ π[α-]
 220 ραδεῖσου τὰ ἐφέτεια ἑ[ργα] τὰ εἰθισμέν[α]
 λαμβάνων παρὰ Φιλου[μένη]ς τοὺς καθή-
 κοντας μισθοὺς, τῶν δ[ὲ] δημο]σίωv . [ca.?]
 αὐτὸς εἰς τὸ τρίτομ μέ[ρος] . .] . . γείτω.
 συγγραφοφύλαξ Θεόδ[ωρ]ος Θεοδόρου
 225 Ἰουδαῖος τῆς ἐπιγονῆς.

“Philoumene, daughter of Diokles, a Jew with her guardian, her brother, Pythokles, son of Diokles, Jew of the Epigone, has leased to Menestratos, son of Jonathas, Jew of the Epigone, one third of the garden belonging to her near Samareia for four years from the month of Daisios of year 16 at the annual rent of four (?) hundred⁴ copper drachmas, which she receives in full for four years. Menestratos shall perform the annual customary work (agricultural) pertaining to the garden, receiving from Philoumene the proper wages, and for the taxes for the one-third share he shall⁵ ...

Keeper of the contract, Theodoros son of Theodoros, Jew of the Epigone.”

Kramer regards the length of the lease as unusual, drawing attention to the infrequency of Ptolemaic-era leases of farmland lasting more than one to two years.⁶ Likewise, she regards the prepayment of rent peculiar, saying that would usually signal a πρόδομα agreement, in which the lessee loans the lessor capital by the prepayment of rent; but the abstract gives no hint of arrangements for repayment, as would be expected in a πρόδομα

⁴ Kramer suggests that ἀκοσίωv in lines 217–218 can be read as τετρακοσίωv (CPR 18, p. 159).

⁵ To complete . . γείτω in line 223 Kramer thinks ὑπο]λογεῖτω is most likely, in which case Menestratos would deduct the taxes for his one-third share in the garden's use (CPR 18, p. 159). Recognizing the logical difficulties of that provision – e.g., he had prepaid the rent! – she suggests, among other possibilities that χορηγέω was the verb in use here. That certainly makes more sense in the context. See further below.

⁶ CPR 18, pp. 157–158, and nn. 434 and 435, citing a survey of Ptolemaic land leases in Dieter Hennig, *Untersuchungen zur Bodenpacht im ptolemäisch-römischen Ägypten* (Munich 1967) 173–200, 355–356. Kramer (157) notes the exceptions, compiled by Hennig: a seven-year lease *P.Petr.* 2.44 (Arsinoite nome, 241 BCE), a five-year lease in *P.Tebt.* 1.105 (Kerkeosiris, 103 BCE), and five three-year leases in *P.Tebt.* 3.1.815. fr.2.2.31–36 (Tebtynis, 222/221 BCE); *P.Freib.* 3.21 and 22 (both Philadelphieia, 178 BCE); *P.Tebt.* 1.106 (Ptolemais Euergetis, 101 BCE); and *SB* 6.9612 (Theogenis, 88/77 BCE).

agreement.⁷ And she thinks the agreement expressed in lines 219–222 that Menestratos perform work in the garden to earn wages “[m]erkwürdig und ungewöhnlich,” especially if it meant working the same land he leased.⁸

Kramer explains the connection between the lease contract and the dowry restitution, as well as the features in the lease contract she deems irregular, with the suggestion that Menestratos had obliged himself further to Philoumene and her daughter with a Jewish *ketubah*, a supplementary marriage agreement which Kramer understands to have entailed a bride price and an additional sum of money for the care of the woman. Kramer argues that returning the dowry did not erase Menestratos’s obligations under the *ketubah*. Thus, the lease contract and agreement to work constituted the arrangement Philoumene and Menestratos made to ensure that Menestratos fulfilled his outstanding obligations related to the *ketubah*. On this reading of the lease agreement, the prepayment of rent was a fiction, merely a declaration of the amount Menestratos still owed Philoumene in connection to the *ketubah*, which he would pay off with his labor in the portion of the garden he leased over the course of four years. As to the wages Philoumene obliged herself to pay, Kramer believes they must have been for Menestratos’s work in the other two thirds of the garden.⁹

Kramer’s hypothesis is problematic if for no other reason than the lateness of the institution of the Jewish *ketubah* relative to this text. The *ketubah* as Kramer conceives it was unknown among the Jews of Hellenistic Egypt, and the earliest purported evidence of it as Kramer understands it is *P.Yadin* 10, a cancelled marriage contract on papyrus from the Judaean desert that dates to the first quarter of the second century CE, and even that identification is to be doubted; in fact, the *ketubah* is more likely a substantially later rabbinic innovation, first originating as late as the fifth century CE.¹⁰ It seems very unlikely that the terms of *CPR* 18.11

⁷ *CPR* 18, p. 157.

⁸ *CPR* 18, p. 157.

⁹ *CPR* 18, pp. 39–40, 157–158; see also *CPJ* 4, p. 180 for repetition of the view that the wages must have been for work done in the other two-thirds of the garden (called there an orchard).

¹⁰ For the text of *P.Yadin* 10 with substantial commentary, see Y. Yadin, J. Greenfield, and A. Yardeni, “Babtaha’s ‘Ketubba’,” *IEJ* 44 (1994) 75–101. Michael Satlow, “Marriage Payments and Succession Strategies in the Documents from the Judaean Desert,” in R. Katsoff and D. Schaps (eds.), *Law in the Documents of the Judaean Desert* (Leiden 2005) 51–65, esp. 58–59, argues that the reference to a *ketubah* in *P.Yadin* 10 actually refers only to the conventional dowry of the Greco-Roman era marriage contracts; and in his essay, “Reconsidering the Rabbinic *Ketubah* Payment,” in S.J.D. Cohen (ed.), *The Jewish Family in Antiquity* (Atlanta 1993) 133–151, Satlow shows that the full-blown *ketubah*

can be explained as a means by which Menestratos fulfilled unmet obligations relating to a Jewish *ketubah*.

The editor of this text in the recently-published *CPJ* 4, Zsuzsanna Szántó (basing her work on that of Itzhak Fikhman), also rejects the idea that a *ketubah* explains the contract abstract. Instead, she offers the “simpler explanation ... that Menestratos had worked in the orchard while still married to Philoumene’s daughter, and now that the marriage was dissolved, in order to continue making his living out of the orchard, he had to accept his mother-in-law’s special conditions (payment in advance; work in her part of the orchard).”¹¹ According to Szántó the latter feature explains the wages Philoumene paid to Menestratos – they compensated him for his work in her portion of the plot.¹²

While indeed simpler, this explanation does not account for why Menestratos worked the land while married to Philoumene in the first place; it assumes without clear evidence in the text that the contract’s terms concern Menestratos’s third of the land *and* the two-thirds still under Philoumene’s control; and it overlooks the possibility that a particular sort of land-lease contract, one for land to be cultivated as a vineyard, can explain nearly all of the features of this contract abstract without recourse to the idea that this is a hybrid land-lease and work-for-wages contract.

*An Alternative Explanation for the Relationship between
CPR 18.9 and 18.11*

So, what might explain the fact that Menestratos and Philoumene ended a legal relationship between them founded on his marriage to her daughter only to immediately create a new legal bond through the lease contract?

A possible solution to this puzzle lies in turning on its head the premise Kramer started with in trying to explain the connection between the two actions. She supposed that the lease contract was meant to provide

(such as Kramer’s hypothesis relies on) only appears first in fifth century CE rabbinic writings. See now, however, J.G. Oudshoorn, *The Relations between Roman and Local Law in the Babatha and Salome Komaise Archives: General Analysis and Three Case Studies on Law of Succession, Guardianship and Marriage* (Leiden 2007) 379–398, who argues that the term *ketubah* in *P.Yadin* 10 does have the meaning Kramer ascribes to it. Even if Oudshoorn is correct, though, *CPR* 18.11 still predates *P.Yadin* 10 by three-and-a-half centuries.

¹¹ *CPJ* 4, p. 180.

¹² *CPJ* 4, p. 180.

a means to enforce unfulfilled obligations stemming from the dissolved marital union. An alternative is that it was meant to restore circumstances undone by the dissolution of the marriage and the return of the dowry. A Greek dotal institution named and formalized in the Roman era as the *προσφορά* might be the circumstance that Philoumene and Menestratos sought to restore with the lease agreement. Let me explain.

The Roman-era *προσφορά* evolved from the Greek dotal system.¹³ It amounted to an extra-dotal category by which a bride's parents gave to the newlyweds usufruct of land and/or slaves owned by the bride's parents. As *προσφορά* – property not included in the *φερνή*, the dowry – the husband could not alienate it as he might items included in the dowry, only the value of which he normally had to return to the woman's parents if a marriage ended. Thus, in the event of a divorce or a woman's death, the husband would be called upon to restore property designated as *προσφορά* (not merely its value, were it given as part of the dowry). Uri Yiftach-Firanko remarks that in this way, the legal instrument of the *προσφορά* “liberated the wife from her husband's control of her most valuable assets,” and that the arrangement could also “secure for the new family a reliable source of income.”¹⁴

While the *προσφορά* is first attested by name in the early Roman period, there was nothing to prevent Ptolemaic-era parents of brides from devising ways to achieve the goals of the *προσφορά* even in the absence of the formal, named legal instrument. Indeed, such practices were probably an important step along the way toward the development of the formal *προσφορά*. SB 6.8974 (Bousiris [Herakleopolite nome], early first century BCE), a copy of a *συνοικεσίου συγγραφή*, is evidence of the Ptolemaic-era stage of development. In a section that stands apart from the description of the contents of the *φερνή*, the bride's father, a man named Zosios, gives his unnamed daughter and her husband Nearchos the right to cultivate for their own *καρπεία* a tract of land belonging to him, only asking that they give him the produce from three *arouras* of the fifteen-*aroura* parcel to sustain him (lines 24–30). In other words, Zosios devised a marital agreement that included a stipulation which functioned very much like a *προσφορά*; only the term itself was missing.¹⁵

¹³ On the development and nature of the *προσφορά*, see Uri Yiftach-Firanko, *Marriage and Marital Arrangements: A History of the Greek Marriage Document in Egypt, 4th Century BCE–4th Century CE* (Munich 2003) 164–175.

¹⁴ Yiftach-Firanko (n. 13) 140, 167.

¹⁵ On SB 6.8974 exemplifying something of a proto-*προσφορά*, see Yiftach-Firanko (n. 13) 111–113, n. 9, 139, 166. See also my discussion of the *προσφορά*-like circumstances

With the arrangement in *SB* 6.8974 between Nearchos and Zosios in mind, it is easy to see how the lease contract which Philoumene and Menestratos agreed to in *CPR* 18.11 might have been intended to restore a similar arrangement established between them in the marriage contract that governed the union of Menestratos and Philoumene's daughter. On this reading, Philoumene had included in the marriage contract a grant to Menestratos and her daughter the use and cultivation of a portion of her garden as part of the *φερνή* she provided for the couple – they were to enjoy its *καρπεία* so long as they were married. When the marriage came to an end, so did the land-sharing agreement. The lease agreement abstracted in *CPR* 18.11 can be understood as a means to restore the land-sharing arrangement, albeit under new, more conventional land lease conditions for both parties.

Even if I am right that the lease contract might have been intended to restore a *προσφορά*-like land-sharing arrangement that was obviated by the dissolution of Menestratos's marriage to Philoumene's daughter, this does not answer the question of *why* one or both parties would want or need to renew the arrangement, and on such different terms for both of them. The answer to this question lies in examining the features in the contract abstract that Kramer found to be peculiar in comparison with a contract for the lease of land for a vineyard and related texts.

P.Col. 4.79 (Philadelphia, before 246 BCE) is a thirty-two-line fragment of a contract that the editors think originally extended to two columns of text.¹⁶ It sets out a lease for a new vineyard within the well-documented 10,000 *aroura* estate managed by Zenon (cf. *τὰς μυρίας* *ἄρ(ούρας)*, column 1, line 2; and *Ζήνων[ι]*, line 4). That the text says of the lessee, *ἀναγαγέτω ὑπο[στυλίζων]*, “let him lay out [the vineyard], propping [the vines]” (line 8), and that he received from the lessor *χάρακα καὶ φλοῦν*, “props [for the vines] and bark,” suggest to the editors that the vineyard is new.¹⁷ Also suggesting to the editors that the vineyard is

that gave rise to *P.Polit.Iud.* 3 and 5, petitions to the Jewish *πολίτευμα* in Herakleopolis, in *Resolving Disputes in Second Century BCE Herakleopolis: A Study in Jewish Legal Reasoning in Hellenistic Egypt* (Leiden 2022). There I also explicate how the Elephantine Aramaic papyri hint that this practice may have been developing among the Jews or Egypt as early as the fifth century BCE and I point to its possible roots in legal principles derived from Torah (see esp. Lev 25:23; Num 27:1–12; 36:6–9).

¹⁶ *P.Col.* 4, pp. 62–65; see also the text's republication in John S. Kloppenborg, *The Tenants in the Vineyard: Ideology, Economics, and Agrarian Conflict in Jewish Palestine* (Tübingen 2006) 412–416.

¹⁷ *P.Col.* 4, pp. 62, 64–65; for the use of the verbs *ἀνάγω* and *ὑποστυλίζω* and the terms *χάραξ* and *φλόος* in texts related to new vineyards, see Michael Schnebel, *Die Landwirtschaft im hellenistischen Ägypten* (Munich 1925) 244, n. 4, 255–256, 261, n. 3.

newly or recently planted is a 25% discount in rent for the first year relative to the third year of the lease – in the first year the lessee is to pay 196 drachmas and 4 obols, and 246 drachmas and 3 obols for the third year (lines 21–23; the amount due for the second year is unknown due to loss of text) – a discount that the editors argue was intended to compensate for the lower yield of immature vines in the early years of a vineyard’s development.¹⁸ The contract further stipulates that the lessee is to perform all the works necessary for vineyards, such as hoeing, irrigating, weeding, pruning, and thinning shoots (lines 11–17), that he is to perform them at the appropriate times (καθήκο(υ)σι καιροῖς, line 17), that he is not to neglect any of them (καὶ μὴ ἰ [ταῦτα ἀμελείτω], lines 17–18), and that his failure to meet these obligations incurs a fine (lines 18–21).

We learn a number of things from this text about leases for new vineyards which resonate with key features in the contract abstract in *CPR* 18.11.¹⁹ First, because it takes time for newly- or recently-planted vines to yield sufficiently remunerative crops, leases for new vineyards were likely to be longer than one or two years in duration. An early Roman-era contract for the lease of labor in a new vineyard, *BGU* 4.1122 (Alexandria, 13 BCE), makes clear that it takes three years or more for vines to reach sufficient maturity as to yield a taxable crop.²⁰ Likewise, a suit against a lessee of an Oxyrhynchite vineyard dated between 135 and 138 CE (*P.Oxy.* 4.707) indicates that in the first four years after its planting the vineyard was not expected to produce taxable, remunerative crops – only in the fifth and sixth years of the lease was the lessee expected to pay rent.²¹ Thus,

¹⁸ *P.Col.* 4, pp. 62–63.

¹⁹ To be sure, παράδεισοι and ἀμπελῶνες are often discussed as separate kinds of cultivable ground; see, for example, *P.Cair.Zen.* 2.59157.1–2 (Alexandria, 256 BCE), where Zenon is instructed to plant trees δι’ ὅλου τοῦ παραδείσου καὶ π[ε]ρ[ί] τὸν ἀμπελῶνα; and *P.Cair.Zen.* 3.59337.7–8 (unprovenanced, 248 BCE), where Zenon’s assistant, Jason, writes to Zenon about the acreage tax on a piece of land that includes τε ἀμπελῶνος καὶ παραδείσου. Yet, that viticulture did occur in παράδεισοι is evident from *P.Gur.* 8 (Arsinoite nome, 20 August 210 BCE), which reports that three thieves, ἐπελθόντες ... ἐπὶ τὸν παράδεισον ... ἐξετρύγησ[αν] ἀμ[π]έλους ι, “going ... into the garden [of a certain man], ... gathered (the fruit of) ten vines” (lines 7–8, 10–11).

²⁰ See Schnebel (n. 17) 246, n. 14; and the recent discussion of the text in Kloppenborg (n. 16) 479–484.

²¹ See *P.Oxy.* 4.707.19–24 for the terms of the lease; see also the discussion in Kloppenborg (n. 16) 501–504. Additional evidence for the gradual development of full-yield crops from newly-planted vineyards is provided by *P.Cair.Zen.* 2.59236 (Arsinoite nome, 253/252 BCE), a petition concerning the fair calculation of vineyard taxes on a recently-planted vineyard (discussed at length by Kloppenborg [n. 16] 388–392); and *P.Tebt.* 1.5.93–98 (Kerkeosiris, 118 BCE), a section of the decrees of Euergetes II allowing for an extended delay in the taxation of crops from vineyards planted on over- or under-watered land. Also note the list of vineyard lease lengths in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods gathered by

a four-year lease, such as is the case in *CPR* 18.11.18 (τῶν τεσ[σάρ]ων ἔτ[ῶν]), would not be at all surprising, especially if Menestratos had started to cultivate vines in the garden not long before the marriage came to an end. Indeed, if he did hold the garden portion as a προσφορά-like grant during the marriage, comparison with later, full-blown, Roman-era examples of προσφορά grants indicates that he would have almost certainly established the vines at his own expense, rather than with assistance, partial or complete, from the grantor of the gift, Philoumene.²² To compensate him for that improvement to the garden portion would have required his control of the portion for at least a few years beyond the end of the marriage, during which time the vines would reach maturity and yield crops sufficient to remunerate him for the costs he incurred.

The length of the contract, though, is hardly reason enough to think it had to do with a new vineyard. But a second feature of leases for new vineyards (and vineyards in general) demonstrated in *P.Col.* 4.79 – a detailed enumeration of the annual tasks necessary to ensure that new vines reached maturity and yielded taxable, remunerative crops – accords well with another feature of the abstract, the requirement that Menestratos undertake τὰ ἐφέτεια ἔ[ργα] τὰ εἰθισμέγ[α] (line 220), the annual customary work pertaining to the garden. The latter phrase can be read as contract-abstract shorthand for the sort of list we encounter in *P.Col.* 4.79 and other vineyard lease contracts.²³ As to customary tasks (τὰ εἰθισμέγ[α]), *P.Ryl.* 4.583 (Arsinoite nome, 170 BCE), a lease contract for a vineyard and orchard, orders the tenant to prune and care for the vines, keep the vineyard free of weeds, keep the trenches clear of silt, maintain the fence around the land, and ensure the irrigation works remain in good condition (lines 13–17). Furthermore, just as in *P.Col.* 4.79.17–21, when the lease is over the lessee is to hand over control of the land to the lessor in good condition, with

Kloppenborg (n. 16) 567, ranging in length from twenty-one days in *P.Cair.Zen.* 2.59182 (Philadelphiea, 255 BCE) to ten years in *P.Soter* 3.9 (Theadelphia, 89–90 CE).

²² Kloppenborg (n. 16) 560, notes that lessors ordinarily bore some or even all of the costs of vine shoots, stakes, binding materials, and other start-up materials; see, e.g., *BGU* 4.1122.20 (Alexandria, 5 CE); *P.Flor.* 3.369.4 (Hermopolis, 139 or 149 CE); *P.Oxy.* 14.1692.16–17 (Oxyrhynchus, 188 CE). That recipients of the use of προσφορά property were responsible for such costs and for the general care and maintenance of property granted as προσφορά, see, e.g., *P.Ryl.* 2.154.20–23 (Bakchias, 66 CE), where the husband-recipient of 10.75 arouras as προσφορά is charged with sowing and harvesting the ground, with no indication that the parents provided the seed and other necessities for establishing a crop.

²³ On the heightened concern in vineyard contracts in particular to stipulate relevant viticultural tasks, see further Johannes Herrmann, *Studien zur Bodenpacht im Recht der graeco-ägyptischen Papyri* (Munich 1958) 127; Hennig (n. 6) 6.

all of these chores completed; if he fails to do so, he must pay the cost of seeing to them, plus a penalty (lines 17–19). And as to proper timing of viticultural activities, the full phrase τὰ ἐφέτεια ἔργα appears otherwise in the papyri *only* in *CPR* 18.7, an abstract of a contract for the lease of a vineyard in the same register that contains *CPR* 18.11: 18.7.13–15 reads, κατεργαζέσθ[ω]σαν Ἴωναθαῖς καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος τὸν ἀμπελῶνα τὰ ἐφέτεια ἔργα.²⁴

That Menestratos should be paid τοὺς καθήκοντας μισθοὺς, “proper wages,” for the work he did on the land leased to him also makes sense in light of *P.Col.* 4.79 and what we know otherwise about new (and existing) vineyard leases. It was, in fact, not unusual to pay wages to lessees during the period when a new vineyard was not yet producing remunerative crops. For example, *P.Oxy.* 4.707, the lawsuit noted above, concerns the recovery of wages paid to a lessee who received them for work he was to have done (but which he did not complete) in the first four years of the six-year lease to ensure that the vineyard was productive in the last two years. It is possible that Menestratos was likewise to receive wages as compensation for work done to make the garden portion a productive vineyard, either before the end of the marriage when he held the land as a προσφορά-like grant from Philoumene, or from the beginning of the lease, during a part of the term of the agreement when the vineyard would not provide a taxable, remunerative crop.²⁵

That the contract orders the wages to be καθήκοντας, “proper,” also resonates with other evidence from texts related to vineyard cultivation. *P.Ryl.* 4.583.19 stipulates that if someone abandons a lease and does not leave the ground in clean condition he has to pay τὸν στοχασθησόμενον ἔσεσθαι μισθὸν ἡμιόλιον, the *assessed* wage for the specific tasks left incomplete, plus a fifty-percent surcharge; and *P.Lond.* 7.1957 +

²⁴ Note that on this reading, Menestratos’s work pertained to the third of the garden that he leased, not the two thirds still controlled by Philoumene (*pace* Kramer in *CPR* 18, p. 157; Szántó in *CPIJ* 4, p. 180). For further evidence that the timing of viticultural activity was important, see *P.Zen.Pestm.* 64 (Arsinoite nome, third century BCE), a calendar of the tasks that need to be performed in a vineyard; and Roman-era leases of viticultural labor from the Oxyrhynchite that also give detailed accounts of tasks and their proper timing, cited in Jane Rowlandson, *Landowners and Tenants in Roman Egypt: The Social Relations of Agriculture in the Oxyrhynchite Nome* (Oxford 1996) 231 and Table 16: *P.Oxy.* 14.1692 (Oxyrhynchus, 188 CE); 47.3354 (Nomou, 257 CE); 14.1631 (Oxyrhynchus, 280 CE).

²⁵ Another explanation for the wages Philoumene pays can be imagined on the evidence of *P.Col.* 4.79 alone: since Menestratos had prepaid his rent on what might have been an immature vineyard, as an alternative to the discounted rent we see in *P.Col.* 4.79, wages for Menestratos’s work to maintain the vines and bring them to full-crop-bearing maturity could have been a means for Philoumene to offset his prepayment of the cost of the lease.

P.Mich. 1.27 (Arsinoite nome, 256 BCE) and *P.Cair.Zen.* 4.59748 (Arsinoite nome, 256 BCE), wage accounts for work in what were probably new vineyards, also suggest that a set fee was in place for the various tasks required of a lessee charged with bringing a vineyard to maturity.²⁶ Also, as the vineyard approached full maturity and productivity increased the need for wage compensation would have diminished correspondingly, affecting what was “proper” or due to Menestratos. In this sense, what was καθήκοντας in terms of wages was determined by the local and contemporary standards for various kinds of agricultural labor and perhaps by the gradually increasing productivity of the land. Presumably, such details were fully spelled out in the complete contract, of which we should recall CPR 18.11 is only an abstract.

As to prepaying the rent for the full lease period, without the details of the actual contract to guide us, it is impossible to know what exactly motivated this particular feature of the agreement. It is possible, though, that Menestratos saw prepayment as being in his best interest – it secured his control of the garden portion through the end of the lease period. Annual rental payments in money, such as was the case in *P.Col.* 4.79, or a sharecropping arrangement, which was frequently the case in vineyard lease agreements (e.g., *P.Ryl.* 4.583.6–10),²⁷ left open the possibility that Philoumene could more easily terminate their relationship before the end of the four years and lease the land to another tenant before Menestratos had realized the full benefit of his investment through the harvest of one or more mature crops from the vineyard. That Philoumene might have been constrained from doing so by a βεβαίωσις-clause in the full contract is not out of the question, but that stipulation is said to be scarcer in contracts from the Ptolemaic era.²⁸ And even if the clause were included in the

²⁶ That *P.Lond.* 7.1957 + *P.Mich.* 1.27 (Arsinoite nome, 256 BCE) and *P.Cair.Zen.* 4.59748 (Arsinoite nome, 256 BCE) concerned new vineyards is suggested by listings for workers assigned the task of leveling the ground, a critical early step in ensuring the proper irrigation of a vineyard; see Kloppenborg (n. 16) 375–384, here esp. 376 and 382. Also, the lists of workers and wages in the two texts point to the possibility that the wages Philoumene agreed to pay Menestratos were not solely for him; he may well have been employing day laborers to help him tend the land. Without a better understanding of the size of the portion he controlled, though, it is impossible to tell if this, in fact, was his situation.

²⁷ On the frequency of sharecropping agreements in vineyard leases, see Hennig (n. 6) 6, n. 34.

²⁸ See Herrmann (n. 23) 155; for examples of the clause in Ptolemaic-era texts, see *P.Ryl.* 4.583.84–85; *P.Tebt.* 1.105.29–30; on the variable use of the clause depending on time and place (and confirmation of its lesser frequency in the Ptolemaic period in general), see Hans-Albert Rupprecht, “Die ‘Bebaiosis’. Zur Entwicklung und den räumlich-zeitlichen Varianten einer Urkundsklausel in den graeco-ägyptischen Papyri,” in *Studi in onore di Cesare Sanfilippo* (Milan 1983) 3.614–615.

full contract, Menestratos might have feared that it would have been more profitable for Philoumene to incur a penalty for violating a βεβαίωσις-clause by terminating the lease agreement before its completion so as to lease it to a higher bidder.²⁹ Prepayment of the full lease may have been his insurance against this possibility.

Regarding the stipulation that Menestratos provide some or all of the “public fees” (taxes) related to a third of the garden (lines 222–223; see further note 5 above), to be sure, taxes and public fees were typically the lessor’s responsibilities,³⁰ a fact underscored by the abstract of the lease contract for a vineyard in *CPR* 18.7. That agreement charged the lessor with payment of all such fees. But that Menestratos, as the tenant, could have been responsible for some of the fees would not have been unprecedented. *P.Ryl.* 4.583.72–73 assigns to the lessee, Apollonios, a fee related to the wine press,³¹ and *BGU* 8.1813 (Herakleopolite nome, 62–61 BCE), a complaint of a guardian on behalf of his orphan wards, makes plain that a lessee is responsible for a range of public fees in a land lease arrangement.³² And assuming the lease agreement was, in fact, meant to extend Menestratos’s use of the land after the dissolution of a προσφορά-style agreement, comparison with the Roman-era texts that document the practice indicates that recipients of προσφορά gifts were responsible for taxes and fees so long as they held the property; the same may have been the case in the dowry agreement between Menestratos and Philoumene, and the lease may simply have extended that responsibility along with his access to the land.³³

In sum, the features that the abstract exhibits are much of what we would expect in a lease agreement if in the last year or years that he was married to Philoumene’s daughter Menestratos had commenced viticultural activity in the portion of the garden he had use of as προσφορά-like

²⁹ If there were a penalty attached to its violation; that a penalty was not always included, see Raphael Taubenschlag, *The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt in Light of the Papyri*, 332 B.C.–640 A.D., 2nd ed. (Warsaw 1955) 361; for examples of the use of the clause without an obvious penalty attached, see *PSI* 9.1020.11–14 (Pathyrite nome, 110 BCE); *PSI* 9.1021.29–32 (= *P.Lugd.Batav.* 19.3) (Memnoneia, 109 BCE).

³⁰ Herrmann (n. 23) 122–123.

³¹ On this reading, see Eric Turner, “A Ptolemaic Vineyard Lease,” *BJRL* 31 (1948) 160.

³² Cited by Taubenschlag (n. 29) 360, n. 30.

³³ See, for example, *P.Ryl.* 2.154.23–24, where the husband-recipient of 10.75 arouras as προσφορά discussed above in n. 22 is responsible to pay the public fees; and *P.Tebt.* 2.351.1–4 (Tebtynis, second century CE), a receipt for taxes paid by a daughter on a house that she (and her husband) received as προσφορά from her mother on the occasion of her marriage.

property. On this reading, the lease agreement abstracted in *CPR* 18.11 was a matter of fairness: it would have allowed Menestratos to realize some benefit from the expense he had incurred, but on more conventional land-use terms than he enjoyed while still married to Philoumene's daughter, terms that ensured Philoumene proper recompense for Menestratos's continued use of the land. We can well imagine that Menestratos far preferred cultivating the land under the terms likely provided by the marriage agreement; but short of that, the lease agreement abstracted in *CPR* 18.11 ensured that he did not lose his claim to the fruit of the land to which he had perhaps already devoted much of his treasure, time, and talent in hopes of realizing a profit from it.

Conclusion

As an explanation of the relationship between *CPR* 18.9 and 11, the present analysis has the advantage over its predecessors in *CPR* 18 and *CPJ* 4: the *ketubah* hypothesis in *CPR* 18 is anachronistic, both leave key features of the contract abstract unexplained, and *CPJ* 4 provides no rationale for Menestratos's work on the land while he was still married to Philoumene's daughter; this brief study clears those bars and the pieces of the puzzle fit together once and for all.

The study also has broader implications for the field. The arrangement between Menestratos and Philoumene after the end of his marriage to her daughter invites us to revisit land lease contracts that might be connected to earlier marriage agreements, especially where such connections are evident in contracts registers like *CPR* 18. *CPR* 18.11 also provides the earliest evidence for an all-but-in-name *προσφορά* in the Ptolemaic period, predating *SB* 6.8974 by as much as a century and a half. And inasmuch as I have identified two more likely instances of Ptolemaic-era proto-*προσφορά* agreements among Jews in *P.Polit.Iud.* 3 and 5 (Herakleopolite nome, 140 and 135/134 respectively), there is reason to think that, even if the *προσφορά* may not be said to have originated among the Jews of Egypt, procedures they employed long before the Roman era to give daughters access to parental real property without ceding control of that property to their sons-in-law foreshadowed it and may have influenced its rise.³⁴

³⁴ See further my discussion of *P.Polit.Iud.* 3 and 5 in *Resolving Disputes in Second Century BCE Herakleopolis*, cited in n. 15 above.

NEW PERSPECTIVES ON THE UNDERTAKERS FROM TANIS

Gert Baetens *KU Leuven*¹

Abstract. — Notes regarding papyri published in *P.Tarich.* with implications for the chronology of the archive and the undertakers' titles, funerary rights, and dispute featuring in the texts.

Keywords: Arsinoite nome, funerary rights, endowment, petition

In 2013 Charikleia Armoni published an archive of sixteen papyri with eighteen texts (including three pairs of doubles) related to the dealings of Amenneus son of Horos and Onnophris son of Teos, two undertakers (ταριχευταί: hence the abbreviation *P.Tarich.*) from Tanis in the north-east of the Arsinoite nome in the early second century BCE.² Most of the archive consists of drafts and copies of petitions by these undertakers to various authorities concerning a dispute over funerary rights that had formerly belonged to an undertaker named Psenephmous, in nearby Philadelphieia. According to Amenneus and Onnophris, three other undertakers from Philadelphieia, Abykis, Pasis and Kelechonsis, had illegally seized Psenephmous' endowment after his death, not long after the start of the Great Revolt (206–186 BCE), while it should have been confiscated and auctioned together with the rest of his property, because he had sided with the rebels and had died without heirs.³ Amenneus and Onnophris tried to convince the authorities to put up the endowment for auction after all, so that they could acquire it for themselves. Besides petitions,

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² C. Armoni, *Das Archiv der Taricheuten Amenneus und Onnophris aus Tanis (P.Tarich.)* (Paderborn 2013). Cf. TM Arch 551.

³ The second argument was probably introduced after the promulgation of an amnesty decree allowing former rebels and their families to reclaim confiscated property: see Armoni (n. 2) 25–27; C. Armoni and A. Jördens, “Der König und die Rebellen. Vom Umgang der Ptolemäer mit strittigen Eigentumsfragen im Gefolge von Bürgerkriegen,” *Chiron* 48 (2018) esp. 87–88, 99, 101–102.

the archive contains a bid by Amenneus and Onnophris for the endowment (*P.Tarich.* 10: a so-called ὑπόστασις, formatted as ὑπόμνημα just like the petitions), a copy of official correspondence related to the same bid (*P.Tarich.* 12, also including a copy of the petition preserved in *P.Tarich.* 11), a badly preserved Demotic document regarding the same matter (*P.Tarich.* 15, published by Heinz-Josef Thissen: possibly another draft for a petition), and a fragmentary translation of a Demotic division contract presumably relevant for the same case (*P.Tarich.* 14, with faint traces of a Demotic text on the *verso*).⁴ The proceedings appear to have taken place in different phases, with the available documentation centering around the periods 189–188 BCE (*P.Tarich.* 1–5) and 186–184 BCE (*P.Tarich.* 6–12 and 15).⁵ Four years after the publication of *P.Tarich.*, Robert W. Daniel published yet another petition from the undertaker Onnophris son of Teos, surprisingly concerning dead kittens rather than the dispute over the endowment (*P.Köln* 15.594).

A few small corrections to the texts have been proposed in reviews of *P.Tarich.* by Peter van Minnen and Amphilocheios Papathomas.⁶ This article provides some additional corrections and afterthoughts, mainly from the Demotic perspective, with implications for (a) the chronology of *P.Tarich.* 10–12 and 15, (b) the chronology of *P.Tarich.* 7–9, and (c) the undertakers' titles, funerary rights and dispute featuring in the archive.

Chronology of P.Tarich. 10–12 and 15

Thissen succeeded in linking several elements in the Demotic *P.Tarich.* 15 to the rest of the archive, despite the poor condition of the document, “ein Text zum Augen-Auskugeln” as commented by Karl-Theodor Zauzich (cited by Thissen in p. 116). As noted by Thissen (pp. 118–120) and

⁴ For ὑποστάσεις formatted as ὑπομνήματα, see G. Baetens, *A Survey of Petitions and Related Documents from Ptolemaic Egypt* (Trismegistos Online Publications, Special Series 5, Leuven 2020) 137–138.

⁵ The dates of *P.Tarich.* 13 and 14 are uncertain. *P.Tarich.* 13 may belong to a later phase of the dispute, since this petition is submitted by Onnophris without Amenneus and also mentions the *komogrammateus* Phanesis among the accused, who still appears to play a neutral role in *P.Tarich.* 10–11 and 15 (see below). *P.Tarich.* 14 must have been written during Amenneus' lifetime, since he is mentioned as contracting party in fr. a, col. 1.8. Cf. also Armoni (n. 2) 5–6, 109, 112.

⁶ P. van Minnen in *BASP* 51 (2014) 245–248; A. Papathomas in *Tyche* 31 (2016) 291–293. Cf. also the reviews by M. Vierros in *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* (2015) <<http://bmcr.brynmawr.edu/2015/2015-02-52.html>>, A. Martin in *Cd'É* 92 (2017) 177–178 no. 183, and the “Urkundenreferat” by T. Kruse in *APF* 64 (2018) 427–434.

Armoni (p. 5), the content of *P.Tarich.* 15 strongly resembles that of *P.Tarich.* 11–12, which record the official procedure following the bid submitted by Amenneus and Onnophris to the *epimeletes* Argeios (which is itself preserved in *P.Tarich.* 10). The purpose of this procedure was to obtain more information about the endowment from the local authorities. *P.Tarich.* 12 (ll. 8–16) contains a copy of the resulting report about the endowment, written by Phanesis, the *komogrammateus* of Philadelpheia, on Phamenoth 24 of year 21 (29 April 184 BCE). The same papyrus (ll. 6–7) also contains a copy of the message with which the *topogrammateus* Petesouchos forwarded this report to another authority, dated to Phamenoth 29 of year 21 (4 May 184 BCE).⁷ This other authority can be identified as the *basilikos grammateus* Petosiris on the basis of a third copy on the papyrus (ll. 1–5): a petition submitted by Amenneus and Onnophris to the *basilikos grammateus*, more fully preserved in *P.Tarich.* 11. In this petition, Amenneus and Onnophris summarize the whole procedure: they had submitted a document about the endowment to the *epimeletes* (= the bid preserved in *P.Tarich.* 10, which consequently must predate the correspondence in *P.Tarich.* 12); the *epimeletes* had written to the *basilikos grammateus*; the *basilikos grammateus* had written to the *topogrammateus*; the *topogrammateus* had written to the *komogrammateus*, who had now written a report (ἀναφορά) for the *basilikos grammateus* (= the report copied in *P.Tarich.* 12 ll. 8–16, forwarded to him by the *topogrammateus* with the message copied in *P.Tarich.* 12 ll. 6–7).⁸ After this summary, they ask the *basilikos grammateus* to finish (ἐπιτελέσαι) the business according to the royal ordinances, presumably meaning that he should advise the *epimeletes* to put up the endowment for auction. One of the better-preserved passages in *P.Tarich.* 15 (ll. 10–12) clearly describes the same procedure, and was read and partially translated by Thissen as follows:

hb=f n.im=w \h3.t-sp 21 ibd-3 pr.t sw-21 (?) / r P3-di-Sbk p3 sh m3' dd
 l.ir=f p3y=w tš r-h.t 'rd iw=n [...]... hb=f (?) ... h3.t-sp 21 ibd-3 pr.t
 sw-21 hb=y n.im=w (?) n Pa-n-Is.t [p3 sh dmy (?) ...] hb Pa-n-Is.t n
 P3-di-Sbk dd in=w n=y p3 mqmq r.di lmn-iw s3 Hr [...]

Er (sc. Petosiris) hat darüber am 21. (?) Phamenoth des Regierungsjahres 21 dem Topogrammateus Petesuchos Mitteilung gemacht: Er hat ihre Bezahlung

⁷ Armoni ([n. 2] 103) dates *P.Tarich.* 12 “nach dem 29. April 184 v.Chr.,” but in fact this forwarding message provides a more precise *terminus post quem*.

⁸ Armoni ([n. 2] 98) dates *P.Tarich.* 11 “vor dem 29. April 184 v.Chr.,” but just like *P.Tarich.* 12, this document must have been written after 4 May 184 BCE, the date of the forwarding letter by the *topogrammateus*.

(Rate oä.) festgesetzt entsprechend der Bestätigung die wir [...]; Regierungsjahr 21, am 21. Phamenoth: Ich habe darüber dem Phanesis Mitteilung gemacht [...]; Man hat mir die Eingabe gebracht die Amenneus, Sohn des Horos gegeben hat [...].

I propose the following reading, moving the supralinear insertion slightly forward, replacing several of the strange *n.im=w*'s with names, and adding some other small corrections:

ḥ3.t-sp 21 ibd-3 pr.t sw-10+ (?) / hb P3-di-Wsir n P3-di-Sbk p3 sh m3' dd
 l.ir=f p3y=w tš (?) r-ḥ.t 'rḏ (?) iw=n [...] ... ḥ3.t-sp 21 ibd-3 pr.t sw-21 hb
 P3-di-Sbk n Pa-n-Is.t [...] ḥ3.t-sp 21 ibd-3 pr.t sw-24 (?) / hb Pa-n-Is.t n
 P3-di-Sbk ḏd in=w n=y p3 mḳmq r.di Imn-iw s3 Hr [...]

In year 21, Phamenoth 10+ (?), Petosiris wrote to Petsouchos the *topogrammateus*: he made (?) their payment (?) according to (the) confirmation (?) which we [...] ... In year 21, Phamenoth 21, Petsouchos wrote to Phanesis [...] In year 21, Phamenoth 24 (?), Phanesis wrote to Petsouchos: they brought me the memorandum which Amenneus son of Horos gave [...] (...).

With these new readings, the procedure described in these lines perfectly matches the procedure recorded in *P.Tarich.* 11–12. Moreover, the Demotic text allows a more complete view of the timing of the events: apparently the *basilikos grammateus* had written to the *topogrammateus* somewhere between Phamenoth 10–19 (15–24 April 184 BCE), and the *topogrammateus* had written to the *komogrammateus* on Phamenoth 21 (26 April 184 BCE), three days before the *komogrammateus* wrote his report (Phamenoth 24: see *P.Tarich.* 12 l. 16) and eight days before the *topogrammateus* forwarded that report to the *basilikos grammateus* (Phamenoth 29: see *P.Tarich.* 12 l. 7).⁹ The new reconstruction moves the *terminus post quem* for *P.Tarich.* 15 from Phamenoth 21 to Phamenoth 24 (29 April 184 BCE), and also moves the *terminus ante quem* for *P.Tarich.* 10 (the bid that started this procedure) from Phamenoth 24 to Phamenoth 19 (24 April 184 BCE). The case provides an interesting insight into the working pace of the administration, although one should keep in mind that Amenneus and Onnophris may have had to run around from office to office themselves.¹⁰ The citation from the message by the *basilikos*

⁹ Thissen hesitatingly read the first day number as *sw-21*, which would mean that the messages by the *basilikos grammateus* and *topogrammateus* were written on the same day, but the day number rather appears to start with *sw-10*, probably followed by another number.

¹⁰ This may have provided Amenneus and Onnophris with the opportunity to copy the official correspondence in *P.Tarich.* 12. The petition preserved in *P.Tarich.* 11 and 12 also suggests that the procedure was closely followed up by the undertakers. It was common

grammateus to the *topogrammateus* is hard to interpret. The word *tš* is normally used for scheduled payments or installments, and *ʾrd* literally means “certainty.”¹¹ Both readings are uncertain; one would expect an infinitive following *i.ʾr=f*. The citation from the message by the *komo-grammateus* (*in=w n=y p3 m qmq r.dī Imn-īw s3 Hr*) undoubtedly corresponds to the start of the Greek report copied in *P.Tarich*. 12 (ll. 8–9: ἐκομισάμην τ[ὸ] ἐπιδοθὲν ὑπόμνη(μα) Ἀργείῳ τῷ ἐπιμ(ελητῇ) παρὰ [Ἀμενν]έως τοῦ Ὁρου καὶ Ὀννώφοριος). Unfortunately, the next lines of the Demotic text are severely damaged.

Chronology of P.Tarich. 6–9

P.Tarich. 7 is one of several petitions submitted by Amenneus and Onnophris to the court of the *chrematistai*, in this case with Dositheos as *eisagogeus*.¹² The petition starts with an overview of earlier steps taken by the undertakers. In year 16 (l. 9: τοῦ 16 (ἔτους)), they had submitted a petition about the endowment to the central superintendent of the *chrematistai* Protarchos, which had initiated proceedings before the previous *chrematistai* court (l. 11: τοῦ πρὸ ὑμῶν/ χρηματιστάς). Later they had submitted another petition about the matter to the former *dioiketes* Bakchon (ll. 21–22: Β[ά]κχωντι τῷ γενομένῳ διοικητῇ), which had brought about another procedure: Bakchon had written to the *epimeletes* Argeios (ll. 24–26, with correction: {Ἐφαιστ[ι]ῳ τῷ ἐπιμελητῇ} Ἀργείῳ τῷ ἐπιμελητῇ), who in his turn appears to have delegated the case to the *basilikos grammateus* (ll. 27–30: fragmentary but ending with βασιλικῷ γραμματεῖ \ἐπ[ισ]κεψάμενον/ ἀγενέγκαι). The end of the petition is rather unclear. Amenneus and Onnophris seem to refer to some reports (ll. 30–31: ἐπεὶ οἷ[v] \ . . . ἀναφορὰς ἔλαβεν/; reports from the *basilikos grammateus* received by the *dioiketes*?), the fact that they themselves are present (l. 31: πάρε[σ]μεν; at court?), and a message by the current *dioiketes* Apollonios to the *chrematistai* (ll. 31–33: καθότι

practice for petitioners to bring around messages written in reaction to their petitions themselves: see Baetens (n. 4) 223, with further bibliography.

¹¹ Cf. entries in the *Chicago Demotic Dictionary*. For *tš* denoting installments for auctioned property, also see J.G. Manning, “The Auction of Pharaoh,” in E. Teeter and J. Larson (eds.), *Gold of Praise: Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honor of Edward F. Wente* (Chicago 1999) 277–284.

¹² For the tasks of the *eisagogeus*, see recently B. Kramer and C.M. Sánchez-Moreno Ellart, *Neue Quellen zum Prozeßrecht der Ptolemäerzeit. Gerichtsakten aus der Trierer Papyrussammlung* (P.Trier I) (Berlin 2017) 32–36.

γράφει ὑμῖν Ἀπ[ο]λλώνιος ὁ διοικητής \διεξαγαγ ς/). Finally, they ask the *chrematistai* to act accordingly and let the documents written by the *basilikos grammateus* Petosiris be sent (ll. 34–40: διεξαγαγεῖν ἀκολουθῶς [[ἀκολουθῶς]] κα[ι] τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Πετοσίριος τοῦ βασιλικοῦ γραμματέως γράμ[μα]τα μεταπεμφθῆ[ναι]). It is difficult to reconstruct the precise course of events, but it seems likely that the named petition to Bakchon is the petition preserved in *P.Tarich.* 6a/b (in two versions). Here, Amenneus and Onnophris argue that their opponents have illegally earned money from the endowment “from year 2 up till now, for 19 years” (*P.Tarich.* 6b l. 29: ἀπὸ τοῦ β (ἔτους) μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ἐτῶν ιθ; the same more fragmentary in *P.Tarich.* 6a ll. 24–25) and value these earnings at 4000 drachmai per year, which makes 12 talents 4000 drachmai in total. They ask the *dioiketes* (among other things: the request is fragmentary) to have the *epimeletes* Hephaistion send the accused to the *dioiketes*, and to reclaim the money for the treasury. Hephaistion was still (or was still thought to be) in office when *P.Tarich.* 6a/b was submitted, but apparently he was replaced by the time *P.Tarich.* 7 was written. This created confusion which led the scribe to correct the *epimeletes*’ name from Hephaistion to Argeios. Thanks to the reference to the period of 19 years starting in year 2, *P.Tarich.* 6a/b can be dated to year 20 (9 October 186 BCE – 7 October 185 BCE).¹³

The editor (p. 75) tentatively dated *P.Tarich.* 7 to the end of 185 BCE (for reasons discussed below), but the unread “Reste demotischer Schrift” on the *verso* of the document on closer inspection turn out to be a date:

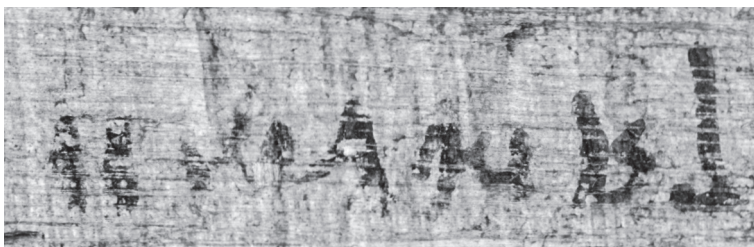


Fig. 1. *P.Tarich.* 7 v^o, detail

¹³ Counted inclusively. Exclusive counting would result in year 21, but this seems impossible since Apollonios succeeded Bakchon as *dioiketes* at the turn of year 20/21: see Armoni (n. 2) 11, 68, with reference to *P.Paramone* 6. Cf. also E. Lanciers, “The Evolution of the Court Titles of the Ptolemaic *Dioiketes* in the Second Century,” *AncSoc* 50 (2020) 102–104.

h3.t-sp 21 ibd-3 šmw (?) sw-8 = year 21 Epeiph (?) 8 = 11 August 184 BCE

The month could perhaps also be read as Phamenoth (with *pr.t* instead of *šmw*: a classic reading problem), resulting in 13 April 184 BCE, but the traces seem less ideal for this, and moreover this would mean that the procedure described in *P.Tarich. 7* would have taken place at about the same time as the procedure recorded in *P.Tarich. 10–12* and 15 (cf. above).¹⁴ Although this possibility cannot be excluded, it seems unattractive to have two simultaneous procedures involving the *epimeletes* Argeios and *basilikos grammateus* Petosiris.¹⁵ A possible disadvantage of dating *P.Tarich. 7* to Epeiph is that it makes the time gap between *P.Tarich. 6a/b* (the petition to Bakchon that started the procedure, dating to year 20) and *P.Tarich. 7* (following up on the procedure) even greater.¹⁶ In any case, it is impossible to read the month as Hathyr (with *h.t*), and the document consequently cannot date from the end of 185 BCE but must have been written several months later.

The new date of *P.Tarich. 7* creates a problem in relation to *P.Tarich. 8* and *P.Tarich. 9a/b* (preserved in two versions), two other petitions submitted to the *chrematistai*, this time with Dionysios as *eisagogeus*, submitted by Onnophris without Amenneus. *P.Tarich. 8* is fragmentary in some crucial places. The document starts with a reference to an earlier notification submitted by Onnophris and Amenneus to the *chrematistai* concerning yet another petition by them to the *dioiketes* Apollonios. Next, Onnophris explains that he had been led before the *chrematistai* by the police on Hathyr 2 of year 21 (ll. 12–14: τῇ δὲ β̄ τοῦ Ἀθὺρ τοῦ κα (ἔτους) [ca. ?] μου ἔφ' ὑμᾶς [καὶ χειρ] vac. ὑπὸ Ποσειδωνίου τοῦ [ἀ]ρχιφυλακίτου) and had sworn to be present during the actual court session (ll. 14–16: χειρογραφῆσαντός μου ἔσεσθαι ἐμφανῇ κατὰ τὴν [ca. ? μ]έγην κατάστασιν). Apparently, the proceedings were now delayed because certain people had some kind of exemption until Hathyr 30 (ll. 16–19: ἐπεὶ οὖν οἱ α. [ca. ?] ἀπολελυμέ[νο]ι εἰσὶν διὰ το[ύς])

¹⁴ The *pr.t* groups in *P.Tarich. 15* are too poorly preserved to be of much help for this reading problem.

¹⁵ The procedures can hardly be identical, since the first is initiated by a petition to the *dioiketes* and the second by a bid to the *epimeletes*, and the *topogrammateus* and *komo-grammateus* are involved in the second but not in the first.

¹⁶ If dated to Phamenoth 8, *P.Tarich. 7* still is the earliest document mentioning the *epimeletes* Argeios; if dated to Epeiph 8, it has to cede this place to *P.Tarich. 10* (written before Phamenoth 19). For Argeios and the other *epimeletai* of the Arsinoite nome in this period, see E. Lanciers, “The Career of Some Officials in the Arsinoite Nome in the Early Second Century BC,” *Tyche* 33 (2018) 121–124.

ᾠεῖναι/ αὐτοὺς ε . κατὰ τὴν παρ[ca. ?] . γίδου ἐπιστολὴν ἕως ᾧ τοῦ Ἀθύρ). As the opponents were still earning money from the endowment in the meanwhile, Onnophris wants the *chrematistai* to write to the prophet of Souchos Marres to sequester this revenue until the end of the lawsuit (ll. 23–25: κατ[εγ]γυῖσαι τὰς γεινομένας καρπείας τοῦ πρ[ο]γέγ[ρα(μμένου) γέ]ρ[ως] ἕως τοῦ ἡμᾶς τῇ[ν] περὶ τούτων ἐπίσκεψιν [[γενέ[σθαι]]] νοιήσα[σθαι]/). Clearly, *P.Tarich.* 8 must have been written between Onnophris' initial appearance before the court on Hathyr 2 and the end of the exemption on the last day of the same month. *P.Tarich.* 9a/b does not contain a date but appears to have been submitted somewhat later in the same procedure. In this petition, Onnophris asks to summon to court Phanesis, the *komogrammateus* of Philadelphieia, who also plays a role in the procedure in *P.Tarich.* 10–12 and 15, as well as four people who have attended the division of the endowment and its revenue: Haynchis, the mother of one of the accused, and three undertakers originally from Moietymis in the Memphite nome.

Now we come to the problem: the editor (pp. 75–76, 80) proposed to date *P.Tarich.* 7 to the end of 185 BCE because the document already mentions the *dioiketes* Apollonios, who succeeded Bakchon at the turn of year 20/21 (autumn 185 BCE), but on account of the *eisagogeis* appears to be earlier than *P.Tarich.* 8–9, so earlier than Hathyr 2–30 of year 21 (8 December 185 BCE – 5 January 184 BCE).¹⁷ According to the editor, the *eisagogeus* in *P.Tarich.* 7, Dositheos, must have preceded the *eisagogeus* in *P.Tarich.* 8–9, Dionysios, because *P.Tarich.* 7 refers to the *chrematistai* active in year 16, with the *eisagogeus* Melas at that time, as the predecessors of the *chrematistai* with Dositheos as *eisagogeus* (l. 11: τοῦς \πρὸ ἡμῶν/ χρηματιστάς). Although this argument may seem inconclusive, there are more elements that seem to suggest that *P.Tarich.* 7 precedes *P.Tarich.* 8–9: in contrast to the latter, the first still refers to the events of year 16 and the former *dioiketes* Bakchon; the proceedings in *P.Tarich.* 8–9 appear to be in a more advanced phase. Should all these considerations now be abandoned in view of the new date of *P.Tarich.* 7, clearly later than 185 BCE? The only alternative is to reconsider the date of *P.Tarich.* 8–9. The reading of the month name Hathyr in *P.Tarich.* 8 is certain, but the reading of the year number in l. 12 of the text is more problematic:

¹⁷ For the *dioiketai*, see the reference in n. 13 above.

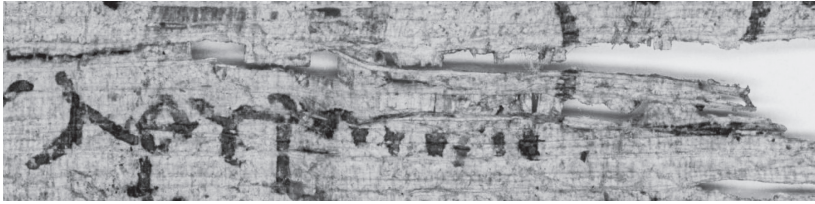


Fig. 2. *P.Tarich.* 8, detail of l. 12

The three vertical strokes following Ἀθύρ must all belong to the article τοῦ, and the ἔτους sign is also clear, but it is hard to read a year number in the two remaining strokes. (There appear to be three strokes on the gray-scale image, but the first is just a stain.) It seems inescapable to read a number between 21–25, since Apollonios only entered office at the turn of year 20/21 and a regnal year of Ptolemy VI would create an excessive time gap.¹⁸ As a consequence, the first remaining stroke must belong to the left leg of *kappa* (although this is not ideal and leaves only little room for the other legs) and the second stroke must belong to the second digit, read by the editor as a small rounded *alpha*.¹⁹ Although this does not seem paleographically impossible, I would like to propose – with some hesitation – to read the second digit as *gamma*, resulting in year 23, solving the chronological problem outlined above.²⁰

A later date for *P.Tarich.* 8–9 may have additional advantages. First, there is the *komogrammateus* Phanesis: in the procedure in *P.Tarich.* 10–12 and 15, he still appears to be a neutral party, providing advice on a local issue like *komogrammateis* are supposed to do; in *P.Tarich.* 9a/b, he is asked to be summoned to appear in court as a witness; in *P.Tarich.* 13, a petition to the strategos from prison, the precise place of which in the dispute is uncertain, he is named among the accused. This may suggest that the relation between the petitioners and the *komogrammateus* gradually deteriorated, that *P.Tarich.* 10–12 and 15 are the earlier documents in this series, and that *P.Tarich.* 8–9 were consequently not written in the first months of year 21.²¹ Second, there are the petitioners: *P.Tarich.* 8, 9a/b and 13 are the only petitions submitted by Onnophris without Amenneus;

¹⁸ An abbreviation of ἐνεστῶτος, αὐτοῦ (which would also require an earlier year reference) or similar also seems impossible.

¹⁹ Charikleia Armoni kindly commented on this by email.

²⁰ Cf. in particular the second *gamma* in εἰσαγωγῇ in l. 22, with a thick left leg. It would be more convenient to read year 22, but *beta* seems difficult.

²¹ It is not necessary to suppose that the disputed endowment was actually reclaimed by the government from Amenneus' and Onnophris' opponents before they submitted their bid (recorded in *P.Tarich.* 10–12 and 15): see Armoni (n. 2) 95–96.

all other petitions are submitted by both Amenneus and Onnophris (always in this order, perhaps because Amenneus was the senior) or in one exceptional case (*P.Tarich.* 3) by Amenneus alone.²² This may suggest that *P.Tarich.* 8, 9a/b and 13 date from a later phase, in which Amenneus no longer played an active role. In *P.Tarich.* 8, Onnophris still refers to an earlier notification and petition submitted together with Amenneus, but in *P.Tarich.* 9a/b and 13 Amenneus is no longer named (cf. especially *P.Tarich.* 9a ll. 4–5: ἐνέστηκεν μοι ἐφ’ ὑμῶν ἐπίσκεψις περὶ βασιλικῶν πρὸς Ἀβῦκιν καὶ Κελεχῶντα καὶ Πᾶσιν ταριχευτὰς τῶν ἐκ Φιλαδελφείας; the same more fragmentary in *P.Tarich.* 9b ll. 1–5). The most straightforward explanation would be that Amenneus had passed away.²³

The new chronology of *P.Tarich.* 6–12 and 15 is as follows:

Text	New date	Date in edition
<i>P.Tarich.</i> 6a/b	year 20 = 9 October 186 BCE – 7 October 185 BCE	186/5 v.Chr.
<i>P.Tarich.</i> 10	before year 21, Phamenoth 19 = before 24 April 184 BCE	vor dem 29. April 184 v.Chr.
<i>P.Tarich.</i> 15	after year 21, Phamenoth 24 = after 29 April 184 BCE	nach dem 26. April 184 v.Chr.
<i>P.Tarich.</i> 12	after year 21, Phamenoth 29 = after 4 May 184 BCE	nach dem 29. April 184 v.Chr.
<i>P.Tarich.</i> 11	after year 21, Phamenoth 29 = after 4 May 184 BCE	vor dem 29. April 184 v.Chr.
<i>P.Tarich.</i> 7	year 21, Epeiph (?) 8 = 11 August (?) 184 BCE	185 v.Chr.
<i>P.Tarich.</i> 8	year 23 (?), Hathyr 2–30 = 8 December 183 BCE – 5 January 182 BCE (?)	8. Dez. 185 – 5. Jan. 184 v.Chr.
<i>P.Tarich.</i> 9a/b	after year 23 (?), Hathyr 2–30 = after 8 December 183 BCE – 5 January 182 BCE (?)	185/4 v.Chr.

Table 1. Newly proposed dates for *P.Tarich.* 6–12 and 15
(in chronological order) versus original dates in edition

²² The request formula in *P.Tarich.* 3 is styled in plural, however, and Amenneus starts the petition with a statement that he and his colleague Onnophris are wronged. Also exceptional is the appearance of a third petitioner in *P.Tarich.* 2: an undertaker named Psenesis, who is identified in *P.Tarich.* 1 as a brother of either Amenneus or Onnophris.

²³ This would imply that *P.Tarich.* 14 (which mentions Amenneus as contracting party in fr. a, col. 1.8) was written earlier on, but is by no means certain.

Undertakers' Titles, Funerary Rights, and Dispute

All the undertakers featuring in the archive are identified as ταριχευταί, “embalmers” (related to the verb ταριχεύω, used for the artificial preservation of both bodies and food). In *P.Tarich.* 3 and 6, they are called ἐνταφιασταί instead, a more general designation for “undertakers” (related to the verb ἐνταφιάζω: “to embalm,” “to bury,” “to prepare for burial”).²⁴ Although the editor (p. 17) is right that the correspondence between Greek and Demotic undertakers' titles can be problematic and that these titles do not always appear to be used in a precise and uniform way, it seems likely that the undertakers in *P.Tarich.* worked as *hr-hb* or “lector-priest,” and this for several reasons. First, there are parallels for undertakers with the title of both ταριχευτής and *hr-hb* in other bilingual contexts.²⁵ Second, the title of *hr-hb* is already attested in Philadelphieia somewhat earlier on, in P.BM Dem. inv. 10616 (244 BCE).²⁶ Third, [τῶ]γ ταριχευτῶν τέχνης in the translated *P.Tarich.* 14 (fr. a, col. 1.12) probably represents the typical Demotic collocation *wp.t n hr-hb*, “work of the lector-priest.”²⁷ Of course, only an actual attestation of the title in the

²⁴ This title is also given to Onnophris son of Teos in *P.Köln* 15.594. The only other Ptolemaic papyri that use this title are *P.Yale* 4.142 (see below) and *UPZ* 2.190 (accidentally cited as *UPZ* 2.290 by Armoni [n. 2] 17). In the Roman period, the title becomes more common. *LXX Genesis* 50.2 also refers to Egyptian ἐνταφιασταί embalming Jacob, translated from Hebrew *rofe'im* or “doctors”: cf. N. Reggiani, “Ispezione cadaveri: mummificatori, medici e anatomisti nell'Egitto greco-romano (a proposito di P.Oxy. III 476),” *MBAH* 33 (2015) 79–80. For the meaning of the verb ἐνταφιάζω, cf. in particular the relevant entry in the online *Diccionario Griego-Español* (DGE) <<http://dge.cchs.csic.es/xdge/ἐνταφιάζω>>.

²⁵ Undertakers designated as both ταριχευτής and *hr-hb* appear in the Theban choachyte archive (*UPZ* 2.180a and P.Berlin Dem. inv. 3116: cf. P.W. Pestman, *L'archivio di Amenothes figlio di Horos. Testi demotici e greci relativi ad una famiglia di imbalsamatori del secondo sec. a.C.* [Milan 1981] 7–8) and cartonnage papyri from Rifeh (P.TCD Gr. inv. 301 and *P.Count* 53–54: cf. G. Baetens, “An Embalmers' Dispute in Hypsele/Shashotep,” *APF* 66 [2020] esp. 297–300). The Demotic title of *swnw*, usually translated as “doctor,” can also be rendered in Greek as ταριχευτής (cf. Baetens [*ibid.*] 304 and Reggiani [n. 24] 79–80, with further bibliography). In *P.Dime* 3.36 (Soknopaiou Nesos, 20 BCE), the titles of *swnw* and *hr-hb* are combined. For the possible connection between the titles of *htmw(-ntr)* *wyt* and ταριχευτής, see the discussion of the contracts from Hawara below.

²⁶ More precisely the title of *hr-hb n dw* or “lector-priest of (the) mountain,” referring to the location of the necropolis. This document is published by S.R.K. Glanville, “A Demotic Contract of the Third Century from the Fayyum (Dem. P. Brit. Mus. 10616),” in *Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith* (London 1932) 152–160.

²⁷ Attested in *P.Dem.Memphis* 5; *P.Siut* 10575, 10591; *P.Testi Botti* 7; P.Berlin Dem. inv. 23558 (described in *P.Äg.Handschrift*. 185); P.Mallawi Dem. inv. 602/1–5 (described by S. Abd el-Aal, “The Mallawy Papyrus No. 602/1–602/5: A Comprehensive Study of the Document and the Professional and Administrative Titles,” in Z. Hawass (ed.), *Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-first Century: Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Egyptologists, Cairo, 2000* [Cairo 2003] 18–22). Cf. also the similar but apparently less common expression *b3k hr-hb* in *P.Ashm.* 1.18.

archive can provide hard evidence. On closer inspection, it is perfectly possible to read *p3 hr-hb* at the end of l. 13 of *P.Tarich.* 15 and in l. 2 of the *verso* of fr. b of *P.Tarich.* 14 (among the “Spuren eines demotischen Textes” on the *verso* of the translated division contract; clearer on the color image than on the grayscale image here):



Fig. 3. *P.Tarich.* 15, detail of l. 13

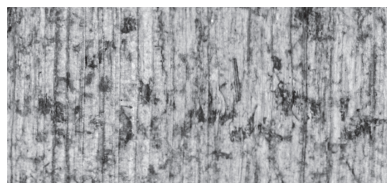


Fig. 4. *P.Tarich.* 14 fr. b v^o, detail of l. 2

The title of ἐνταφιαστής in *P.Tarich.* 3 and 6 is presumably simply a variant of the same title. An interesting parallel from the same period can be found in *P.Yale* 4.142 (Herakleopolites, 137 BCE), a petition regarding a dispute over a house in which the petitioner is identified as ἐνταφιαστής, but the husband of the accused is said to belong to the ταριχευταί of Busiris. The editor, Ruth Duttonhöfer, wonders if ἐνταφιαστής may have been the fancier title of the two, with ταριχευτής (also used for fish-picklers and such like) having a negative connotation.²⁸

The disputed funerary rights are referred to as γέρας in *P.Tarich.* 6–12, sometimes more specifically as γέρας ἐνταφιαστικόν and/or γέρας “in/of the ταριχεῖαι in Philadelphieia.”²⁹ As explained by Armoni (p. 18), the term γέρας in the papyri usually refers to “das Verfügungsrecht über Einnahmen, die die Verrichtung kultischer Dienste abwarf;” these rights were treated as objects of property.³⁰ Thissen (p. 117) argues that the *s'nh* mentioned in *P.Tarich.* 15 (ll. 13, 21, 24, 26) can be equated with this γέρας, adding that *s'nh* is an “undeutlichen Wort (...) das meistens “Alimentation,” eine Zahlung des Mannes an die Frau bei Eheschließung, bedeutet, daneben aber auch die allgemeine Bedeutung “Pfründe, Einkommen” haben kann.” In fact, the term *s'nh* is well-attested in contracts regarding

²⁸ I thank Ruth Duttonhöfer for sharing her then forthcoming edition with me.

²⁹ *P.Tarich.* 6a (ll. 13–14): γέρωσ {αν} ἐνταφιαστικοῦ τῶν ἐμ Φιλαδελφίαι ταριχιῶν; *P.Tarich.* 6b (ll. 15–16): γέρωσ ἐνταφιαστικοῦ τῶν ἐν Φιλαδελφείαι ταριχιῶν; *P.Tarich.* 8 (ll. 9–10): [γέρας ὅ] ἦν \[ἐ]ν ταῖς ἐν Φιλαδελφείαι ταριχιείαις; *P.Tarich.* 10 (l. 7): γέρωσ ἐν ταῖς ταριχιείαις; *P.Tarich.* 12 (l. 10): γέρωσ τοῦ ἐν ταῖς ταριχιείαις.

³⁰ *P.Ashm.* 1.22 and *P.Leiden* inv. F. 1942/10.8 (published by K.A. Worp, “Greek von Scherling Papyri in Leiden,” *BASP* 50 [2013] 19–22) possibly also refer to funerary γέρα. The term is well-attested outside the funerary sphere as well.

funerary rights and property from Hawara, Memphis and the Kynopolites, where it is usually translated as “endowment” or “revenue-producing property.”³¹ The contracts from Hawara confirm the connection between the Greek and Demotic term, because some of their registration notes translate *s'nh* as γέρας:³²

Text	Demotic reference in body of contract	Greek reference in registration note
<i>P.Ashm.</i> 1.3 (115 BCE; cf. <i>SB</i> 14.11404)	<i>p3y=k s'nh [ht]mw wyt nty hr t3 h3s.t nty sh hry</i>	κ . . . νεκρι[ῶν] ταριχευτῶν ³³
<i>P.Hawara</i> 16α (92 BCE; cf. <i>SB</i> 24.16157)	<i>t3 dni(.t) 1/5 t3y=y dni(.t) 1/2 1/10 p3 s'nh htmw wyt nty mtw=y (n) t3 h3s.t Hw.t-wry (...)</i>	μέ(ρους) ᾧ ἀπὸ [με(ρῶν)] ἔ γέρωσ νεκρῶν ταριχε(υτῶν) τῶν ὄντων περὶ Αὐτῆριν (...)
<i>P.Hawara</i> 16β (92 BCE; cf. <i>SB</i> 24.16158)	<i>t3 dni(.t) 1/5 n [t3y=y dni(.t) 1/2 1/10 p3 s'nh htmw 'wyt' nty mtw=y nty (n) t3 h3s.t Hw.t-wry (...)</i>	ε' μέ(ρους) ἀπ[ὸ . . .] . . . ε . . . [ca. ? νεκριῶν] ταριχευτῶν τῶν ὄντων περὶ Αὐτῆριν (...) ³⁴

³¹ For Hawara, cf. S. Pasek, *Die wirtschaftlichen Grundlagen der Gottessiegler und Balsamierer zu Hawara: Der ökonomische Hintergrund eines priesterlichen Milieus im ägyptischen Fajum der Spätzeit und der hellenistischen Zeit* (Munich 2012) 17–50. For Memphis, cf. C.J. Martin, *Demotic Papyri from the Memphite Necropolis in the Collections of the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden, the British Museum and the Hermitage Museum (P. Dem. Memphis)* (Turnhout 2009) 59–65. For the Kynopolites, see P.Mallawi Dem. inv. 602/1–5 (described by Abd el-Aal [n. 27] 18–22) and P.Mallawi Dem. inv. 602/7 (published by E. Zaghloul, “An Agreement for Sale from the Reign of Ptolemy IX Sôter II in the Museum of Mallawi,” *BIFAO* 91 [1991] 255–265). Cf. also *P.Berl.Dem.* 1.9 (Elephantine, ca. 225–221 BCE), a fragmentary account with references to *s'nh.w* and choachytes (*w3h-mw*). For the use of the term *s'nh* in general, cf. I. Kato, “Demotic Matrimonial Property Contracts Recorded in the *s'nh*-Documents: A Re-Examination of the Term ‘*s'nh*,’” *Orient* 43 (2008) 119–149; E.A.E. Reymond, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the Ashmolean Museum. Vol. 1. Embalmers' Archives from Hawara* (Oxford 1973) 32–36.

³² This link was already noted by Pasek (n. 31) 29–32, although he accidentally uses the genitive γέρος as the standard form of the word. Armoni ([n. 2] 19) also refers to some of these contracts in her discussion of the γέρας, but does not discuss the correspondence between the terms γέρας and *s'nh* or other details.

³³ Cf. W. Clarysse and M. Depauw, “Greek Registrations in Hawara,” *ZPE* 131 (2000) 126.

³⁴ The initial fraction is read simply as ε in the *editio princeps* and the reedition by S. Pasek (*Hawara: eine ägyptische Siedlung in hellenistischer Zeit*, vol. 2 [Berlin 2007] 449), but the numeral is clearly topped by a vertical stroke, which cannot belong to the Demotic word above. Pasek reconstructs ε μέ(ρους) ἀπ[ὸ με(ρῶν)] ε [γέρωσ νεκρῶν] ταριχε(υτῶν), but that reading does not take account of all traces, and ταριχευτῶν is clearly not abbreviated.

Text	Demotic reference in body of contract	Greek reference in registration note
<i>P.Hawara</i> 17α (92 BCE; cf. <i>SB</i> 24.16159)	[t3 dni(.t) 1/5 nty ir dni(.t) 1.t hn 5.t n t3y=y dni(.t) 1/2 1/10 n p3 s'nh htmw 'wyt' (n) 't3' h3s.t n Hw.t-wry (...)	μέ(ρους) ᾱ γέρωϛ ἀπὸ με(ρῶν) ε̄ νεκρῶν ταριχευτῶν τῶν ὄντων περὶ Αὐτῆριν (...)
<i>P.Hawara</i> 17β (92 BCE; cf. <i>SB</i> 24.16160)	t3 dni(.t) '1/5' nty ir dni(.t) 1.t hn 5.t t3y=y dni(.t) 1/2 1/10 p3 s'nh n htmw 'wyt' (n) t3 h3s.t n Hw.t-wry (...)	ε' μέ(ρους) ἀπὸ μέ(ρους) [Ζ] ι' (?) νεκρῶν [τ]αριχευτῶν τῶν ὄντων περὶ Αὐτῆριν (...) ³⁵
<i>P.Hawara</i> 19α/β (85 BCE; cf. <i>SB</i> 24.16161)	α: t3y=y dni(.t) pš(.t) p3y=y s'nh nty n t3 h3s.t nty n dmy Sbk Hw.t-wly (...) β: p3y=k s'nh nty n t3 h3s.t n dmy Sbk Hw.t-wly (...)	Ζ μέρου(ς) <...> ταριχευτῶν τῶν ὄντων ἐν Λαβυρίνθω[ι] (...) ³⁶
<i>P.Hawara</i> 21α/β (83 BCE; cf. <i>SB</i> 24.16162)	α: t3y=y dni(.t) 1/3 1/15 nty ir dni(.t) 2.t hn 5.t p3 s'nh mr htmw wyt (n) t3 h3s.t Hw.t-wr.t (...) β: t3y=k dni(.t) 1/3 1/15 nty ir dni(.t) 2.t hn 5.t p3 s'nh mr htmw wyt nty hr t3 h3s.t Hw.t-wr.t (...)	γ' ιε' μέ(ρους) γέρωϛ νεκρῶν ταρι- χευτῶν τῶν περὶ τὸν Λαβύρινθον (...)

Table 2. Use of the terms *s'nh* and γέρας in *P.Ashm.* 1.3, *P.Hawara* 16α/β, 17α/β, 19α/β and 21α/β

In the Demotic expressions, *p3 s'nh* (“the endowment”) is usually preceded by an indication of the share (sometimes a share in a share: “the 1/5 share of my 3/5 share of the endowment”) and followed by an undertaker’s title (most commonly *htmw wyt*, “(god’s) sealer and embalmer”) and reference to one or more necropoleis (abridged in the citations above).³⁷

³⁵ The initial fraction is read as ε̄ in the *editio princeps* and reedition by Pasek ([n. 34] 464), but there is clearly no horizontal stroke on top of the letter. There may be slight traces of the expected vertical stroke, close to the break in the papyrus (already transcribed as such in *DDbDP*, without further note). The abbreviation (δεκάτου) is uncertain, as admitted in the *editio princeps*.

³⁶ As remarked in the *editio princeps*, νεκρ(ι)ῶν (and possibly γέρωϛ) appears to have been omitted in this case.

³⁷ The writings of *htmw* without *ntr* sign are probably simply shorter variants of the title *htmw-ntr*, “god’s sealer”: see M. Cannata, *Three Hundred Years of Death: The Egyptian Funerary Industry in the Ptolemaic Period* (Boston 2020) 63–64; S. Pasek, *Hawara: eine ägyptische Siedlung in hellenistischer Zeit*, vol. 1 (Berlin 2007) 303; contra Reymond (n. 31) 25–26.

Not all the Greek registration notes use the word γέρας, but nevertheless the link with *s'nh* is clear. The meaning of νεκρ(ι)ῶν ταριχευτῶν is less straightforward: the scribes appear to have confused the words νεκρός (“corpse”) and νεκρία(ι) (“cemetery”); ταριχευτῶν could be interpreted as the genitive plural of the title ταριχευτής, “embalmer,” or the adjective ταριχευτός, indicating that the corpses are “embalmed.”³⁸ Apparently the scribes found it difficult to translate the expressions from the Demotic contracts. The references to the γέρας ἐνταφιαστικόν and/or γέρας “in/of the ταριχεῖαι in Philadelphiea” (with ἐν or genitive) in *P.Tarich.* probably render similar Demotic expressions, which are also found in many other Demotic undertakers’ papyri.³⁹

The word καρπεῖαι, used to refer to the revenue derived from the disputed γέρας in *P.Tarich.* 8 (ll. 20, 24), is also attested in Greek documents from the Theban choachyte archive, where it translates the Demotic term *šdy.w* (and perhaps also *ihy.w*).⁴⁰ Several Demotic undertakers’ papyri

³⁸ Cf. also τρίτου καὶ ἑ’ ταριχῆας translating *n3 šdy.w (n) n3 hwy.wt n3 qs.w n htmw-ntr wyt* in the Rendell papyrus (reedited in the appendix of *P.Chic.Haw.*). According to Cannata ([n. 37] 67), Martin ([n. 31] 30) and I. Uytterhoeven (*Hawara in the Graeco-Roman Period: Life and Death in a Fayum Village* [Leuven 2009] 365), ταριχευτῶν in the Greek registration notes translates *htmw wyt*, but some caution is in place, since these would be the only known texts in which the title is translated as such. The Demotic titles of *hr-hb* (which can certainly be translated as ταριχευτής; see n. 25 above) and *htmw(-ntr)* were closely related, as witnessed by undertakers bearing both titles in *P.Hawara* 10 and *P.Mallawi* Dem. inv. 602/9 (published by O. el-Aguizy, “A Demotic Deed of ‘Not Hindering’ from Sharunah,” *BIFAO* 89 [1989] 89–99) and the frequent inclusion of *hr-hb* rights in *htmw(-ntr)* contracts (cf. M. Cannata, “God’s Seal-Bearers, Lector-Priests and Choachytes: Who’s Who at Memphis and Hawara,” in G. Widmer and D. Devauchelle [eds.], *Actes du IX^e congrès international des études démotiques, Paris, 31 août - 3 septembre 2005* [Cairo 2009] 57–68; Martin [n. 31] 29–31; Reymond [n. 31] 24–26). The same goes for *hr-hb* and *wyt*: in *P. Rhind* 1 (9 BC), Anubis is identified as *wty* (= *wyt*) in the Hieratic version (I 3 h 8–9) and *hr-hb* in the Demotic version (I 3 d 8–9). Perhaps ταριχευτῶν in the registration notes simply refers to the work of *hr-hb* performed by the undertakers, or concerns the additional title *wyt* rather than *htmw*? Also note that the absence of the title in the Demotic references in *P.Hawara* 19a/β and the use of the more extensive title *mr htmw wyt* in *P.Hawara* 21a/β do not influence the use of ταριχευτῶν in the Greek notes.

³⁹ Perhaps the different Greek constructions with ἐν or the genitive reflect different Demotic constructions, e.g. with or without the preposition *hr*. Cf. Armoni (n. 2) 84: “Wie der präpositionale Ausdruck an diesen Stellen zu verstehen ist, ist nicht ganz eindeutig.” She suggests that the term ταριχεῖαι could refer to the embalming place (*w’h.t*), but on the basis of the Demotic material one would rather expect it to refer to the necropolis (*h3s.t*). Other uses of the word ταριχεῖα/ταριχεῖαι (including ταριχῆας in the Rendell papyrus, referred to in the previous note) are discussed by Baetens (n. 25) 286–287. If the reading *p3 hr-hb* in l. 13 of *P.Tarich.* 15 (see above) is accepted, the group *p3 s'nh p3 hr-hb* can be read there, similar to *p3 s'nh htmw wyt* in the contracts from Hawara, and perhaps translated in Greek as γέρας ἐνταφιαστικόν.

⁴⁰ Cf. P.W. Pestman, *The Archive of the Theban Choachytes (Second Century B.C.): A Survey of the Demotic and Greek Papyri Contained in the Archive* (Leuven 1993) 459–464.

from Hawara refer to *šdy.w* connected to *s'nh.w*, similar to the *καρπεῖαι* connected to the *γέρας* in *P.Tarich*. 8.⁴¹ In *P.Tarich*. 6a/b, Amenneus and Onnophris claim that the endowment produced an income of 4000 drachmai per year, which their opponents had illegally usurped for nineteen years. According to the editor (p. 22), this means that the owner of the endowment was not simply entitled to payments for funerary services but to a fixed, yearly revenue. It also seems possible, however, that this figure of 4000 drachmai is merely an estimation by Amenneus and Onnophris, intended to harass their opponents and arouse the government's interest. They may have had a sudden change of mind about the value of the endowment when bidding 1 talent for it in *P.Tarich*. 10.

Why did the dispute take so long? The editor (pp. 16, 22–23) wonders if the temple may have been a complicating factor. In *P.Tarich*. 8, Onnophris asks the *chrematistai* to write to the prophet of Souchos to sequester the disputed revenue until the end of the lawsuit, and in the translated *P.Tarich*. 14, Amenneus' title seems to be connected to a divine cult (fr. a ll. 7–8: *ταριχεντῆι* [ca. ? *με*] *γάλου θεοῦ*). The editor suggests that the endowment left by Psenehmous may actually have been acquired by the temple rather than by the three undertakers from Philadelphieia, with the latter having some kind of contractual relationship with the former regarding the funerary rights and revenue but not owning the endowment themselves, a circumstance tactically concealed by Amenneus and Onnophris. Although it was indeed possible for temples to acquire *γέρα*, this interpretation seems doubtful.⁴² First, Amenneus and Onnophris would probably not have asked the *chrematistai* to involve the prophet of Souchos if they really wanted to conceal that the temple owned the endowment. Second, other sources about funerary *γέρα/s'nh.w* always record private persons as owners rather than temples. Third, other sources suggest that the temple played an important general role in the administration of the funerary trade. Van Minnen already pointed in his review to the role of the temple in the collection of funerary taxes.⁴³ More directly important in this

For the use of the Greek term *καρπεῖαι*, see also Armoni (n. 2) 18. T. Derda ("Necropolis Workers in Greco-Roman Egypt in the Light of the Greek Papyri," *JJP* 21 [1991] 24) argues that *καρπεῖαι* are payments in kind, but does not offer any arguments for this; the discussions by Otto and Wilcken cited by Derda do not claim that *καρπεῖαι* only encompassed payments in kind.

⁴¹ See for example *P.Ashm*. 1.1; *P.Hawara* 11, 19a/β. In the undertakers' archive from Memphis, *s'nh.w* and *šdy.w* (or *šty.w*) appear together as well, but their precise connection is less clear: cf. Martin (n. 31) 59–64.

⁴² For the acquisition of *γέρα* by temples, see Armoni (n. 2) 20.

⁴³ Van Minnen (n. 6) 246. For an up-to-date overview of funerary taxes in Graeco-Roman Egypt, see G. Baetens, R.S. Bagnall, C. Caputo, E. Mazy, and D.M. Ratzan, *Ostraka*

context is the connection between the prophets of Souchos and the funerary trade in Demotic papyri from Hawara, whose funerary business is the most richly documented of the Fayum.⁴⁴ *P.Hawara* 20 (84 BCE) contains a loan contract concluded between three undertakers and the representative (*rd*) of the prophet of Souchos, to which an oath concerning mummies is appended.⁴⁵ In *P.Hawara* 22 (79 BCE), two undertakers swear an oath to the prophet of Souchos regarding funerary rights. *P.Cairo Dem. inv. 50127* (95 or 62 BCE), finally, contains a letter addressed to the temple scribe concerning a dispute in the necropolis of Hawara; the interpretation of the letter poses many difficulties, but the prophet of Souchos again plays a central role in the events.⁴⁶ Additionally, several Hawara papyri refer to undertakers as “servants of Souchos” (*b3k Sbk*), suggesting a relationship to the temple.⁴⁷ The best parallel for Amenneus’ title in *P.Tarich. 14* (ταρι-χευτῆι [ca. ? με]γάλου θεοῦ) can be found in an early Roman papyrus from Soknopaïou Nesos, *P.Dime* 3.36 (20 BCE), which records a “doctor and lector-priest of Souchos, the great god, and priest of Souchos, the great god, and doctor and lector-priest of Soknopaïos, the great god” (ll. 3–4: *swnw hr-ḥb Sbk p3 ntr ʿ3 ʿirm wʿb Sbk {p3 ntr} p3 ntr ʿ3 ʿirm swnw hr-ḥb Sbk-nb-Pay p3 ntr ʿ3*). All this suggests a structural connection between the administration of the necropoleis and the temple (at least in this region and period), which provides a more straightforward explanation for the involvement of the temple in *P.Tarich.* than the hypothesis about the ownership of the endowment.

in the *Collection of New York University (O.NYU)* (New York 2021) 25–28, 32–37, with further bibliography.

⁴⁴ Cf. Pasek (n. 37) 296–297; Uytterhoeven (n. 38) 371. They do not refer to *P.Hawara* 22 in their discussion.

⁴⁵ In the *editio princeps*, the title of the representative (ll. 3–4) is read *p3 rd p3 ḥm-ntr Sbk nty wb3 P3-lw3 {p3} wʿb t3 ḥ3s.t Ḥ.t-wry*, “dem Vertreter des Gottes-Dienstes, des Suchos, der für *P3-lw3*, (den) Priester der Nekropole (von) Hawara, verhandelt.” In the reedition by Pasek ([n. 34] 493–494), the title is read *p3 rd p3 ḥm-ntr Sbk nty wb3 p3 lwḥ wʿb t3 ḥ3s.t Ḥ.t-wry*, meaning that the representative has to look after the “Verstoß gegen das Reinige/Heilige” in the necropolis, with a possible parallel for *lwḥ wʿb* in *P.Cairo Dem. inv. 50127* l. 8 (read by R. Jasnow: cf. *Chicago Demotic Dictionary*, entry for *wʿb*). Perhaps it may also be possible to read *p3 rd p3 ḥm-ntr Sbk nty wb3 P3-lw3 nty sn t3 ḥ3s.t Ḥ.t-wry*, “the agent of the prophet of Souchos, who is responsible for Palous, who inspects the necropolis of Hawara.” In any case, *P3-lw3* with person determinative looks more convincing than *p3 lwḥ* with dying warrior determinative. Cf. also Uytterhoeven (n. 38) 371, n. 349: “Whereas *P.Hawara* Lüdd. reads ‘Paleus <the> priest of the necropolis,’ W. Clarysse and M. Depauw translate ‘responsible for/of the necropolis.’”

⁴⁶ The papyrus has been re-edited multiple times: cf. recently Cannata (n. 37) 76–90.

⁴⁷ This is already noted by Armoni (n. 2) 22–23, but does not necessarily support her hypothesis: see *P.Ashm.* 1.1 and *P.Hawara* 19a/β, for example, which record transactions of privately-owned shares in funerary *sʿnh.w*, whose owners are nevertheless identified as “servants of Souchos.”

Could there be another reason why the proceedings took so long, besides the obvious complexity of the auction procedure and the alleged schemes of Amenneus' and Onnophris' opponents? The most logical place to look for an answer to this question would be the report about the endowment written by the *komogrammateus* of Philadelphieia in reaction to the bid by Amenneus and Onnophris, read by the editor as follows (*P.Tarich.* 12 ll. 8–16):

- 8 [παρ]ὰ Φανήσιος κω(μο)γρ(αμματέως) Φιλαδελφείας, ἐκομισάμην
 τ[ὸ] ἐπιδοθὲν ὑπόμνη(μα) Ἀργείῳ τῷ ἐπιμ(ελητῇ) παρὰ
 9 [Ἀμενν]ίῳ τοῦ Ὁρου καὶ Ὀννώφριος τῶν ἐκ Τάνεως ταριχευτῶν [π]ερὶ
 Ψενεφμοῦτος τοῦ Πα[ώπιος]
 10 [ταρι]χευτοῦ τῶν ἐκ Φιλαδελφε(ίας) περὶ τοῦ ἄν(α)γρ(αφομένου) γέρως
 τοῦ ἐν ταῖς τ[α]ριχίαις. τοῦ πατρός μου Μαρρείου
 11 [κατ]απλεύσαντος εἰς Ἀλεξάν(δρειαν) πρὸς Πρώταρχον ἐν τῷ ιη (ἔτει)
 κατεστάθην πρὸς τῇ κω(μο)γρ(αμματεία). ἐν τῷ
 12 [αὐτ]ῷ (ἔτει) εὐρίσκω τοὺς προγεγρ(αμμένους) Ἀβῦχιν καὶ Κελεχὼν καὶ
 [Π]ᾶσιν ὄντας γ̄ πρὸς τῇ χρεΐαι
 13 [. . .] διαιροῦντας δὲ εἰς αὐτοὺς τοὺς γ̄ τὴν τε . . . [] . . ν τῶν σωμάτων
 ἕκασ[τον] ἐγ̄ διαδοχῆς
 14 [κα]ὶ ἕως τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας τὸ αὐτὸ. γίνεται . . διαίρε . . ε . . [. .]
 α [. .] εἰς μερίδας δ̄
 15 [. . .] παραχρῆμα τὸ τέταρτον μέρος vac. . () εἰς (ἔτη) γ̄ (ταλάντων) γ.
 16 vac. [(ἔτους) κα] Φαμενὼθ κδ̄

The editor (pp. 103–104) comments: “Der Sinn der Zeilen 13–15 blieb mir weitgehend obskur; dies ist um so mehr zu bedauern, als dieser Passus die einzige Stelle im Archiv ist, die sich auf die durch die Gegner unserer Petenten getroffenen Abmachungen bezüglich des Geras sowie den Wert des Streitgegenstandes bezieht.” Although much of the report is indeed hard to understand, the references to the different shares are striking.⁴⁸ Van Minnen already remarked in his review that the reading τὴν τετάρτην τῶν σωμάτων in l. 13, already proposed by D. Kaltsas according to the textual note by the editor, must be correct.⁴⁹ The editor rejected this

⁴⁸ Willy Clarysse suggested to read the abbreviation χα(λκοῦ) in the middle of l. 15, which would work well with the traces but would normally be expected immediately before (ταλάντων). The nature of this sum of money escapes me: is this the price which the *komogrammateus* proposes to ask for the endowment rather than the 1 talent offered by Amenneus and Onnophris? As explained by Armoni ([n. 2] 97), it was common practice to pay for auctioned property in yearly installments.

⁴⁹ Van Minnen (n. 6) 248.

reading because there are no parallels for a tax with this name, but this “quarter of the bodies” should rather be understood as a share in the funerary business, as explained by van Minnen. Further, I believe that τὸ τέταρτον μέρος in l. 15 can be corrected to τὸ τέταρτον γέρως, with γέρως written in precisely the same way as in l. 10 (but curiously without article τοῦ). Presumably, this τετάρτην τῶν σωμάτων and τέταρτον γέρως designate the same thing: a 1/4 share in an endowment consisting of – what else would you expect? – bodies. Mummification rights on dead people constituted the primary assets of embalmers. Undertakers could acquire the exclusive right to mummify people from certain villages and households, without free choice for the relatives of the deceased.⁵⁰ The feminine form τετάρτην in l. 13 (rather than neuter form τέταρτον as in l. 15) can be explained by the occurrence of the feminine μερίδας ὃ (referring to all four shares) in l. 14, as already noted by van Minnen. The choice of gender may also have been influenced by the feminine Demotic word for a share, *dn̄.t*, which brings us to another correction: in l. 18 of *P.Tarich.* 15, Thissen read ... 3.t t3 *dn̄.t* ..., but the number is clearly 4 rather than 3; perhaps ... t3 ‘*dn̄.t*’ 4.t t3 *dn̄.t* ‘1/4’ ... , “... the four shares, the 1/4 share ...” can be read. The passage is unclear but evidently connects to *P.Tarich.* 12. These lines of *P.Tarich.* 15 may even contain a Demotic version of the Greek report copied in *P.Tarich.* 12 (see above), but they are so poorly preserved that it is hard to be sure. In any case, it seems clear that Psenephmous’ endowment actually comprised only one of four shares in an endowment, similar to the shares in endowments in the contracts from Hawara cited above. It is not clear if the endowment in question covered the entire mummification business in Philadelphieia or not.

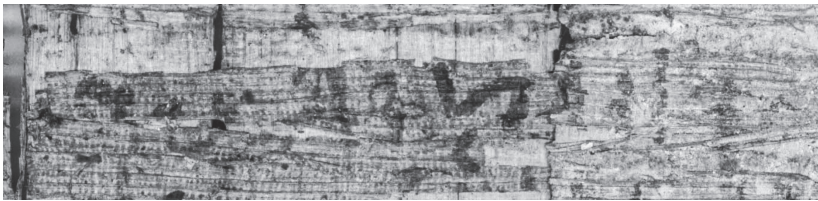


Fig. 5. *P.Tarich.* 15, detail of l. 18

The report by the *komogrammateus* seems to explain that the opponents of Amenneus and Onnophris divided the 1/4 of the endowment among

⁵⁰ Cf. P.W. Pestman, “Les documents juridiques des ‘chanceliers du dieu’ de Memphis à l’Époque Ptolémaïque,” *OMRO* 44 (1963) 15, 17–18; Pestman (n. 25) 52.

the three of them (l. 13: διαιροῦντας δὲ εἰς αὐτοὺς τοὺς γ̄). Another fragmentary reference to a division is found in the next line. *P.Tarich.* 9a/b and *P.Tarich.* 14 also relate to divisions. In *P.Tarich.* 9a/b, Onnophris asks the *chrematistai* to summon the mother of one of his opponents as well as three other embalmers, because they have attended a division of the endowment and its revenue (*P.Tarich.* 9b ll. 19–22: διὰ τὸ καὶ τούτους ἐπηκολουθηκέναι τῇ διαιρέσει τοῦ αὐτοῦ γέροντος καὶ τοῖς ἀπενηνεγμένοις ἐξ αὐτοῦ; the same more fragmentary in *P.Tarich.* 9a ll. 20–22), possibly the same division as the one referred to in *P.Tarich.* 12. *P.Tarich.* 14 contains a translation of a Demotic contract regarding what is probably another division of funerary rights, involving the petitioner Amenneus.⁵¹ The editor already devotes a few words to these divisions (pp. 5, 88, 112), but they may have played a central role in the dispute, which would explain their central place in the report by the *komogrammateus*. As discussed above, funerary interests in Graeco-Roman Egypt were often divided in different shares, which could be owned by different undertakers. Just as for other property, these ideal shares could be delineated in a more precise way in division contracts concluded between the shareholders.⁵² A good example of such a division is provided by the pair of contracts *P.Brit.Mus.* 4.15 and P.Berlin Dem. inv. 3089 + *P.Brit.Mus.* 4.20 (Thebes, 230 BCE), in which an uncle and nephew acknowledge and specify each other's half share in a group of tombs and mummies: in the first contract, the uncle lists all the tombs and mummies that belong to the nephew; in the second, the nephew lists all the tombs and mummies belonging to his uncle.⁵³ The divisions mentioned in *P.Tarich.* probably served a similar purpose.

Several papyri show that these divisions were not always unambiguous and could spark conflict.⁵⁴ *P.Tor.Amen.* 6–8 (Thebes, 119–116 BCE)

⁵¹ See in particular fr. a, col. 1.11–13: διείρημαί σοι καὶ . . . κοι . . . ν [ca. ? τῶ]ν ταριχευτῶν τέχνης [ca. ?] ἡμῖν μέρος τροφίτιδος [ca. ?]. The expression διείρημαί σοι (probably a mistake for διειρήμεθά σοι here, as noted by Armoni) possibly translates the phrase *pš=y/n ἰrm=k* introducing the body of several Demotic division contracts; [τῶ]ν ταριχευτῶν τέχνης probably corresponds to *wp.t n hr-hb* (see above); τροφίτιδος, which also appears to occur in fr. d l. 5 of the same text, may perhaps be an awkward term for a funerary *s'nh* here, based on the common Greek term συγγραφή τροφίτις for Demotic marriage contracts called *sh n s'nh* (cf. Kato [n. 31] 125).

⁵² This special type of division contracts should not be confused with division contracts used to transfer property: cf. S.L. Lippert and M. Schentuleit, *Demotische Dokumente aus Dime III: Urkunden* (Wiesbaden 2010) 59–65; S.L. Lippert, *Einführung in die altägyptische Rechtsgeschichte*, second edition (Berlin 2012) 154–156.

⁵³ The papyrus from Berlin is published by G. Vittmann, "Eine demotische Teilungsurkunde aus dem Jahr 230 v. Chr. (Papyrus Berlin P. 3089)," *ZÄS* 109 (1983) 166–171.

⁵⁴ For a list of undertakers' disputes in the papyri, see Baetens (n. 25) 296, n. 24.

present a colorful example: two undertakers from Thebes, Amenothos and Petenephotes, had concluded a detailed agreement about their respective shares in the embalming business in the area, but nevertheless ended up accusing each other of infringing upon their rights; one of the disputed corpses belonged to an official from the village of Pois (which had been assigned to Petenephotes) who had died in Diospolis (which had been assigned to Amenothos). *O.Tempeleide* 38–39 (154–153 or 143–142 BCE?) and 41 (101 BCE?) appear to derive from similar conflicts about bodies assigned by “the collectivity of the lector-priests of Thebes” (*t3 š3.t n3 hr-hb.w n Nw.t*) to individual undertakers on “the day of division” (*p3 hrw n pš*); the fact that these oaths had to be sworn suggests that written evidence concerning the divisions was missing.⁵⁵ P.Mallawi Dem. inv. 602/10 (Kynopolites, 111 BCE) and *P.Ryl.* 2.65 (Oxyrhynchos, 67 BCE?) contain reports of legal proceedings about similar cases.⁵⁶ In the latter text, the judges add that the accused party had brought about “long-standing disturbance” (ll. 15–16: [τῆι] πολυχρονίῳ καταφθορᾷ) through their illegal funerary services, which may mean that the dispute took a long time to resolve.

In all likelihood, Amenneus’ and Onnophris’ opponents were no new arrivals in the necropolis of Philadelphieia. The funerary trade was a closed world, dominated by associations and family relations. Although Amenneus and Onnophris denounce their opponents’ seizure of Psenephmous’ share in the endowment, they nevertheless always refer to them as “embalmers from Philadelphieia.” It is even conceivable that their opponents already owned (part of) the remaining 3/4 in the same endowment, and that this was tactically concealed by the petitioners.⁵⁷ When Psenephmous passed away, someone had to bury the dead that had been assigned to him: this could hardly wait until his funerary rights were auctioned, let alone until Amenneus’ and Onnophris’ appearance many years later. Who would have been better placed for this job than Psenephmous’ colleagues? The assumption that Amenneus’ and Onnophris’ opponents already owned rights in the necropolis earlier on could also explain why the case took so long and why

⁵⁵ These texts are also discussed by Cannata (n. 37) 44–45.

⁵⁶ The Kynopolite text is published by O. el-Aguizy, “A Ptolemaic Judicial Document from Hwt-nsw,” *BIFAO* 88 (1988) 51–62.

⁵⁷ The two other embalmers mentioned in *P.Tarich.* 1 l. 18 and three other embalmers mentioned in *P.Tarich.* 9a ll. 16–18 and *P.Tarich.* 9b ll. 15–17 are also possible candidates, but they are identified as undertakers from Kerkeesis and undertakers “who have moved from Moieithymis in the Memphite nome” (*P.Tarich.* 9b ll. 18–19: οἱ μετῴκοῦσιν ἀπ[ὸ] Μοιεθύμει τοῦ Μεμφίτου; the same more fragmentary in *P.Tarich.* 9a ll. 18–19), respectively.

the divisions were important: without hard evidence regarding the divisions of the funerary rights, it was hard to determine to what extent they encroached upon Psenephmous' share or simply continued the work to which they had always been entitled. The trade in dead people was more complicated than the trade in other commodities.

A NEW EDITION OF *P.Tebt.* 1.264¹

Riccardo Vecchiato *Kommission für Alte Geschichte und Epigraphik
des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, München* and
J. Andrew Wein *University of California, Berkeley*

Abstract. — Full edition of *P.Tebt.* 1.264, a fragmentary petition from a βασιλικὸς γεωργός from 115 BCE, whose upper half was not included in *P.Tebt.* 1. Some corrections were added as well.

Keywords: petition, βασιλικὸς γεωργός, crime

The text, briefly described in *P.Tebt.* 1, p. 537, is a fragmentary petition from a βασιλικὸς γεωργός (cf. fr. a, ll. 6–9).² The addressee is unidentified, but is almost certainly an official at the village level (see below n. 3 and fr. b, ll. 8–9 comm.). In the first of two fragments (fr. a), the farmer accuses several persons of committing a crime against him. The nature of the alleged crime is unclear, but the persons are said to have committed it by taking advantage of a time in which the petitioner was at work in his fields. The narrative picks up in the second fragment (fr. b) with the petitioner taking action against two of the accused, whose names are Tasigonis and Theon. Calling at night on the ἐπιτᾶτης and a number of φυλακῖται, he leads them to the house of one Petermouthis, where the man and woman are apprehended.

Most of the other documents used as cartonnage for crocodile mummy 17 belong to the archive of Menches, the κωμογραμματεὺς of Kerkeosiris.³ Could this papyrus also belong to his archive? The petitioner mentions

¹ We would like to thank Todd Hickey and the Center for the Tebtunis Papyri for the opportunity to work on this document. We are also thankful for the valuable comments and suggestions of Charikleia Armoni, Klaus Maresch, and our two anonymous reviewers.

A picture of the papyrus is available online at <https://dpg.lib.berkeley.edu/webdb/apis/apis2?apisid=719&item=1>. An infrared photo is printed below as Fig. 1, courtesy of the Center for the Tebtunis Papyri, University of California, Berkeley.

² For a general study of petitions from the Ptolemaic period, see G. Baetens, *A Survey of Petitions and Related Documents from Ptolemaic Egypt*, Trismegistos Online Publications Special Series 5 (Leuven 2020), available at www.trismegistos.org/top.

³ A list of the texts coming from crocodile mummy 17 can be found in A.M.F.W. Verhoogt, *Menches, Komogrammateus of Kerkeosiris* (Leiden 1998) 19. There and on p. 184, the suggestion is made that *P.Tebt.* 1.264 was addressed to Menches.

that he farms royal land both in Thegonis and another village, which he neglects to name in the preserved portion of the petition (fr. a, ll. 6–9). We know from another papyrus (*P.Tebt.* 1.84.6–7) that Kerkeosiris bordered Thegonis to the northwest,⁴ so it is entirely possible that this is the second village, and that the petition was delivered there to an official, perhaps even Menches himself.

The upper part of the papyrus (fr. a) consists of three pieces, while the lower (fr. b) consists of two. One of the two pieces which make up fr. b is very small, and it has been mistakenly joined with tape to the upper left part of fr. a. The text is written along the fibers; the back of the document, to judge from what remains of it, was blank. There is a *kollesis* approximately 0.5 cm from the right edge of the papyrus. There are two hands. The first writes the body of the petition with a pen in a quick and skilled cursive. It is comparable to other documents from the end of the second century (e.g. *P.Tebt.* 1.24 from 117 BCE, *P.Tebt.* 1.39 from 114/113, or *P.Tebt.* 1.46 from 113). After the closing lines of the petition, the second hand writes a brief subscription with a brush (fr. b, l. 13).

The repositioning of the aforementioned scrap from fragment a to b has allowed us to date the papyrus with greater precision than paleography permits. The petitioner led the authorities to the house of Petermouthis on the night before the first of either Pauni or Pachon in a second regnal year. The year is most likely the second in the joint reign of Cleopatra III and her son Ptolemy IX, that is, 116/115. This is consistent with the other documents from mummy 17, all of which are dated between the last two decades of the second century and the first decade of the first.⁵ The arrest accordingly took place on the night leading to 19th of May or the 18th of June in 115 (see fr. b, ll. 1–8), and the petition must have been written on one of those days or shortly thereafter.

It is unclear how many lines are missing between fr. a and b. Surely at least one is lost, since the sentence with which fr. a breaks off does not continue on into fr. b. The two fragments together measure roughly 17 cm in height. Comparable petitions of the period tend to be written on tall and narrow sheets of papyrus, with the norm being a length of 30–31 cm.⁶

⁴ For further bibliography relating to Thegonis, see www.trismegistos.org/place/2376.

⁵ For this reason, it seems unlikely that the second regnal year mentioned in the papyrus can be identified with the second year of Ptolemy XII's reign (80/79). For a list, see Verhoogt (n. 3) 19.

⁶ Cf., e.g., *P.Phrur.Diosk.* 1 (154?), measuring 30.8 × 11 cm; *P.Oxyrhyncha* 8 (142), measuring 31 × 6.8 cm (the two fragments making up the papyrus measure resp. 19 and 12 cm, and there was probably no line lost between them); *P.Tebt.* 1.39 (114), measuring 30.5 × 13.7 cm. and 1.44 (114), measuring 30.6 × 9.8 cm. Of course, shorter sheets could also be used, for example *P.Köln* 11.455 (134) measures 28.5 cm in height.

Assuming such a length here, we are missing 13 or 14 cm of papyrus. Observing next that the 9 lines of fragment a occupy 6 cm of papyrus, while the 11 lines of fragment b take up 7 cm, we conclude that no more than 16–18 lines of text are lost.

We offer here a new transcription of the text, noting our corrections to the partial transcription of Grenfell and Hunt, which deals only with lines 3–12 of fr. b, in the commentary.

P.Tebt. 1.264 *descr.* fr. a H × W = 6.7 × 8.2 cm Arsinoite nome, near Thegonis
crocodile cartonnage 17.2 fr. b H × W = 9.8 × 8.2 cm ± 19th May or 18th June 115 BCE

fr. a

1 [.] . ἴος τι[.]
2 [.] α ἀγνοῶ τ . . [. . .] τηι
3 [.] κοινου οἰκ . . [. . .] καὶ
4 [νομίς]αντες καιρὸν [εὐ]φυῆι
5 [ἔχειν τ]ῶι κατασχολε[ῖ]σθαι με
6 π[ερὶ] τὸν θερικμὸν ἧς [γ]εωργῶι
7 π[ερὶ] τὴν προγεγραμμένην
8 κ[ώ]μην καὶ Θεογ[ο]νίδα
9 [βασιλι]κὴν γῆν α . [.] . . ις

fr. b

1 [τῇ δὲ] γυκτὶ τῇ[ι φερο]ύ[ς]ηι
2 [εἰς τὴν] ᾧ τοῦ Πα[. . . το]ῦ β (ἔτους)
3 [παρα]λαβὼν τὸν [ἐπις]τήν
4 [καὶ τ]ινὰς τῶν φυ[λακιτῶ]ν ἐπὶ
5 τ[ὴν] Πετερμούθιος οἰκίαν
6 παρέδωκα τὴν Τασιγῶνιν
7 καὶ τὸν Θέωνα ἐν τῶι αὐτῶι
8 ἀγαπαομένους(?). διὸ προσ-
9 αγγέλλω σοι ὅπως ὑποτάξῃς
10 οἷς καθήκει, ἵν' ἔχωι ἐν χρη-
11 ματικμῶι.
12 *paragraphos* εὐτύχει.

13 *m*² καὶ Ἐργανοῦπις Πετώιτος.
margin

a 4 l. [εὐ]φυῆ a 6 l. [γ]εωργῶ a 9 l. [βασιλι]κῆς γῆς b 10 l. ἔχω

“... I do not know ... house ... thinking they [had] a fitting opportunity since I was occupied with the harvest of the royal land I cultivate in the proximity of the aforementioned village and of Theogonis (*fracture between the upper and lower part of the papyrus*). On the night leading to the 1st of Pa[...] in the 2nd year I took the *epistates* and some of the *phylakitai* with me to the house of Petermouthis and I handed over to them Tasigonis and Theon, who were resting right there (? *see commentary below*). Therefore, I report this to you so that you can forward it to the appropriate officials, in order that I have it placed in an official register. Farewell. (*in a second hand*) And Herganoupis, son of Petois, as well.”

Fragment A

1–2 [.] . ιός τι[.] [.] α ἄγνοω: The verb would at first seem to suggest an expression like ὧν τὰ ὀνόματα ἄγνοω, which appears when the petitioner does not know the names of the accused (see, e.g., *P.Hels.* 1.2.14–15 [about 195–192] or *P.Tebt.* 1.39.27–28 [114]). But our petitioner *does* know the names of at least two of the accused: the fact that he uses definite articles when he refers to Tasigonis and Theon in fragment b (ll. 6–7) implies that he has already identified them earlier in the document.⁷ We think it more likely that the petitioner refers here to a third accomplice whose father he does not know: [.] . ιός τι[voc, οὗ τὸν] | [πατέρ]α ἄγνοω. Parallels are *P.Tor.Choach.* 8a.9–10 (127) Μεντεμῆτος, οὗ τὸν πατέρα ἄγνοω, *SB* 8.9674.8–9 (131) Πνεφερῶτος τινος, οὗ τ[ὸ]ν πατέρα ἄγνοω, *BGU* 8.1817.10–11 (60/59) Ἡράκλειος τις, οὗ τὸν πατέρα ἄγνοω. This might be the missing information which the second hand adds in his subscription: “and Erganoupis, son of Petois” (fr. b, l. 13). One could accordingly supplement [Ἐργανού]πιός τι[voc, οὗ τὸν] | [πατέρ]α ἄγνοω.

2–3 τ . . [. . .] τηι | [.] κοινου οἴκ . . [. . .]: We were unable to make sense of this portion. The first traces after ἄγνοω probably belong to a *tau*, but the combination of *alpha* and *tau* has a similar shape in κατα-χολε[ι]cθαι (fr. a, l. 5). One would like to fill the second lacuna of l. 3 with a “house” word. The traces are incompatible with κοινοῦ οἴκου, and κοινοῦ οἰκή[ματος] would not fit the space of the lacuna. The best bet

⁷ E. Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit, mit Einschluß der gleichzeitigen Ostraka und der in Ägypten verfassten Inschriften* 2.2 (Berlin-Leipzig 1934) 9–12.

Fig. 1. Infrared photo of *P.Tebt.* 1.264

Courtesy of the Center for the Tebtunis Papyri, University of California, Berkeley

is τῆι | [.]κοινου οἰκή[σει], which fills the space nicely. Note, however, that the writer uses οἰκία below (fr. b, l. 5). This is a little odd, but not without parallel.⁸ What then to do with κοινου, if it cannot agree with our “house” word? If we take this word as part of the phrase ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ, we can fill out the first lacuna of line 3, but it remains a possibility that the letters form the rare personal name Κοῖνος (for the accentuation of which, see *P.Köln* 6.271.c.5),⁹ identified here in the genitive as the owner of this home. For a parallel, see *P.Tebt.* 3.793.8.12–13 (183): [ἐν τῇ] λεγομένῃ Φιλονίκου οἰκίαι. There would, however, be no room in our lacuna for a participle like λεγομένη.

4–5 [νομίς]αντες καιρὸν [εὐ]φυῆι | [ἔ]χειν]: We find the same phrase in a similar context (where the absence of a property owner gives occasion for a crime) at *P.Tebt.* 1.50.11–14 (112/111): ἐν δὲ τῷ β (ἔτει) χωρικθέντος μου εἰς ἀλλοδημίαν περὶ ἀναγκαίων πραγμάτων ... ὁ προγεγραμμένος Λύκος νομίςας καιρὸν εὐφυῆι {ι} ἔχειν ἐπιβαλὼν συνέχως [α]εν τὰ ἐν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ γῇ μέρη τοῦ σηματομένου ὕδραγωγῶ. The phrase also appears in Polybius: ἀπελπίσας Ἀννίβας τὰ πράγματα καὶ νομίςας ἔχειν εὐφυῆ καιρὸν πρὸς σπηρίαν (1.19.12); and οἱ δ’ Αἰτωλοὶ νομίσαντες ἔχειν εὐφυῆ καιρὸν πρὸς τὸ τὴν Ἀμφιλοχίαν καὶ τὴν Ἀπεραντίαν ἀνακτεῖσθαι (21.25.3).

5 [τ]ῶι κατασχολεῖ[ι]σθαι με: For the substantival infinitive in the dative case functioning as a causal clause, see Mayser (n. 7) vol. 2.1 (1933) 323–324. For the meaning of κατασχολεῖσθαι, see *P.Dion.* 11.17–20 (108), where the petitioner, a man by the name of Dionysios, who is the archive owner and a farmer of royal land, laments being prevented from carrying out his duties by a certain Admetos: συγορῶν με περὶ τὴν κατασπορὰν ἧς γεωργῶ γῆς κατασχολούμενον, καταδρομάς μου ποιούμενος οὐκ ἔῃ <με> πρὸς τῇ γεωργίᾳ γίνεσθαι (this stretch of text is repeated at *P.Dion.* 12.12–14).

6–9 ἧς [γ]εωργῶι | π[ε]ρὶ τὴν προγεγραμμένην | κ[ώ]μην καὶ Θεο-γ[ο]νίδα | [βασιλ]ικὴν γῆν: For the possible identification of the “aforementioned village” with Kerkeosiris, see the introduction above. The writer

⁸ Cf. *P.Tebt.* 1.38 (113), dealing with smuggling of oil that took place in a private house. The same dwelling is identified first as an οἶκος and then as an οἰκία within just a few lines: προαγγελέντες (l. -ος) μοι Θράϊκά τινα ... παρεισεννηχότα ἔλαιον εἰς ὃν ἐνοικεῖ Πετεσοῦχος εἰς οἶκον καὶ παραπωλεῖν Θάησει τῇ καταγινομένῃ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ οἰκίαι.

⁹ Cf., e.g., also Eust. *ad Il.* 339.15–16 Λεῦκος μὲν κύριον (i.e., ὄνομα), λευκός δὲ τὸ ἐπίθετον, ... καὶ Βόηθος μὲν κύριον, βοήθος δὲ ὁ κύμαχος.

uses the accusative [βασιλι]κὴν γῆν instead of the expected genitive βασιλικῆς γῆς, cf. *P.Tebt.* 3.805.5–7 (113): ἥς γεωργῶ περὶ τὴν κόμην βασιλικῆς γῆς. The sequence of accusatives between the two ends of the relative clause might have led to this minor mistake. For a similar lapse, see *P.Zen.Pestm.* A 12–13: ὑδραγωγῶν δ' ὧν δεῖ γενέσθαι πρὸς ταῖς ὑπαρχούσαις δ' ἄλλας δ. In accordance with the rules of case attraction in relative clauses, one would expect here the genitive ἄλλων δ. See Mayser (n. 7) vol. 2.3 (1934) 105.

9 α . [.] . . ις: It is unclear what the last word of l. 9 should be. It is possible that the sentence at this point continued with a finite verb describing what the accused did at the time the petitioner was busy harvesting his crops. If the right half of a *nu* and the left half of an *eta* have fallen into the lacuna, the reading ἀνῆλκε[κον] is possible. The verb ἀναλίσκειν is very often used in relation to the expenditure of money, but can also signify the consumption of food, as at *P.Cair.Zen.* 1.59121.3 (caviar) and *P.Cair.Zen.* 4.59676.1 (grain). Perhaps the accused are said to have stolen and consumed food from the home of the petitioner?

Fragment B

2 [εἰς τὴν] ᾧ τοῦ Πα[. . . τοῦ] β (ἔτους): The month could be Πα[χών] or Πα[ῦνι]. The crime is alleged to have happened while the petitioner was busy harvesting his crop ([τ]ῶι κατασχολε[ῖ]σθαι με π[ε]ρὶ τὸν θερισμόν, fr. a, ll. 5–6). The data collected by M. Schnebel make it clear that farmers in the Fayyum harvested their cereals mainly in the months of April and May.¹⁰ If we can assume that the arrest occurs shortly after the crime, Pachon is perhaps the more probable month, since this puts the date on the 19th of May, whereas Pauni puts it on the 18th of June.¹¹

3–7 For the construction with παραλαμβάνω and παραδίδωμι, see the petition *SB* 28.16851.10–17 (154 or 143) εὔρομεν Τοθοῖν Πᾶωτος τρίβοντα ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ οἰκίαι [ἄ]λλα ὀρυκτόν . . . παραλαβόντες Πτολ[ε]μαῖον φυλακίτην καὶ Παν . . . ὃν τὸν παρὰ τοῦ οἰκονόμου καὶ Μέλανα τὸν παρὰ Π[ε]ταρποχράτου τοῦ τοπογραμματέως καὶ Πτολεμαῖο[v] τὸν

¹⁰ M. Schnebel, *Die Landwirtschaft im hellenistischen Ägypten* (München 1924) 162–167.

¹¹ One should not forget, on the other hand, that “der Beginn der Saat von der Höhe abhing, welche die Überschwemmung erreichte, infolgedessen beeinflusste diese natürlich auch den Beginn der Ernte;” see Schnebel (n. 10) 165.

παρὰ Μνηάρχου τοῦ ἐπιστάτου, παρεδόκαμε[ν] τ[ό]ν τε ἄνθρωπον καὶ τὸν ἄλλα.

For παραλαμβάνω in this context, see also *P.Enteux.* 6.9 (222) παραλαβὼν τὸν ... ἐπιστάτην καὶ τὸν κω(μο)γρ(αμματέα), *P.Tarich.* 3.15–16 (189) παραλαβόντες τοὺς φυλακίτας, *P.Heid.* 9.422.20–22 (158) παραλαβόντος μου Ψενοβάστιν καὶ Ἐραζῆθιν φυλακ[ί]τας τῆς αὐτῆς (sc. κόμης), *P.Tebt.* 1.38.16–18 (113) π[αραλαβὼν τὸ]ν ἐπιστάτην καὶ τὸν παρὰ τοῦ ἀρχιφυλακίτου ... [ἐ]πὶ τὸν σημερινόν ... οἶκον. For a thorough discussion of similar expressions using the verb ἐπάγω, see *P.Heid.* 8.416.38 comm.

3 The repositioning of the papyrus scrap has made it possible to restore τὸν [ἐπιστ]άτην (*ed. pr.*: τὸν [. . . .] . ν). We are most probably dealing here with the ἐπιστάτης τῆς κόμης: “Da er insbesondere für die Sicherheit des dörflichen Lebens verantwortlich war, unterstanden ihm anscheinend die im Dorf tätigen Polizeikräfte.”¹²

4 [καὶ τ]ινας τῶν φυ[λακιστῶ]ν: Grenfell and Hunt print φυ[λάκων] in their description, probably because they saw insufficient space in the lacuna for φυ[λακιστῶ]ν. But we would expect φυλακῖται since this is the usual word for police officers within the κῶμαι, whereas φύλακες seem to have been privately hired guards. The word must have been written quite cursively here, but our tests indicate that there is just enough space. On the distinction between φυλακῖται and φύλακες, see C. Homoth-Kuhs, *Phylakes und Phylakon-Steuer im Griechisch-Römischen Ägypten* (München-Leipzig 2005) 10.

6–8 παρέδωκα τὴν Τασιγῶνιν | καὶ τὸν Θεῶνα ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ | ἀναπαομένους(?): Grenfell and Hunt read the otherwise unattested name Τασιγᾶπιν. For the name Tasigonis, which is very well attested, see www.trismegistos.org/name/1305.

Grenfell and Hunt correct the participle to ἀναπα<γ>ομένους, thus creating the otherwise unattested compound verb ἀναπάγω. It is unclear from their description how they would have us understand it, perhaps: “I took the *epistates* and some of the *phylakitai* with me to the house of Petermouthis and I handed over to them Tasigonis and Theon, who were carried off to prison.” But, in this case, given the nature of the action, we would not expect a present participle with continuous aspect. If indeed we

¹² W. Huß, *Die Verwaltung des ptolemäischen Reichs* (München 2011) 274. The ἐπιστάτης τῶν φυλακιστῶν, on the other hand, operated at nome level, hence we don’t expect his presence here; see there on pp. 300–303.

can read ἀγαπαομένους, then perhaps, given that the accused were arrested at night, we might correct the participle to ἀγαπα<υ>ομένους, and understand this to mean that they had been resting or sleeping in the house of Petermouthis when our petitioner and the authorities arrived (LSJ s.v. ἀναπαύω II 2).¹³ While it is true that this phonetic spelling of παύω appears otherwise only in later texts (*SB* 1.4317.11 [200 CE]: καὶ ἀναπάομαι; and *P.Tebt.* 2.583.9 [third century CE]: καὶ οὐκ ἀναπάομαι), the sound of *upsilon* in the diphthongs αυ and ευ tends to disappear already in the centuries before the common era. For discussion and examples, see Mayser (n. 7) vol. 1.1 (1970) 114.

Finally, how to understand the expression ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ? One might expect to find ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ or ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ referring back to ἐπὶ τ[ῇν] Πετερμούθιος οἰκίαν (fr. b, ll. 4–5), but comparison with the other *etas* in this text does not allow it. Moreover, the nexus of *omega-iota* in ἐχωί (fr. b, l. 10) has the same shape as our article, and the same nexus at the end of [γ]εωργῶι (fr. a, l. 6) is comparable to the ending of αὐτῷ. With ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ thus secure, we also considered correcting ἐπὶ τ[ῇν] Πετερμούθιος οἰκίαν (fr. b, ll. 4–5) to ἐπὶ τ[ὸ] Πετερμούθιος οἰκίον, but this seems unlikely. We have accordingly concluded, albeit with some hesitation, that the phrase is acting on its own as a local expression: Tasionis and Theon were apprehended while resting together in the same place where our petitioner had led the police officers, namely Petermouthis's house. The phrase appears with this sense in literary texts, for example, at *Thuc.* 7.49.3, *Plat. Phaed.* 79e, and *Xen. Anab.* 3.1.27; but is also used at least once in our documentary sources. At *P.Cair.Zen.* 3.59522.9–10 (mid-third century), Philinos requests of Zenon that he receive from Herakleides 250 artabae of wheat, 300 artabae of barley, and a third quantity of grain which the two men had bought together; and then requests that he store the three quantities in the same place for convenience: παραμέτρῃαι παρὰ Ἡρακλείδου πυ(ροῦ) ἀρ(τάβας) σν καὶ κρ(ιθῆς) ἀρ(τάβας) τ καὶ

¹³ A somewhat similar situation is described in *PSI* 3.172 (ca. 118). The thieves of the petitioner's belongings are (sleeping?) drunk in the house of a certain Taphes and are denounced to the authorities: ἐπεὶ οὖν καθυπ[ονοῶ] Ἀρείου τοῦ Ἑρμίου [καὶ] Ἀρείου τοῦ Ἀρείου [καὶ] Παγγορσεύιος τοῦ [. . . .] καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτοῖς [δὸν] τὰ ὀνόματα ἀγνοῶ, [τῶν] καὶ καθωνισθέντων ἐν τῇ Ταφῆτος τινος οἰκίαι, ἀξιῶ, ἂν φαίνεται, συν[τά]ξαι κατατεῖλαι αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ χεῖ. The petitioner evidently expects the arrest to take place immediately after delivering the petition, while the accused are still drunk and easy to catch.

In the fragmentary *BGU* 3.1007 (243 or 218), the petitioner might have been attacked as he was resting; cf. ll. 2–7: [τ]οῦ ε (ἔτους) Φαῶφι ἀναπauομένου μου ... παραγενόμενοι οἱ τοῦ Πακύτιμος ... ἐλοιδόρουν με ἐπὶ πλέο[ν] ... [τ]ῇν θύραν μου ἐλάκτιζον τοῖς ποσί.

ἄς cὺν ἡμῖν ἡγόρασας ... καὶ τα[[c]]ύτας ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ διατήρησον. It remains a possibility, however, that the force of the phrase is temporal rather than local. Because ἐν + dative describes a “Zeitraum, innerhalb und im Verlauf dessen etwas geschieht” (Mayser [n. 7] vol. 2.2 [1934] 397), and the present participle, if interpreted correctly, denotes continuous action, we could maybe understand that Tasigonis and Theon were apprehended in the same moment that they were taking a rest. For ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ with this temporal meaning, see, for example, Thuc. 3.13.2 (cf. also LSJ s.v. ἐν IV).

8–9 διὸ προκαγγέλλω σοι: The verb προκαγγέλλω tends to be used in complaints about criminal acts addressed to lower officials, albeit not exclusively, cf. Baetens (n. 2) 216–217. It is possible that this petition was a *prosangelia* addressed to an official at the village level; for this type of petition, see *P.Heid.* 7, pp. 49–50, *P.Heid.* 8, pp. 319–320, *P.Heid.* 9, pp. 29–30, *P.Oxyrhyncha*, pp. 16–19, and Baetens (n. 2) 197–217, who maintains that it is unnecessary to draw a strict distinction between the so-called *prosangeliata* of the second and first centuries and other *hypomnemata* with petitioning function.¹⁴

10–11 ἵν’ ἔχωι ἐν χρηματικῷ: For the request that a submitted petition be entered into the official record, see Baetens (n. 2) 125–126 with n. 168, who argues that this registration procedure was aimed at securing evidence in the case of a future proceeding. Alternatively, the petitioner may have hoped, by registering the document, to prevent the accused persons from taking counteraction against him. See also the comments to ll. 19–23 in the petition *P.Köln Sarapion* 1 (Memphite nome?, 190 BCE).

13 καὶ Ἐργανοῦπις Πετώιτος: The line is added by a second hand, using a brush instead of a pen.¹⁵ Subscriptions to petitions like this tend to be added by an authority to the case in question. We argue above (fr. a, ll. 1–2 comm.) that the petitioner did not know the patronymic of at least

¹⁴ Nonetheless, cf. Baetens (n. 2) 215: “It cannot be denied that the explicit later *προσαγγέλματα* constitute a rather homogenous group of texts: they all appear to concern criminal acts, and most of them are addressed to the komogrammateus or police.”

¹⁵ See on this topic W.J. Tait, “Rush and Reed: The Pens of Egyptian and Greek Scribes,” in B. Mandilaras (ed.), *Proceedings of the XVIII International Congress of Papyrology, Athens 25–31 May 1986* (Athens 1988) 477–481; W. Clarysse, “Egyptian Scribes Writing Greek,” *CdÉ* 68 (1993) 186–201, together with the supplements given by J.D. Sosin and J.G. Manning, “Palaeography and Bilingualism: P.Duk.inv. 320 and 675,” *CdÉ* 78 (2003) 203 with n. 4.

one of the people he is accusing; and it would seem that an official, perhaps after having done some research into the matter, has added the full name here.

We prefer the unattested Ἐργανοῦπις over the well attested Ἐριανοῦπις because of the horizontal stroke visible before the *alpha*: *iotas* do not usually connect in this way to the following letter. While Ἐργανοῦπις is unattested, Ἐργεῦς, which is a variant for the name Ἐριεῦς, has many attestations: see www.trismegistos.org/namvar/9547. Furthermore, the related name Ἐργενοῦπις can be found in *PSI* 3.166.7 (118), *P.Lips.* 1.104.4 (95 or 62), and on the mummy labels *T.Mom.Louvre* 539 A 1 and. 768 A 1 (both 1st/3rd cent. CE).

– Πετῶις is a very rare variant of the more common name Πετῶνς (www.trismegistos.org/name/40163), and yet we opt for it here because it does not seem possible, on the infrared photograph, to read an *upsilon* instead of an *iota*.

LOW PRICES AND UNSETTLED THINGS IN *P.PRINC.* 3.188

Nikos Litinas *University of Crete*

Abstract. — *P.Princ.* 3.188 is a private letter from a wife to her husband. It was assumed to concern household management and the abandoning of their child. This article presents some new readings and comments on the new pieces of information concerning the context and the situation described.

Keywords: commerce, financial activity, women's letters, *P.Princ.* 3.188

P.Princ. 3.188¹ provides a description of a private letter: “Letter. This papyrus is broken at top, bottom, and left side. Written in a fine cursive script. 1st or 2nd century. Probably not a reply to P.Oxy. 744 (dated 1 B.C.) although dealing with the same subject.” The dimensions are H × W = 13.8 × 8.4 cm. This papyrus was cited by C.H. Roberts, “Papyri in the Princeton University Collections III,” *JEA* 29 (1943) 80, who proposed that “a fragmentary letter from wife to husband (clearly in financial difficulties) to say that, as ordered, she has exposed her infant.” He also noted that “l. 13 read ἀμ]ελήσῃτε ἐπέμψασθε, not -εσθε.” The description did not transcribe the letters in the first preserved and the last preserved line, which have now been added in the new transcription below, in which all my new readings have been incorporated.

Obviously, the reference to the abandoning of a child is proposed because of the phrase “[ἐ]κθεῖναι με” in l. 4. The entire text indicates that there were some commercial or economic activities which might involve financial difficulties, and this might have been a good reason for the abandoning of a child. One may also add that a reading παι]δείου (*l. παιδίου*) at the beginning of l. 4 might be tempting in order to support this assumption. The names of the sender and the recipient are not known because they were written in the missing upper part of the papyrus. Based on l. 22,

¹ I would like to thank the Princeton University Library Special Collections for providing me permission to publish this papyrus. I am grateful to the anonymous readers of *BASP*; because of their comments and corrections, I avoided a couple of serious mistakes. Further restoration of the papyrus is not currently possible, so the edition is based on the image available online at <https://catalog.princeton.edu/catalog/99105286513506421#view>. The new text is presented here because it provides new readings, especially in ll. 5, 6, 9, 12, and 23.

however, where the feminine of the participle is recorded, ἐ]ποίησα θέλουσα, I assume that the writer is a woman. In addition, since the participle τελέσας in l. 12 is masculine, it cannot refer to the female sender (e.g., a wife, a sister, a daughter, etc.), and it probably refers to the male recipient of the letter (e.g. a husband, a brother, a father, etc.). Thus, the possibility of having a wife writing to her husband concerning household management² and the abandoning of their child completes the context of this proposed story. I would not want to reject this possibility, but I would like to offer an alternative. The meaning of ἐκτίθημι in this papyrus might be different (see 4n.) in a commercial environment, and it would not be peculiar to find such a reference in this present papyrus. In addition, the phrase ἀ]πὸ τοῦ Ἀθὺρ μη(νός), if it refers to the time of the abandoning, is not readily understood. One would expect another prepositional phrase to indicate a certain day of the month, or a dative of time.

The handwriting should be assigned to the second half of the first century CE: cf. *P.Oxy.* 47.3332 (53 CE; Harrauer, *Paläographie* Abb. 72); *PSI* 3.181 (91 CE; Harrauer, *Paläographie* Abb. 80). An interesting feature is the form of the letter φ: it is made with a circle and a vertical beside it to the right. Based on the distinction of hands discussed by Bagnall and Cribiore (n. 2) 43–45, the hand of the present letter was secretarial, but we cannot say if the woman, who appears as the sender, wrote the letter by herself or if she dictated the letter to another person, who wrote for her.

The letter was rolled along its vertical axis, from the right to the left, then the roll was folded in the middle horizontally, as the seven preserved vertical breaks and the one horizontal break indicate. On the back, on the visible side of the last fold, the address was written parallel to the fibers.

Below I provide the text with my new readings incorporated:

front →

-
- 1 [1–2] . [. . .] . [. . .] [. . .] . [. . .] . .
 διὰ παντὸς ὑγειαίνειν. ὥς ἐδήλωσας ἐμοὶ
 [δι'] ὧν ἔπεμψας ἐμοὶ ἐπιστολιδίων περὶ τοῦ
 [1–2] ἰου ἐκθεῖναί με αὐτό, ἐκτέθεικα
 5 [1–2] ἀ]πὸ τοῦ Ἀθὺρ μη(νός). τὰ σκευάρεια δὲ οὐκ ἐ-

² For this issue see R.S. Bagnall and R. Cribiore, *Women's Letters from Ancient Egypt, 300 BC-AD 800* (Ann Arbor 2006) 79–81. The present papyrus was not discussed in the book.

- [. . .] ἔμοι αὐτὰ πωλῆσαι διὰ τὸ ἀτιμίαν εἶ-
 [ναι] πάντ[ω]ν. ἔασα αὐτά, μέχρι οὗ παρ' ἔνα
 [c. 6–7, ὥς ἂν βο[ύ]λῃ, ποιήσεις. ἐχρησάμην
 [c. 7–8] Σατύρου ἀργ(υρίου) (δραχμάς) εἴκοσι διὰ Ἄρμ . εἰτο(ς)
 10 [c. 7–8] . δέξαι δὲ αὐτὰς παρὰ Εὐαγγέλου
 [c. 7–8] . . ω . ου. αὐτῷ γὰρ αὐτὰς δέδωκα.
 [c. 11–12] τελέσας δ[ε] σφῶ τὰ μετέωρα
 [c. 10–11] ἀ]γαπλεύσιν σὺν Πομπηεῖω
 [c. 11–12] μὴ ἀμελήσης με πέμψε σθ-
 15 [c. 11–12] . σαρ[.] ρο . ε . πέμψω σοι
 [c. 15–16] ευρ . νο υ
 [c. 11–12]]υτον σοι αὐτὰς ἔπεμψα
 [c. 11–12] ἔως τὸν ἀδελφόν μου
 [c. 11–12] . τηρήσαι. οἶδα γὰρ
 20 [c. 11–12] ν. αὐτῷ δὲ Πομπηεῖω
 [c. 7–8] . . ἐντέλλομαι ἐκκτός σου μὴ
 [c. 7–8]] ἐποίησα θέλουσά σοι πέμψαι φοι-
 [νικ- c. 4–5] ἄρτους, οὐδεὶς ἀνέσχηταί μου
 [c. 11–12] υ . . . ψ α . . με

back →

ἀπόδ(ος) [?].

front 2 *l.* ὑγιαίνειν 5 $\mu\eta$; *l.* σκευάρια 9 $\alpha\rho$ ς; *αρμ* . . *εἰτ*^o 11 *δεδωκ*^a
 13 *l.* ἀ]γαπλεύσιν? ι is corrected on top of an δ 14 *l.* μου? 20 *l.* ἐκτός back 1 *απο*^δ

“... and wishes for continued health. As you have indicated to me through the letters you have sent me about the ... to pay(?) ..., I have paid(?) it ... since the month of Hathyr. However, it is/was not possible to sell the small utensils because for everything the price is too low. I left them until one by one ... you will do as you wish. I borrowed ... of Satyros 20 silver drachmae through Harm-eis(?) ... Get them from Euangelos ... For I gave them to him. ... after you have settled your unsettled things ... to sail up with Pompeius ... do not forget me (to?) send ... I will send to you ... I sent them to you ... my brother ... to preserve/to oversee(?) ... Because I know ... And to Pompeius himself. ... I order that without your presence it should not ... I did ... because I wanted to send you ... dates(?) ... bread, nobody is content with me ... Deliver to ...”

1 Only the lower parts of letters can be seen. The fourth preserved uncertain letter might be η or π .

1–2 The opening greeting formula of the private letter seems to end with the standard wish concerning the health of the receiver. However, instead of $\pi\rho\lambda\delta\ \pi\alpha\nu\tau\delta\varsigma\ \delta\gamma\{\epsilon\}\iota\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\iota\nu$ of the description, we can read clearly in l. 1 $\delta\iota\alpha\ \pi\alpha\nu\tau\delta\varsigma\ \delta\gamma\{\epsilon\}\iota\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\iota\nu$. The letter ι of $\delta\iota\alpha$ can be compared with the same letter in l. 5 $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\omicron\iota$. We can see part of the lower right corner of δ , or an extension of it uniting with the bottom of ι (cf. $-\delta\iota-$ in $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\lambda\iota\delta\iota\acute{\omega}\nu$ in the next line). Then, this phrase was preceded by $\chi\alpha\acute{\iota}\rho\epsilon\iota\nu\ \kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$.

2, 3, and 6 Regarding the reading $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\omicron\iota$, I consider the small dot at the end of μ as \omicron ; cf. the same small *omicron* in l. 8 $\pi\omicron\iota\eta\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$.

4 Of the first letter only its upper right part is preserved, but it is difficult to say if this is part of a horizontal, diagonal, or vertical stroke. As said above, the *ed. princ.* seemed to have restored there a word to indicate a “child,” but certainly not $[\pi\alpha\iota]\delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon$, since the second letter was transcribed as σ . However, alternatively, one could read it as ϵ ; cf. $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\kappa\omicron\sigma\iota$ in l. 9. The reading γ is less probable. One, therefore, could restore $[\pi\alpha\iota]\delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon$, assuming an iotacism. On the other hand, in *SB* 6.9017(8).6 (I–II CE), $\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\chi\theta\eta\ (\iota.\ \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\tau\epsilon\theta\eta)\ \tau\omicron\ \delta\psi\acute{\omega}\nu\iota\omicron\nu\ \pi\rho\acute{\alpha}\zeta\eta\tau\epsilon\ \kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\ \tau\eta\rho\eta\sigma\eta\tau\epsilon\ \acute{\alpha}\chi\rho\iota\ \acute{\epsilon}\gamma\acute{\omega}\ \pi\alpha\rho\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$, the phrase $\delta\psi\acute{\omega}\nu\iota\omicron\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\tau\iota\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\iota$ indicates the “payment of a salary” (see *ed. princ.* by O. Guéraud, “Ostraca grecs et latins de l’Wâdi Fawâkhir,” *BIFAO* 41 [1942] 163, ll. 6–7n.). In that case $[\delta\psi\omega]\gamma\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon$ ($\iota.\ \delta\psi\omega\nu\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon$) could be a possible restoration, and the infinitive clause $[\acute{\epsilon}]\kappa\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha\iota\ \mu\epsilon\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}$ and the main verb of the next clause that follows refers to it; cf. also *P.Mich.* 3.220.9–11 (296 or 297 CE) $\omicron\upsilon\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\delta\omicron\kappa\alpha\ (\iota.\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\delta\omicron\kappa\alpha)\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\tilde{\omega}\ \tau[\delta\ \acute{\tau}\alpha]\lambda\alpha\nu\tau\omicron\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}\ \acute{\epsilon}\kappa[\tau\iota]\theta\eta[\sigma\iota]$. However, we have to assume an iotacism, and the letters $\omicron\psi\omega$ seem to occupy longer space than the one expected. Another possible restoration could be $\iota\epsilon[\rho]\acute{\epsilon}\iota\omicron\upsilon$. The meaning of $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\tau\iota\theta\eta\mu\iota$ in that case is “display for sale,” which is found in D.C. 46.14 (see LSJ s.v. II 3), but it is not attested so far in the papyri. In *P.Oxy.* 50.3588.15 (157 CE) the phrase $\tau\{\epsilon\}\mu\eta\ \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\tau\epsilon\theta(\acute{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota)$ indicates that a price is set, but here $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}$ cannot refer to a $\tau\iota\mu\acute{\eta}$.

5 Before the noun $\tau\acute{\alpha}\ \sigma\kappa\epsilon\upsilon\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\alpha$ we should put a full stop, since $\tau\acute{\alpha}\ \sigma\kappa\epsilon\upsilon\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\alpha$ is followed by the conjunction $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$. One would expect $\tau\acute{\alpha}\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \sigma\kappa\epsilon\upsilon\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\alpha$. For particles placed in the second position see K. Bentein, “Particle-usage in Documentary Papyri (I–IV A.D.): An Integrated Sociolinguistically-Informed Approach,” *GRBS* 55 (2015) 721–753, esp. 723. The transfer of $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ after the noun with an article is possible in

Greek literature, especially when the contrast is emphasized; see Smyth, *A Greek Grammar for Colleges*, par. 2914a.

5–6 The description supplies οὐ[κέτι, and I propose οὐκ ἐλ[νῆν or οὐκ ἔλ[στί, since an impersonal verb seems to be necessary here which takes the infinitive πωλῆσαι as its subject; cf. *P.Ross.Georg.* 3.3.15 (III CE) τοῦ ὅσα ἐὰν ἐνῆν (*l.* ἐνῆ) ἀγοράσαι; *SB* 18.13867.24 (mid–II CE) [οὐκ]ἐλ[τι/ ἐνῆ<v> π<ι>εῖν; cf. also the use of the same verbal form in *SB* 10.10646.19 (c. 113–120 CE); *BGU* 1.74.13 (166–167 CE); *P.Oxy.* 43.3117.13 (235 CE); *BGU* 1.48.13 (II–III? CE). There is no standard division of the words ἐνείμι, ἐνεστῶτος, etc. in the papyrus documents: cf. e.g. *P.Zen.Pestm.* 38.17–18 (253 BCE) ἄβ(ροχος) ἐνλεσ[τιν; *P.Oxy.* 12.1501.4–5 (first quarter III CE) τῇ ἐνεστώσῃ ἡμ[έρῳ; *PSI Com.* 6.17.6–7 (first half III CE) τῷ ἐνε[στώτῳ . (ἐτει). A supplement such as οὐκ ἔλ[στί in ll. 5–6 of the present papyrus would also be possible, but when ἔστί is divided, σ is attached to ε: cf. *O.Did.* 411, 5–6 (before c. 40 CE) ἐσ[τί; *P.Mil.Vogl.* 1.27.15–16 (129 CE) ἐσ[τι]ν; *SB* 26.16382 (II/III CE) ἐσ[τί; *SB* 22.15517.8–9 (IV CE) ἐσ[τί. However, this practice is not standard: see H. Stuart-Jones, “The Division of Syllables in Greek,” *CR* 15 (1901) 396–401, esp. 398–399; Smyth, *A Greek Grammar for Colleges*, par. 138e; cf. the division after ε in a literary text, *P.Oxy.* 76.5081.6–7 (mid–II–mid–III CE) ἐλ[στί].

6–7 The description reads διὰ τὸ ἀνγεῖον εὐ-, but the reading is clear διὰ τὸ ἀτιμίαν εἶ[ναι, since we can restore at the beginning of the next line the infinitive εἶ[ναι. For the form of μ cf. the same letter in the line below in the word μέχρη. For the use of the word ἀτιμίαν cf. *P.Wisc.* 2.73.14–15 (122 CE) τὴν γὰρ ἀτιμίαν Θέλων σοι κατ’ ὄψιν λαλήσει, “Theon will tell you in person how cheap it is.”

Even though I proposed to restore ll. 5–8 as printed above, I am still not sure if the comma or the stop has to be put after πωλῆσαι or after πάντ[ω]ν. In any case, the meaning is clear: the sender states that it was not possible to sell the small utensils because the price would be too low, so she will not do anything until the receiver of the letter comes and proceeds in the way he would like.

In *P.Oxy.* 62.4340.6–8 (third quarter of III CE) τὸ μαφόρτιον τὸ ἔχειν (*l.* ὁ ἔχεις) πώλη[σ]ον (δραχμῶν) μ . ἐὰν δὲ μὴ λάβῃς τὴν τιμὴν μὴ πώλησον, a head-dress is not sold if the price is not high enough. In *O.Krok.* 2.238.9–13 (117–130 CE) the proposals concerning the prices of a cloth are mentioned, ἄλλος ἂν εἴπῃ τις ὅτι “πλεῖω στατήρι<ο>ν

οὐ διδῶ σοι περ{ε}ῖ αὐτοῦ,” ἄλλος εἰπὲς \ὅτι/ “τιμὴ αὐτοῦ ἔστι”· οἷδες καὶ σοὶ (l. σὺ) ὅτι αὕτη ἡ διμὴ (l. τιμὴ) αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἔσ[τι].

7 The description reads *παρενα* (l. *παρεῖναι*), but the sense is clear if we assume the prepositional phrase *παρ’ ἑνα*; see LSJ s.v. εἶς 1g “alternately.” In that case we can supply a participle at the beginning of l. 8, e.g. λαβὼν “you take one after the other.” The prepositional phrase can be found in SB 6.9164.11–12 (first half of I CE).

8 ὦ]ς: I consider the small horizontal stroke after the break as σ, and we may compare it with Σατύρου in the following line.

9 The description reads]λου . . ου, but the reading Σατύρου is clear. At the beginning of the line one could expect the conjunction δέ probably followed by a dative, e.g. αὐτῷ, and by the preposition *παρά*.

It is remarkable how the same ligature in εἴκοσι is understood as εἰ before κο, and σι after κο.

At the end of the line, the reading ἀκολάστω(ς) in the first edition is certainly not correct. Even διὰ Ἀκολάστο(υ) (a personal name attested outside Egypt; see *LGPN* II s.v.) is difficult to read. In N. Litinas and G. Triantafyllou, *Adverbs in -ως in Documents of Graeco-Roman Egypt* (Rethymno 2019) 278, I tentatively proposed the reading διὰ Ἀρμάξιτο[ς]/Ἀρμάξιτο(ς) (see TM NamVar 37943) and, now, alternatively I propose Ἀρμούξιτο[ς]/Ἀρμούξιτο(ς) (see TM NamVar 31581). The letter ε is made like the first one in σκευάρια in l. 5. Above τ, the last letter of the line, the scribe wrote something that can be read either as φ or ρ. In the former case, we have to assume that the word was abbreviated, in the latter case we have to assume that the last letters of the word were written superscript.

10 At the beginning of the line, c. 7–8 letters are missing, and one could restore the patronym of Harmaeis or his profession. A full stop should be placed before δέξαι.

The pronoun αὐτάς refers to the 20 drachmae.

We read not Εὐαγγελίου (as in description), but Εὐαγγέλου; for the form of ου cf. ου at the beginning of l. 4. For the name see TM Nam 3060.

11 [c. 7–8] . . ω . ου: The loop made before the small hole in the papyrus does not seem to be θ, but the end of an ω, as can be seen in the same line in the word αὐτῷ. The first letter seems to be the right-hand half of μ, and the second an η. Alternatively, the latter could also be an ε, if

we compare it with the second ε of τελέσας in the line below. The end of an oblique stroke is preserved below the letter after ω, and it could be the end of a τ or π.

At the end of the line, the letter α is written above κ, probably because of the lack of space after κ.

12]τελέσας ωρα in the description; I read [c. 9–10]τελέσας δὲ σοῦ τὰ μετέωρα. For the pronoun placed before μετέωρα cf. *P.IFAO* 2.9.6–7 (early II CE) καὶ οἰκονομήσω{ι} μου τὰ ἄ[λ]λα μετέωρα; *P.Mich.* 8.476.17 (early II CE) ὅτι ἐκπλέξας σου τὰ μετέωρα. The common phrase in papyri, mainly of the Roman period is ἐκπλέκω/ἀπαλλάττω/ἀπαρτίζω τὰ μετέωρα, which means “disentangle yourself from the unsettled /unfinished/ pending business/things/conditions,” but one can also find a phrase similar to the one of the present papyrus in *PSI* 8.970.5–7 (III CE?) καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖ μετέωρα, ὧν τὴν γραφὴν ὁ Πασίων ἔχει, πρᾶσσε. In *P.Sarap.* 100.9–10 (90–133 CE) ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνθέλκη μετεώροισι, ἴν’ οὕτως εἴπω, the writer himself stresses that his expression is peculiar.

It is not certain if the participle τελέσας is simple or compound, e.g. ἐπιτελέσας; cf. *P.Oslo* 3.151.16 (I–II CE)]μοι τ[ε]λέσας πε[ρ]ί [; *P.Köln* 9.365.11–13 (II BCE) χαριεῖ μεγάλως ἐπιτελέσας τὰ πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ πολυωρήσας [ὥ]ς κἄμοῦ παρόντος.

13]επλευσιν in the description. However, the first certain letter of the line is α. ἀ]γαπλεύσιν (*l.* -ειν) seems sound rather than κα]ταπλεύσιν, since the τ would have had a crossbar continuing into the α as in e.g. αὐτάς above. δ]ιαπλεύσιν (*l.* -ειν) does not seem probable, as in *P.Cair.Zen.* 1.59034.5 (257 BCE) ὅπως ἂν διαπλεύσω πρὸς σέ, because the voyage is from somewhere overseas to Alexandria, which seems less likely in the Princeton letter.

Πομπηεῖω: Between ι and ω there is a stroke which seems to be another ι drawn by mistake. Alternatively, the writer simply did not raise his pen when going from iota to omega, so this stroke was not a ι, but an unintentional one.

14 [c. 11–12] μὴ ἀμελήσης με πέμψε σθ-: For the proposed reading and correction ἀμελήσητε. ἐπέμψεσθε (*l.* ἐπέμψασθε) made by C.H. Roberts see *BL* 4, p. 71. However, the last letter of ἐπέμψεσθε is not clear in the image. Some traces of ink at the right edge of the papyrus do not suggest ε. In any case the verbal forms ἐπέμψεσθε or ἐπέμψασθε do not exist in Greek. At the beginning of the line we can see the left part of a μ, and, then the right part of an η. This produces the negative sense

of the clause μὴ ἀμελήσητε. In addition, after ἀμελήσης the papyrus reads a clear με. The accusative με is a syntactical mistake instead of the genitive μου, which functions as the object of the verb μὴ ἀμελήσης; cf. e.g. *P.Sarap.* 96.4–6 (90–133 CE) ἐρωτῶ σε μὴ ἀμελεῖν μου ἐν ἀπουσίᾳ τοιαύτῃ; *P.Leipz.* 2.6–9 (III CE) μὴ ἀμελήσης μου τῆς παρακλή[σε]ως πέμψαι μοι μικρὸν πίσσαριν; *P.Haun.* 2.21.14 (III–IV CE) ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀμελήῃς μου; see H.A. Steen, “Les clichés épistolaires dans les lettres sur papyrus grecques,” *C&M* 1 (1938) 162–163. The end is inevitably πεμψεσθ-, perhaps with θ slightly raised to abbreviate πέμψεσθ(αι)/πέμψεσθ(ε), because it does not seem probable that the infinitive πέμψεσθαι, or the second person indicative of the future πέμψεσθε, was written with a wrong division of the word in ll. 14–15 πέμψεσθ[αι or πέμψεσθ[ε. The writer does not make such mistakes in this document; cf. the discussion in ll. 5–6n. However, even though the infinitive of the future tense is a possible form, it does not occur in the papyri or the Greek literature so far. The reading σπούδασον διαπέμψεσθ[ι] in *PSI* 1.92.8–9 is not correct, because the text reads σπούδασον διαπέμψασθ[ι] (checked in a photo provided in <http://www.psi-online.it/images/orig/PSI%20I%2092.jpg>). However, the infinitive of the aorist is found in *BGU* 16.2614.11–12 (21 BCE–5 CE) ἐρωτῶ δέ σέ μοι πέμψασθαι Ἡρακλῆν τὸν χολόν. In any case, the phrase μὴ ἀμελήσης με (*l. μοι*) πέμψεσθ (*l. πέμψασθ<αι>*), “do not forget to send me ...” is to be rejected, because the scribe has written the correct form of the pronoun in l. 15 πέμψω σοι (dative as an object of πέμπω). On the other hand, even the second person indicative of the verb is rare (either in the simple πέμψεσθε or in a compound verb, such as διαπέμψεσθε; cf. *O.Krok.* 1.47.55–56 (109 CE) ἐν τάχ<ε>ι διαπέμψεσθε [τῷ] κρατίστῳ ἐπάρχῳ Ἀρτωρίῳ. Then, one could read [c. 11–12] μὴ ἀμελήσης με (*l. μου*) πέμψε (*l. πέμψαι*) σθ[---] “do not forget me and send ...,” and at the end of l. 14 and the beginning of l. 15 we need a personal name or an item or product, which starts with Σθ-. Another reading could be provided, if we put a full stop after με, and start a new sentence with the imperative πέμψε σθ[--- without any conjunction, but in both cases, we should encounter the same objections about word-division as raised above. Alternatively, one may think of the possibility that this σθ at the end of the line is a number 209 which refers to something mentioned in the missing part at the beginning of l. 14. However, a stroke to indicate a number should be expected above that σθ. Finally, one may consider the traces after θ as part of a small letter, e.g. ρ, and then Σθρ- is the beginning of a personal name, e.g. Σθρ[τήτιν.

15 [c. 11–12] . σαρ[.] ρο . ε . πέμψω σοι: At the beginning of the line [?]σαρ[. .] might be the ending of a verbal form of the aorist, e.g. ἐποιή]σαρ[εν] etc. These letters are preserved on the slightly out of line fragment at left, which belongs to l. 15 and not to the next line. This part of the papyrus has to be positioned properly, as can also be seen in the photo of the back at <https://catalog.princeton.edu/catalog/99105286513506421#view>.

After σαρ, there is a letter which seems to be αι or γ. I cannot read υ after ρο. It is rather the right part of a σ followed by an ε. Between this ε and the certain πέμψω σοι, the letter might be κ, therefore we can read ἐκπέμψω. Before ρο the letters βα are possible to read: the word βάρος occurs in the private letters; cf. *P.Brem.* 63.3–4 (116 CE?) πρὸ πάντων εὐκαίρως ἀποθέσθαι τὸ βάρος, and l. 18 ἀπέθετο τὸ βάρος; *P.Oxy.* 7.1062.14–15 (II CE) εἰ δὲ τοῦτό σοι βάρος φέρει καὶ μήπω ἡγόρασας.

16 [c. 15–16] ευρ . υο υ : One naturally looks for a form of the verb εὐρίσκω, but the remaining strokes are insufficient to allow a decision.

17 Restore e.g. α]ὑτὸν or το]ῦτον, etc.

18 Restore εὐθ]έως?

19 Restore e.g. συ]γτηρῆσαι: There are traces of ink after α, which suggest an infinitive.

οἶδε in the description; I read οἶδα, since α is clear.

οἶδα γὰρ : The first uncertain letter is either β or κ (as read in *ed. princ.*). The second is ρ, and then one can read either εἰ (as in *ed. princ.*), π or η. The last two letters seem to be ως. One possibility is to read κρείως or κρήως for κρέας/κρέως. However, such as a mistake (either spelling or morphological) seems difficult to explain, although the word κρέας occurs with many variations in the papyri; cf. e.g. *O.Krok.* 2.152.9–10 (98–117 CE) κόμισε (*l.* κόμισαι) κρα (*l.* κρήα? = κρέα) καμήλη (*l.* καμήλεια?). Moreover, another possible reading οἶδα γὰρ καὶ πῶς seems correct as far as the wording (πῶς after οἶδα) is concerned, but the ligature of αι in καί appears nowhere else in this hand in order to confirm the reading.

21 At the beginning of the line there is a long descender before ν, which might be the lower part of a τ; cf. τὰ in l. 5.

ἐκκτός σου: We can understand it either as “in your absence” or “without your permission.”

At the end of the line, the description reads ε, but the reading is a clear μη, which is a negative particle or the pronoun μηδένα, followed by an infinitive, probably missing at the beginning of l. 22. In that case one may understand the text as “I order that no one besides you do something e.g. in relation to the money borrowed and sent.”

22–23 φοι[*c.* 7–8] ἄρτους: We may restore e.g. φοί[νικος (ἀρτάβην) α καὶ] ἄρτους or φοι[νίκια καὶ] ἄρτους; cf. *P.Lond.* 2.190.28–31 (II A.D.) and 36 ἔπεμψα διὰ Εὐτύχητος ἄρτους χοινικαίους κ and φοίνικ(ος) (ἀρτάβη) α; *P.Mich.* 3.188.6–8 (early II A.D.) καλάθιον μο[ι] ἐδόθη ὑπὸ [τοῦ] στρατιώτου, ἐν ᾧ εἶρον ἄρτους μεγάλους δύο καὶ φοινίκια καρυστά (*l.* καρυστά); *SB* 14.11851.12 (end of II–beginning of III A.D.) σφυρίδιον ἄρτον (*l.* ἄρτων) καὶ φυνίκια (*l.* φοινίκια).

23]τους in the description. However, two more letters can be seen in the image, of which the first seems to be the end of a μ or α. The second letter has a circle, and can be either ρ or ϕ. I propose to read ἄρτους. The genitive of a personal name, Αουτίς, Ἀουτῖς, is attested in *SB* 6.9206.7 (160 CE; Narmouthis), but I do not think we can read it here.

I read οὐδεὶς ἀνέσχηταί μου, while the description reads οὐδεὶς ἀνέσχηται ἕως. However, the pronoun μου is clear at the end of the line. The meaning of the verb when it is construed with the genitive case is “be content with something/someone” (see LSJ s.v. ἀνέχω C II 3) or “suffer” (see LSJ s.v. ἀνέχω C II 4–5). In the latter case one may understand “no one has allowed me” to do something, expressed with infinitive or participle in the next line. The same form of the verb is found in *P.Berl.Cohen* 14.3–4 (second half of II CE) καὶ ἀνέσχηται [ὁ] ἔπαρχος ἀφεῖναι δὲ ἕως τοῦ κλήρ[ο]υ, where the meaning is “refuse” (see LSJ s.v. ἀνέχω C II 5c).

24 Nothing seems certain apart from the final με, which can be separated off as the pronoun or as part of another word.

back After the abbreviated ἀπόδ(ος) the first letter seems to be π. The remaining traces do not allow τῷ πατρί [. The fifth(?) letter seems to be π or η. A possible reading could be παρὰ Π . [; for the formula cf. e.g. *BGU* 16.2617 verso (7 BCE); *P.Oxy.* 22.2353 verso (32 CE); *BGU* 4.1078 verso (38 CE); *SB* 6.9120 verso (I CE); *BGU* 2.623 verso (II/III CE); *P.Oxy.* 14.1678 verso (III CE).

IDENTITÉ ET PROPRIÉTÉ EN ITALIE DURANT ET APRÈS LA GUERRE DES GOTHES: RÉEXAMEN DU PROCÈS DE GUNDILA DANS *P.ITAL.* 2.49

Zhihuan Zhou *École Pratique des Hautes Études (UMR 8584)*

Abstract. — The reconquest of Italy by Justinian made the Ostrogothic aristocrats afraid of losing their property and social status. Some of them abandoned their Gothic identity and converted from Arianism to Nicene Christianity. We can see this in a papyrus from Ravenna, *P.Ital.* 2.49. This paper makes some new observations on the text and tries to establish a new chronology of the trial of Gundila, which the papyrus records, in the context of the transformation of Italy from Ostrogothic kingdom to Byzantine province.

Keywords: Ravenna, Gundila, Goths, *P.Ital.* 2.49, trial

La guerre entre le Royaume ostrogoth et l'Empire romain d'Orient d'environ vingt ans, de 535 à 554, a appauvri l'Italie.¹ Au cours de la guerre, les habitants, entre autres les grands propriétaires ostrogoths, qui sont souvent d'origine arienne, craignent de plus en plus de perdre leurs biens, face à l'empereur Justinien (527–565), hostile à toutes les hérésies, y compris l'arianisme.² On observe ici une situation particulière en Italie³ au milieu du VI^e siècle: la conversion des certains Ostrogoths de l'arianisme au christianisme nicéen, afin de protéger leur propriété et de garder leur statut social. Le *P.Ital.* 2.49 = *ChLA* 29.885, un des papyrus de Ravenne,⁴ est un

¹ Ch. Wickham a décrit la situation économique en Italie lors de l'arrivée des Lombards à partir de 568; on peut imaginer que la situation était encore pire en 554: "In 568–569, the Italy that the Lombards entered was a poor state, after over thirty years of wars," cf. Id., "Social Structures in Lombard Italy," in G. Ausenda et al. (éds.), *The Langobards before the Frankish Conquest: An Ethnographic Perspective* (Woodbridge-San Marino 2009) 118.

² Voir sur ce point *infra* n. 31–33.

³ Pour l'Italie byzantine, voir par exemple AA.VV., *I Bizantini in Italia* (Milan 1982); E. Zanini, *Le Italie bizantine. Territorio, insediamenti ed economia nella provincia bizantina d'Italia (V–VIII secolo)* (Bari 1998); S. Cosentino, *Storia dell'Italia bizantina (VI–XI secolo). Da Giustiniano ai Normanni* (Bologne 2008).

⁴ J.-O. Tjäder, *Die nichtliterarischen lateinischen Papyri Italiens aus der Zeit 445–700*, vol. 1–3 (Lund 1954–1982); cette documentation précieuse de 59 documents allant du milieu du V^e siècle jusqu'au VIII^e siècle sont réédités par *ChLA*; voir le tableau de concordance de ces deux éditions dans *ChLA* 29, p. X et XI. Une nouvelle édition est en cours de préparation par D. Internullo et al. Pour une vue globale des papyrus de Ravenne,

témoignage précieux sur ce phénomène. Un réexamen de ce papyrus aide à mieux comprendre la situation en Italie dans la transformation de la domination ostrogothe à l'époque dite byzantine.

1. *Le texte avec la reconstitution*

P.Ital. 2.49 = *ChLA* 29.885 (= *P.Marini* 140)

Éditions⁵: (1) J.-O. Tjäder, *Die nichtliterarischen lateinischen Papyri Italiens aus der Zeit 445–700*, vol. 2 (Lund 1982) 194–199 et 298–302 (notes), cf. la reproduction photographique, vol. 3 (Lund 1954) Taf. 153 et 154; republié in J.-O. Tjäder, F. Magistrale et G. Cavallo (éds.), *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores*, vol. 29 (Dietikon-Zurich 1993) 116–121; avec la traduction de P. Amory, *People and Identity in Ostrogothic Italy, 489–554* (Cambridge 1997) 321–322; (2) S. Cosentino, “Social Instability and Economic Decline of the Ostrogothic Community in the Aftermath of the Imperial Victory: The Papyri Evidence,” in J. Herrin et J. Nelson (éds.), *Ravenna: Its Role in Earlier Medieval Change and Exchange* (Londres 2016) 148–149.

- 1 [. . i]lli red̄di aḅ Anastasio^a aḅb[ate], eṭ poss[e]det i[.]
- 2 [.]a reconciliatus usque ueni[t] de malo eṭ filii ipsius [.]
- 3 [ca. 14]hi[]re[.]ut[.]relicta[ca. 14]
- 4 [ca. 14]eo[. . .]quam me[. . .]i[ca. 14]
- preṣen[ca. 10]
- 5 [p]er ipsa quattuor euuangelia me hec, quae dix[i]
- 6 [roga]berad.

voir entre autres, L. Migliardi Zingale, “Sui papiri ‘ravennati,’ punto d’incontro tra Occidente ed Oriente: alcune riflessioni,” *Aegyptus* 88 (2008) 149–163; C. Carbonetti Vendittelli, “I supporti scrittorii della documentazione: l’uso del papiro,” in J.-M. Martin, A. Peters-Custot et V. Prigent (éds.), *L’héritage Byzantin en Italie. VIII^e–XII^e siècle*, vol. 1: *La fabrique documentaire* (Rome 2011) 33–48; F. Santoni, “I papiri di Ravenna: gesta municipalia e procedure di insinuazione,” *ibid.* 9–32; D. Internullo, “Latin Documents Written on Papyrus in the Late Antique and Early Medieval West (5th–11th Century): An Overview,” in A. Nodar et al. (éds.), *Proceedings of the 28th International Congress of Papyrology (Barcelona 1–6 August 2016)* (Barcelone 2019) 654–663. Cf. aussi une petite introduction et une bibliographie sélective de S. Cosentino, “Social Instability and Economic Decline of the Ostrogothic Community in the Aftermath of the Imperial Victory: The Papyri Evidence,” in J. Herrin et J. Nelson (éds.), *Ravenna: Its Role in Earlier Medieval Change and Exchange* (Londres 2016) 140.

⁵ Cf. aussi l’ancienne édition de G. Marini (éd.), *I papiri diplomatici* (Rome 1805) 206–207 et 376–377 (notes).

- 7 imp(erante) d(omino) n(ostro) Iustiniano p(er)p(etuo) Aug(usto) anno
tricensimo primo ę[t] p(ost) [c(onsulatum)] Basili u(iri) c(laris-
simi) anno XVI, + ind(ictione) quīn[ta],
- 8 şub d(ie) III Nonar(um) Iuniarum^b + . scribsi ego [. . . .]liuş rog[atu]s
a Pîţzane^c u(iro) in(lustre) com[ite]^d
- 9 [. . .]ę argi[ca. 12]la[. . . .]ti[.]li[.]ti[. . .
. .]gu[ca. 14]
- 10 ęt eum esse conuentum^e per precept[ione]m^f Adeodati u(iri) s(pecta-
bilis), uicari urb(is) ęm(inentissimi) p(raefecti)^g, [an-]
- 11 te Andream^h u(i)r(um) st(renuum)ⁱ, executorem^j, ad[.]a]ctor
monasteri] S(an)ç(t)i Aeliae [. .]
- 12 et S(an)c(t)i Sthefani^k, ut, quid nobis, s[ca. 11]s]ançtis
euangeliis d[i]c[. . .]ę[. .]
- 13 [ca. 12]çta, unde scir[e]t u[ca. 15]jilio^l Gundila^m
[ca. 12]
- 14 re[con]çiliat[us], ę[t] lege nostra eum [. . . .] reçonciliau[it].
mis[ca. 11]
- 15 re[. .]atoti[.] occupauerunt illi[. . .]c[.]asalent[. .]
in[.]
- 16 çoe, uę que sibi inuenire potuit. reçonçiliat[us] f[fe]cit do[n]u[m]
e]çcl(esiae) S(an)ç(t)ae]
- 17 Mariae in Nepe cum uxore sua et filiis s[u]is.” dictum est ab And[re]a
u(iro) str(enuo)],
- 18 executore: “et tu unde scis, aut quod anno ages?” cui r(espondit)
s(upra)s(criptus) Pîţza: “ş[um] annorum]
- 19 sexsaginta ęt amplius ego.” [Et adiecit: “Postea/Post] anbulauit ipşę
[reconcili-]
- 20 a[us] Romae et rogauit papaⁿ et ę[pisc(opum) G]u[thor(um)], et
dederunt illi [iussionem]
- 21 reciperet res suas, et reci[pi]t. postea . . . illu]d recepit: post a[li]quod
[tem-]
- 22 pus benerunt fili Tzalico[n]i^o com(itis), et ipsi similit[er] occupaueru[n]t
il]li[us]
- 23 unc(ias) dicendo donatiuaş [ca. 21] res. it(em) poş[t]
ali[quot]
- 24 annos uenit patriciu Velisarius^p [ca. 23]ç r[o]gau[it]
p[at]rici[um]
- 25 Velisariu dicendo quare me re[con]ciliatum ueneru[n]t fili com(itis)
Tzaliç[oni,]

- 26 ri et Gudila^q et occupauerunt řęř [meas]. ad[que eum dixit: “Catho-
 licus es, qua- / eum r(espondit): “Catholicus nunc es, qua-]
 27 re et filius m(eu)s.” et conmut[auit ipsas ca. 31]^r
 28 postea nuntiauit ill[ud papae, et dix(it) eum bonam rem facturum, si
 eas faciat reddi]
 29 [e]t papa mox furuit, [et fecit precepta^s et misit illa in ca. 16]
 30 [. a]d ipsum abb(atem), e[t fecit i]ll[i] ř[eddi unc(ias) suas, et
 possedit ca. 10]
 31 [.]e reconc[i]l[i]a[tus uenit de malo, et filii ipsius]
 32 [ca. 10]c[ca. 48]
 33 [.] teneo m[emoria, et iuro per quattuor euangelia me hec,
 que dixi, scire, ut]
 34 [.] rogauit.

2. Annotation⁶

^a Anastase est probablement l’abbé du monastère de Saint Aelia (Élie) de Nepi (S. Cosentino, “Social Instability” 143; mais sur la page 141, l’auteur a mis “Anastasius” comme “*uicarius* of the praetorian prefect”), mentionné aussi par Grégoire le Grand (*Dial.* 1.7–8).

^b Il s’agit de l’indication de la date à la manière dite byzantine: durant la trente-et-unième année du règne de l’empereur Justinien, et seizième année après le consulat de Basile, à savoir le 3 juin 557.

^c Nous suivons l’identification de S. Cosentino. Sitza (selon J.-O. Tjäder) doit être lu comme Pitza, *uir inlustris* (voir la note suivante) et *comes*, qui correspond à Pissas,⁷ ἄρχων, défendu par le patrice Constantin et renvoyé à Rome auprès de Bélisaire au début de 537. Ce Pitza, de haut rang, Goth comme Gundila qui est également de haut rang avant sa conversion (voir *infra* l’annotation m), a pu rencontrer Gundila à Rome et son âge correspond au témoin mentionné dans le procès-verbal (Cosentino, “Social Instability” 142–143). Cf. *PLRE* 3B, p. 1042, Pissas; P. Amory, “Prosopographical Appendix,” in *People and Identity in Ostrogothic Italy* 405, Pissas archon et 417, Sitza.

⁶ Pour les analyses techniques, voir J.-O. Tjäder, *Papyri Italiens*, vol. 2, p. 194–195; *ChLA* 29, p. 116.

⁷ Procop. *Goth.* 1.16.5–7; *PLRE* 3B, p. 1042, Pissas; P. Amory, “Prosopographical Appendix,” in *People and Identity in Ostrogothic Italy* 405, Pissas archon. Pissas est la forme grecque. Pitza, Pitzia et Pitzas sont les différentes formes d’un même nom.

Pour les nom goths Pitza et Sitza, voir F. Wrede, *Über die Sprache der Ostgoten in Italien* (Strassburg 1891) 72, Pitz(i)z; M. Schönfeld, *Wörterbuch der altgermanischen Personen- und Völkernamen. Nach der Überlieferung des klassischen Altertums* (Heidelberg 1911) 180, Pitzia, Pitza (l’auteur n’a pas fourni la notice Sitza); N. Francovich Onesti, *I nomi degli Ostrogoti* (Florence 2007) 77, n° 227, Pitza, cf. n° 228, Pitzia et 88, n° 269, Sitza.

^d *u(iro) h(onesto) com[.]*, selon J.-O. Tjäder. *com[.]* est sans doute *comite*. Mais aucun *uir honestus* n’a pas été attesté comme *comes*. D’après la lecture de G. Feo, adaptée par S. Cosentino, “Social Instability” 142, n. 41 et 148, il s’agit de *uiro inlustre comite*.

^e Sur les lignes 8-10, voir J.-O. Tjäder, *Papyri Italiens*, vol. 2, p. 299, n. 8. On trouve un parallèle dans l’acte de vente du *P.Ital.* 2.35.3: *Scripsi ego Iohannis for(ensis) rogatus et petitus a Domnino ... et 7-8: Constat eum ... distraxisse*.

^f *Preceptio (praeceptio)* est un terme technique qui se trouve dans les sources juridiques tardo-antiques pour désigner généralement un ordre destiné à un subordonné (il peut être synonyme de *rescriptum*, *ordinatio* etc.). Il est fréquent dans les codes juridiques (Théodosien et Justinien) et au VI^e siècle, non seulement dans les papyrus (voir également *P.Ital.* 1.10-11), mais aussi dans les *Variae* de Cassiodore, cf. par exemple O.J. Zimmermann, *The Late Latin Vocabulary of the Variae of Cassiodorus* (Washington, DC 1944) 140, *praeceptio*: “an imperial rescript; (Var.) 1.31.3 *quod uos poterit instruere ad praefectum Urbis data praeceptio*; instruction (Cic.); prejudice, preconceived idea (Cic.); the receiving of a part of an inheritance in advance (Ict., Plin. min.),” ainsi que les commentaires dans A. Giardina et al. (éds.), Flavio Magno Aurelio Cassiodoro Senatore, *Varie I-V* (Rome 2014-2022). Il s’agit des ordres spéciaux du vicaire Adéodat (voir l’annotation suivante) dans notre contexte. Cf. aussi Database of Latin Dictionaries, <http://clt.brepolis.net.janus.bis-sorbonne.fr/dld/pages/QuickSearch.aspx>.

^g Adéodat (S. Cosentino, *Prosopografia dell’Italia bizantina (493-804)*, vol. I. A-F [Bologne 1996] = *PIB* 1.97, Adeodatus 16*; *PLRE* 3 et *PCBE* 2 ne fournissent pas sa notice), *uicarius Vrbis* soumis au préfet du prétoire d’Italie, à savoir vicaire de la Ville du préfet éminentissime; cf. par exemple Cassiod. *Var.* 3.27, avec le commentaire de P. Porena, in A. Giardina et al. (éds.), Flavio Magno Aurelio Cassiodoro Senatore, *Varie II. Libri III-V* (Rome 2014), en particulier 246-249; cf. aussi le commentaire de F.M. Petrini à Cassiod. *Var.* 6.3, ligne 1, *ibid.*, vol. III.

Libri VI–VII (Rome 2015) 114–115. Le *uicarius du praefectus Vrbis* n'est pas un dignitaire stable dans l'organisation administrative de Rome, mais un remplaçant pour quelques semaines du *praefectus Vrbis* lorsque celui-ci meurt, ou lorsqu'il doit quitter la capitale pour une courte période. A. Chastagnol, *La Préfecture Urbaine à Rome sous le Bas-Empire* (Paris 1960) a pensé à tort que le *uicarius praefecti Vrbis* était un vicaire stable. En fait, seul le *uicarius Vrbis* établi par Constantin en 313 a été un vicaire stable à Rome et en Italie suburbicaire jusqu'au VI^e siècle; cf. Cassiod. *Var.* 6.15, *Formula uicarii sacratissimae Vrbis Romae*, qui l'insère parmi les dignitaires réguliers de l'administration de Rome et de l'Italie, avec le commentaire de F.M. Petrini, in A. Giardina et al. (éds.), *Varie*, vol. III, en particulier 156–157.

^h Andreas, magistrat du procès relatif aux biens fonciers de Gundila. *PIB* 1.148, Andreas 17*. Les *PLRE* 3 et *PCBE* 2 n'ont pas fourni de notices pour ce personnage.

ⁱ *uir strenuus*. Cf. *P.Ital.* 1.20 = *ChLA* 21.717 (*P.Marini* 93); *P.Ital.* 2.30 = *ChLA* 20.706 (*P.Marini* 114); *P.Ital.* 2.47–48A = *ChLA* 25.792 (*P.Marini* 138). Les titres *uir honestus*, *laudabilis* et *strenuus* désignent peut-être trois rangs importants au niveau municipal du VI^e siècle, P. Koch, *Die byzantinischen Beamtentitel von 400 bis 700* (Jena 1903) 104, “Es scheint demnach im 6. Jahrhundert jeder achtbare Bürger eines der drei Prädikate: *honestus*, *laudabilis*, *strenuus*, geführt zu haben...” Pour le *uir strenuus*, voir Koch, *Die byzantinischen Beamtentitel* 103–104 (la cas d'Andreas, *executor*, a été mentionné). Voir aussi la note suivante.

^j *Executor* indique une fonction exécutive spéciale, attestée pour la première et, selon G. Maier, “seule” fois comme titre par Cassiod. *Var.* 1.8 (dans laquelle Théodoric [sur le roi, voir *infra* la bibliographie indiquée dans la n. 11] s'adresse à Amabilis, *executor*, *PLRE* 2, p. 63, Amabilis), voir G. Maier, *Amtsträger und Herrscher in der Romania Gothica. Vergleichende Untersuchungen zu den Institutionen der ostgermanischen Völkerwanderungsreiche* (Stuttgart 2005) 203, “Dort hatte er (*ex[s]ecutor*) die eher unbestimmte Bedeutung ‘Vollstrecker der gerichtlichen Urteile’ oder ‘Eintreiber fiskalischer Gefälle.’ Das erste und weithin einzige Mal wird der Begriff in Varien I. 8 als Titel gebraucht.” Dans Cassiod. *Var.* 4.5, le même Amabilis porte aussi le titre d'*executor*, et est également appelé *uir deuotus* et *comes*. Cela implique qu'un *executor* peut être un *comes*. Le terme d'*executor* apparaît aussi dans *Var.* 7.42.3 et 9.18.2, qui semble indiquer la fonction de *saio*. Dans *Var.* 12.3, les *saiones* sont affectés à la fonction de *cancellarii*, voir R. Morosi, “*Cancellarii* in Cassiodoro e in Giovanni Lido,” *Romanobarbarica*, vol. 3 (1978) 149. Sur le lien entre

executor et *comes/saio*, voir G. Maier, *Amtsträger und Herrscher in der Romania Gothica* 174–181; A. Giardina, “Amministrazione e politica nel regno ostrogoto: il *comitiacum officium*,” in Id., *Cassiodoro politico* (Rome 2006) 66–67, “Nelle *Variae*, il termine *executor* (o *exsecutor*) è attribuito ai *saiones* (Var. 7.42; 12.3 [les *saiones* comme *cancellarii*]; 9.14.4 et 5), ai *comitiaci* (Var. 9.14.4 et 5) o è usato in un’accezione generale (Var. 8.32.5)” ; le commentaire de P. Porena à Cassiod. Var. 9.14.22, in A. Giardina et al. (éds.), *Varie*, vol. IV. Libri VIII–X (Rome 2016) 335; mais R. Morosi, “I *saiones*, speciali agenti di polizia presso i Goti,” *Athenaeum* 59 (1981) 159 et Id., “I ‘comitiaci,’ funzionari romani nell’Italia ostrogota,” *QS* 3 (1981) 77–111 l’exclut. En complément, dans Var. 9.14, il est incertain que le terme d’*executor* mentionné soit “un *saione* goto ou un *officialis* romano (per l’invio di *officiales* romani presso conti goti cfr. [Cassiod.] 7.25),” selon le commentaire de P. Porena déjà cité. Sur *executor*, cf. aussi O.J. Zimmermann, *The Late Latin Vocabulary of the Variae* 139, *exsecutor* (*executor*); A. Berger, *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Roman Law* (Philadelphie 1953) 465, *exsecutio* et *exsecutor*.

La fonction d’*executor* est très proche de celle de *uir strenuus*, comme l’a montré le cas d’Andreas dans *P.Ital.* 2.49. Selon l’analyse de G. Maier, le *uir strenuus* apparaît au tournant de l’an 500; dans les papyrus de Ravenne, avant 550, dix *uiri strenui* sont attestés, alors qu’après cette date, seulement trois sont mentionnés, “für die später die *deuotio* verliehen wurde [sic; faute d’orthographe],” Id., *Amtsträger und Herrscher in der Romania Gothica* 179, n. 220. Les *uiri strenui* sont plus ou moins équivalents des *apparitores* ou plus précisément des *executores*, ibid. 201–203; voir aussi *Lex Romana Burgundionum* 30 = *Lex Burgundionum* 49; *Cod. Iust.* 13.21; *Edictum Theodorici* 73.

^k Saint Aelia et Saint Étienne partagent peut-être le même monastère, étant donné qu’il n’y a qu’un représentant pour le procès, voir S. Cosentino, “Social Instability” 143.

^l *A papa Vigilio Gundila uoluit esse*, selon J.-O. Tjäder; *A papa Vigilio Gundila uoluit uenire*, selon S. Cosentino. Mais nous n’acceptons aucune de ces restitutions. Il n’est pas certain qu’il soit Vigile, évêque de Rome. Sur le terme *papa*, voir *infra* l’annotation n.

^m Il s’agit du personnage principal: Gudila ou Gundila. Voir *PCBE* 2.1.957–958, Gundila (mais la reconstruction de l’histoire est erronée); cf. aussi J.-O. Tjäder, *Papyri Italiens*, vol. 2, p. 194–199 et 298–302, les notes; P. Amory, “Prosopographical Appendix,” in Id., *People and Identity in Ostrogothic Italy, 489–554* (Cambridge 1997) 382–383, Gundila; *PIB* 2 (Bologne 1996) 87, Gudila 7*. La proposition de P. Amory que Gundila

est un soldat n'est pas pertinente. Une personne qui a pu solliciter le général impérial Bélisaire (voir *infra* l'annotation p) ne peut être issu d'un milieu modeste. Nous suivons l'identification de Gundila proposée par S. Cosentino, "Social Instability" 141–142 (aussi par J.-O. Tjäder; rejetée par P. Amory). Il doit être identifié à Gudila, *uir sublimis maior domus regiae*⁸ et à l'homonyme, *uir sublimis*,⁹ *comes ordinis primi et curator respublicae*¹⁰ à l'époque du roi Théodoric¹¹ (493–526).

Pour ce nom dont les formes masculine et féminine semblent être identiques, voir F. Wrede, *Über Die Sprache der Ostgoten in Italien* 71–72, Gudila; M. Schönfeld, *Wörterbuch der altgermanischen* 114–115, Gudila; N. Francovich Onesti, *I nomi degli Ostrogoti* 54, n° 129, 130 et 131. Cette forme nominative se trouve aussi chez d'autres noms goths, par exemple, ceux des filles de Théodoric, Thiudigoto (ibid. 64–65, Theodegoto) et Ostrogotho (ibid. 65–66, Ostrogoto), ou le prénom italien Andrea aujourd'hui, voir la n. 736 de la p. 248 de l'édition des *Getica* d'A. Grillone.

ⁿ Le terme *papa*, à cette date, peut désigner un évêque autre que l'évêque de Rome; cf. Al. Testi Rasponi (éd.), *Codex Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis*, vol. 1 (Bologne 1924) 96, n. 1; Id., "Note agnelliane III. I vescovi ravennati del V secolo," *Felix Ravenna* 18 (1915) 777; le même terme peut également désigner un prêtre arien, voir *P.Ital.* 2.34.82 et 88 = *ChLA* 20.704.82 et 88 (= *P.Marini* 119): *Optarit presbyter (Optarit... praesb.) = Ufithari pap*. Ce terme a été également utilisé dans les papyrus de Ravenne

⁸ *Acta Synhodorum Habitarum Romae. Additamentum secundum* 2.2 (éd. Th. Mommsen, *MGH aa* 12.422.8–9); 3 (ibid. 422.20); 5 (ibid. 425.27); 6.20 (ibid. 429.4–5). Pour les conflits à la suite de la double élection à l'épiscopat romain en 498, voir en particulier E. Wirbelauer, *Zwei Päpste in Rom der Konflikt zwischen Laurentius und Symmachus (498–514). Studien und Texte* (Munich 1993); T. Sardella, *Società, chiesa e stato nell'età di Teodorico. Papa Simmaco e lo scisma laurenziano* (Messina 1996). *Maiores domus* est un officiel proche du roi ostrogoth à la cour ravennate, H. Wolfram, *Die Goten von den Anfängen bis zur Mitte des sechsten Jahrhunderts* (Munich 1990³) 292; G. Maier, *Amtsträger und Herrscher in der Romania Gothica* 147–159.

⁹ P. Koch, *Die byzantinischen Beamtentitel* 104–105.

¹⁰ *CIL* 11.268 = *ILCV* 225; P. Guerrini, "Theodericus rex nelle testimonianze epigrafiche," *Temporis signa. Archeologia della tarda antichità e del medioevo* 6 (2011) 167, le n° 8 dans son catalogue, voir aussi 140–141, pour la photo, voir la figure 5, sur la p. 140. Voir aussi, E. Guidoboni, *Catalogo delle epigraphi latine riguardanti terremoti*, in Id. (éd.), *I terremoti prima del Mille in Italia e nell'area mediterranea* (Bologne 1989) 135–168 et 148–149, fig. 48.

¹¹ Sur le roi arien Théodoric, parmi l'abondante bibliographie, voir entre autres: W. Ensslin, *Theoderich der Grosse* (Munich 1947, 1959²); L. Schmidt, *Die Ostgermanen*, (Munich 1941, 1969²); H. Wolfram, *Die Goten*; J. Moorhead, *Theoderic in Italy* (New York 1992); S. Biagio, *La civiltà di Teodorico. Rigore amministrativo, "tolleranza" religiosa e recupero dell'antico nell'Italia ostrogota* (Rome 1993); A. Frank, *Theoderich der Große* (Darmstadt 2012²); H.-U. Wiemer, *Theoderich der Große. König der Goten-Herrscher der Römer. Eine Biographie* (Munich 2018).

et chez Agnellus de Ravenne (IX^e siècle) pour désigner l'évêque ravennate. Agnellus, *LPR* 35: *uidit post ipsum altare beati Laurentii, quod beatissimus papa consecrauerat Iohanes*. Le papa Jean doit être celui mentionné dans *P.Marini* 84.1.4 et 84.2.4 (à l'époque où J.-O. Tjäder faisait ses éditions, *P.Ital.* 1.12 et *ChLA* 25.791, le papyrus est dans un état très peu lisible; les parties II et III éditées par Marini sont reproduites dans *P.Ital.* 1.12 et *ChLA* 25.791): [*sancto ac beatissimo Papa Johanne*] (J.-O. Tjäder n'est pas d'accord avec cette reconstruction de Marini, voir *ChLA* 25.791, n. e) et *uir beatissime Pater et Papa Johannes (Iohannis)*; le papyrus est daté de janvier 491; pour les détails sur ce papyrus, voir G. Marini (éd.), *I papiri diplomatici* 280 sqq.; J.-O. Tjäder, *Papyri Italiens*, vol. 1, p. 294–298.

^o *PLRE* 3B, p. 1347, Tzalicon(ius ?); *PCBE* 2 n'a pas fourni de notice; P. Amory, "Prosopographical Appendix," in *People and Identity in Ostrogothic Italy* 426, Tzalico. Il est peut-être ostrogoth. Mais on ignore exactement avec qui Tzalico était associé. Pour ce nom goth, voir F. Wrede, *Über die Sprache der Ostgoten in Italien* 148, Zalla et 155, Tzalico; M. Schönfeld, *Wörterbuch der altgermanischen*, n'a pas fourni de notice; N. Francovich Onesti, *I nomi degli Ostrogoti* 101–102, n° 320, Tzaliconi et 102, Tzalla/Zallae.

^p *Velisarius*, à savoir *Belisarius*, Bélisaire, doit être le général qui est en charge de la guerre contre les Ostrogoths sur l'ordre de l'empereur Justinien; *PLRE* 3A, p. 181–224, Belisarius 1.

^q Il s'agit probablement d'un fils de Tzalico. *PLRE* 3A, p. 561, Gudila; P. Amory, "Prosopographical Appendix," in *People and Identity in Ostrogothic Italy* 380, Gudila 4.

^r Selon J.-O. Tjäder, *Papyri Italiens*, vol. 2, p. 301, n. 23, "Es scheint, als ob Belisar die fraglichen Zwölfstel in Eigentum des Elias-Klosters bei Nepi (cf. *ibid.* 298–299, n. 1 et 300, n. 10) umwandelte (*conmutauit*), damit sie den Söhnen des Tzalico entzogen würden." J.-O. Tjäder propose la reconstitution suivante du texte lacunaire: *unc(ias) in domium monasterii sci Aeliae*.

^s Cf. *supra* l'annotation f.

3. Le contenu

Le *P.Ital.* 2.49, dans un état très fragmentaire, contient les restes de deux procès-verbaux (lignes 1–6 et 7–34) rédigés en 557. La copie des deux procès-verbaux est conservée dans l'archive archiépiscopale de

Ravenne. Leur texte témoigne du sort contesté des domaines de l'ostrogoth Gundila pendant et à la fin de la guerre des Goths, alors que ses propriétés se trouvent, semble-t-il, près de Rome (à Nepi). Le protagoniste Gundila est un cas précoce¹² d'aristocrate ostrogoth arien qui s'est converti au christianisme nicéen dans les premières années de la guerre entre le Royaume ostrogoth et l'Empire romain d'Orient. Le texte le plus important est le deuxième procès-verbal, qui contient les informations chronologiques et judiciaires et les restes de la déposition de Pitza (Sitza), *uir illustris* et *comes*, qui exposa au magistrat Andreas, *uir strenuus et executor*, la longue histoire du litige, en présence d'un représentant du monastère des Saints Aelia et Étienne.

Il est probable que le procès ouvert par le *uicarius Vrbis* et l'interrogatoire confié à Andreas aient eu lieu à Rome (ou à Nepi).¹³ Selon J.-O. Tjäder, il s'agit de la compilation ultérieure de deux ou plusieurs authentications d'interrogatoires de témoins concernant les possessions du Goth Gundila, rédigée par deux mains différentes, le deuxième interrogatoire daté du 3 juin 557. Le procès-verbal a été écrit à la première personne du singulier, *ego*, à la demande du témoin.

Pitza avait plus de soixante ans. Il répond à Andreas, *executor*, que le Goth arien Gundila, converti au christianisme nicéen auprès d'une autorité ecclésiastique, avec sa femme et son fils, a fait une donation à l'église Sainte Marie à Nepi et que certaines personnes se sont emparées de ses biens. Les deux verbes employés, *reconciliauit* (ligne 14) et *occupauerunt* (ligne 15), sont tous l'indicatif parfait. Il est donc difficile de savoir quelle action est antérieure. Une fois converti, Gundila alla à Rome et demanda à un "pape"¹⁴ et à un évêque des Goths de récupérer sa propriété; les deux évêques ayant donné l'ordre de la lui rendre, Gundila la reprit; après un certain temps, les fils de Tzalico, *comes*, occupèrent¹⁵ des *unciae* de cette propriété, en disant qu'il s'agissait de *donatiua*; après quelques années, quand Bélisaire (Velisarius), *patricius*, arriva, Gundila lui demanda, "pourquoi, après que je me suis converti, les fils de Tzalico, ...ri (le texte est perdu) et Gudila.¹⁶ sont venus, ... (lacune), et ont occupé mon domaine?" La réponse de Bélisaire est perdue, mais la suite du papyrus laisse entendre

¹² Cf. le cas de Ranilo (553), *P.Ital.* 1.13 = *ChLA.* 29.880; nous en parlerons *infra* dans la conclusion.

¹³ G. Marini propose que le procès ait probablement eu lieu à Ravenne, voir Id., *I papiri diplomatici* 376.

¹⁴ Nous gardons la forme originale dans le texte, *papa*; voir sur ce terme *supra* l'annotation n.

¹⁵ *Similiter*, de manière similaire, voir la reconstruction du texte *supra*.

¹⁶ Il s'agit sans doute d'un fils de Tzalico; voir *supra* l'annotation q.

que Bélisaire l'a ensuite communiquée au "pape," en disant qu'une bonne chose pourrait être faite, si ... (lacune). Le "pape," furieux, s'adresse à l'abbé pour lui ordonner de rendre le domaine ... (lignes 19–34). C'est pourquoi, ensuite, le 3 juin 557, une enquête relative au domaine de Gundila a été menée devant Andreas sur l'ordre du vicaire de la Ville du préfet éminentissime. Les six premières lignes de ce papyrus livrent la fin d'une autre enquête, en présence de l'abbé Anastase, à une date inconnue.

Le *P.Ital.* 2.49 est avant tout un document juridique.¹⁷ La cause fut finalement jugée par le tribunal séculier, plus précisément par le tribunal du vicaire de la Ville du préfet éminentissime du gouvernement de l'Italie réorganisée après la chute du Royaume ostrogoth. L'évêque anonyme est également intervenu. Il s'agit d'un cas de l'*episcopalis audientia*.¹⁸ On voit ici un mélange, voire une concurrence, mais aussi une collaboration, entre le tribunal séculier et le tribunal ecclésiastique.¹⁹ L'incompétence ou le mal fonctionnement de l'*episcopalis audientia* oblige l'intervention du vicaire de la Ville à juger le procès de Gundila. Une raison probable de

¹⁷ Pour la propriété et la législation tardo antique, voir par exemple: E. Levy, *West Roman Vulgar Law: The Law of Property* (Philadelphie 1951); D. Simon, *Untersuchungen zum justinianischen Zivilprozess* (Munich 1969); P. Voci, *Nuovi studi sulla legislazione romana del tardo impero* (Padoue 1989); M. Kaser et K. Hackl, *Das römische Zivilprozessrecht* (Munich 1996²). Sur la papyrologie juridique, voir entre autres L. Mitteis, *Reichsrecht und Volksrecht in den östlichen Provinzen des römischen Kaiserreichs. Mit Beiträgen zur Kenntniss des griechischen Rechts und der spätrömischen Rechtsentwicklung* (Leipzig 1891); J. Beaucamp, "L'histoire du droit romain face à la papyrologie juridique. Bilans et perspectives," in L. Burgmann (éd.), *Fontes minores*, vol. 11 (Francfort-sur-le-Main 2005) 5–56 = Ead., *Femmes, patrimoines, normes à Byzance* (Paris 2010) 445–518; et récemment L. Atzeri, "Roman Law from the Desert: A.S. Hunt, F. de Zulueta, E. Levy, V. Arangio-Ruiz and the Editing of Legal Papyri," *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte. Romanistische Abteilung* 138 (2021) 446–506.

¹⁸ Sur l'*episcopalis audientia* voir entre autres G. Vismara, *Episcopalis audientia. L'attività giurisdizionale del vescovo per la risoluzione delle controversie private tra laici nel diritto romano e nella storia del diritto italiano fino al secolo nono* (Milan 1937); M. Kaser et K. Hackl, *Das römische Zivilprozessrecht* 641–644; et plus récemment par exemple Ch. Munier, "Audientia episcopalis," in C. Mayer (éd.), *Augustinus-Lexikon*, vol. 1 (Bâle 1986–1994) 511–515; A.J.B. Sirks, "The *episcopalis audientia* in Late Antiquity," *Droit et cultures* 65 (2013–1), <https://journals.openedition.org/droitcultures/3005>; M. d. M. Martín García, "El proceso judicial ante el obispo en el primer milenio del cristianismo. Aproximación al estado de la cuestión sobre la *Episcopalis Audientia*," *Vergentis. Revista de investigación de la Cátedra Internacional conjunta Inocencio III, Derecho y crisis: Consecuencias jurídicas de los tiempos de cambio* 1 (2015) 107–130; S. Puliatti, "L'*episcopalis audientia* tra IV e V secolo," *Koinonia* 40 (2016) 299–330.

¹⁹ Sur ce point voir entre autres J. Gaudemet, *La formation du droit séculier et du droit de l'Église aux IV^e s.-V^e s.* (Paris 1979²); cf. aussi par exemple J. Harries, *Law and Empire in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge 1999); C. Humfress, *Orthodoxy and the Courts in Late Antiquity* (Oxford 2007); Ead., "Law's Empire: Roman Universalism and Legal Practice," in P. J. du Plessis (éd.), *New Frontiers: Law and Society in the Roman World* (Edinburgh 2013) 73–101.

ce mal fonctionnement est sans doute que non seulement le personnel ecclésiastique est impliqué, mais également plusieurs autres groupes de personnes: un Goth converti au christianisme nicéen, le *comes* du pouvoir ostrogoth et sa famille, sans doute ariens. De surcroît, un évêque nicéen n'est pas compétent de juger les ariens dans les affaires civiles. La collaboration entre une autorité politique et un évêque dans les affaires juridiques correspond au souhait de l'empereur Justinien après la réorganisation de l'Italie reconquise.²⁰

Le cas de Gundila contient aussi une action de donation. Malheureusement, on ne dispose plus du dossier complet relatif à la propriété en question. Selon l'Édit de Théodoric,²¹ pour une transmission des biens fonciers, il est obligatoire que les témoins soient présents et qu'elle soit enregistrée dans les *gesta municipalia*, et effectuée par trois curiales et *magistratus*, ou *pro magistratu defensor ciuitatis* ainsi que trois curiales, ou *duumui*, ou *quinquennales*.²² Le Code théodosien²³ demande même aux donateurs une *confectio gestorum*, une sorte d'*epistula traditionis*, avant ou après la *traditio*, afin que l'action puisse être publiée dans les archives de la ville ou des provinces. Bien que l'acte de donation soit perdu, la donation de Gundila et de sa famille à l'église Sainte Marie à Nepi doit être enregistrée dans les archives municipales, en présence des témoins. D'après d'autres papyrus de Ravenne, par exemple *P.Ital.* 1.4-5, les témoins, en nombre²⁴ de 5 ou 7, sont souvent des notables locaux. Il est logique de supposer que Gundila possède de bonnes relations avec les figures importantes de la cité. Mais cela n'empêche pas les Goths et

²⁰ Cf. *infra* la n. 53.

²¹ *ET* 52. Pour la *traditio*, voir *ET* 53. Pour les diverses éditions, voir la note suivante. Sur l'Édit de Théodoric, cf. aussi G. Vismara, *Edictum Theoderici*, in Id., *Scritti di storia giuridica*, I. *Fonti del diritto nei regni germanici* (Milan 1987); S.D.W. Lafferty, *Law and Society in the Age of Theoderic the Great: A Study of the Edictum Theoderici* (Cambridge 2013).

²² Le texte est problématique, les éditions principales proposent différentes variations, d'où une incertitude sur le nombre de magistrats exigés: *ET* 52 (éd. P. Pithou, l'*editio princeps* de 1579, fac-similé dans O. Licandro, *Edictum Theoderici. Un misterioso caso librario del Cinquecento* [Rome 2013] 199; suivi par l'édition de G.F. Rohn [Halle 1816] 19–20; voir le commentaire d'I. König, *Edictum Theoderici regis. Das "Gesetzbuch" des Ostgotenkönigs Theoderich des Großen. Lateinisch und deutsch* [Darmstadt 2018] 103–105): *ita ut confectioni gestorum praesentes adhibeantur tres curiales, aut magistratus, aut (et) magistratus, aut*, éd. Licandro 162, cf. aussi les mêmes variations notées; *et magistratus, et*, éd. I. König 103; nous préférons la proposition d'O. Licandro) *pro magistratu defensor ciuitatis cum tribus curialibus, aut duumui, uel quinquennales (aut duumui quinquennales*, éd. Licandro 162; *aut duumui uel quinquennales*, sans virgule, éd. I. König 103).

²³ *CTh* 8.12.8 (23 mars 415). Cf. la traduction et le commentaire de C. Pharr, avec l'aide de Th.Sh. Davison et M.B. Pharr, *The Theodosian Code and Novels and the Sirmondian Constitutions* (Princeton 1952) 214.

²⁴ Voir sur ce point M. Nowak, *Wills in the Roman Empire: A Documentary Approach* (Warszawa 2016) 42–54.

l'abbé d'occuper, de manière illégale, la propriété de Gundila, en période de guerre, où le fonctionnement du gouvernement local a été sans doute perturbé.

4. *Statu quo*

L'état mutilé de ce papyrus ne permet pas d'établir tous les détails de manière certaine. L'éditeur J.-O. Tjäder,²⁵ puis P. Amory²⁶ et S. Cosentino²⁷ ont tous trois proposé leurs restitutions, avec une chronologie différente. Les trois chercheurs s'accordent à ce que l'évêque auprès duquel Gundila s'est converti doit être Vigile²⁸ (537–555), évêque de Rome. Selon P. Amory,²⁹ Gundila est un soldat qui perdit ses biens autour de l'année 539. Il se convertit au christianisme nicéen auprès de l'évêque de Rome Vigile à l'occasion de la victoire du général Bélisaire en 540. Peu après, lorsque l'armée de Totila reprit le centre de l'Italie, Gundila perdit à nouveau sa propriété et la confia à un *comes* de Totila, Tzalico. En 544/545, Gundila voulut récupérer ses biens à l'appui de Bélisaire, qui reprit Nepi à ce moment. Mais le général, peut-être oubliant Gundila, confia la propriété au monastère de Saint Aelia. Désespéré, Gundila sollicite l'aide de Vigile, furieux de l'action du monastère. Après avoir récupéré la propriété, Gundila la donna au monastère de Saint Aelia ainsi qu'à celui (le même?) de Saint Étienne. Quand la région de Nepi fut de nouveau occupée par les Goths, Tzalico s'empara sans doute une fois de plus de la propriété de Gundila. P. Amory utilise ce cas exceptionnel pour montrer que le comportement d'un individu ne correspond pas forcément à son groupe ethnique,³⁰ ainsi défend-il son opinion générale sur l'identité des Goths à l'époque de Théodoric: il existe un mélange entre Goths et Romains.³¹

²⁵ J.-O. Tjäder, *Papyri Italiens*, vol. 2, p. 194–199 et 298–302, les notes.

²⁶ P. Amory, "Appendix I: The Inquiry into Gundila's Property: A Translation and Chronology," in *People and Identity in Ostrogothic Italy*, entre autres 321–325; voir aussi les personnages concernant dans son "Prosopographical Appendix"; cf. aussi 149–151.

²⁷ S. Cosentino, "Social Instability" 133–149.

²⁸ *PLRE* 2, p. 1166, Vigilius 4; "Vigilius," in F.L. Cross et E.A. Livingstone (éds.), *ODCC*³ (Oxford 1998) 1440–1441; *PCBE* 2.2, p. 2298–2299, Vigilius 6 (la notice de la *PCBE* 2 n'a raconté la vie de Vigile que partiellement).

²⁹ P. Amory, *People and Identity in Ostrogothic Italy* 149.

³⁰ P. Amory, *People and Identity in Ostrogothic Italy* 151, "The episode is an example of ways in which individual behavior did not always attach to ethnographic groups, any more than ethnographic ideology consistently described such groups. Rather, individual behavior could reflect what was demanded of ethnographic groups to which an individual was thought to belong according to his possession of certain traits."

³¹ L'opinion de P. Amory a été contestée par de nombreux chercheurs. Nous en reparlerons *infra* dans la conclusion.

S. Cosentino dans un article récent de 2016 a proposé de nouvelles identifications. D'après lui,³² comme on l'a déjà montré ci-dessus dans la section d'annotation, Gundila ne peut pas être un simple soldat, issu d'un milieu modeste, car il a évidemment un lien avec des personnages de haut rang tels que Bélisaire et car un vicaire de la Ville entend encore sa cause plusieurs années après l'origine des conflits. Il doit être identifié à Gudila, *uir sublimis maior domus regiae* et à l'homonyme, *uir sublimis, comes ordinis primi et curator respublicae* vivant à l'époque du roi Théodoric (voir *supra* l'annotation m). Quant à Pitza, témoin et une sorte de porte-parole de Gundila, il est également un Goth de haut rang (voir *supra* l'annotation c). S. Cosentino a beaucoup modifié la chronologie de P. Amory: Gundila se convertit au christianisme nicéen durant le siège de Rome par le roi ostrogoth Vitigès, entre novembre 537 et mars 538; il effectua ensuite la donation à Sainte Marie de Nepi, avec un *terminus ante quem* de l'été 538; les fils de Tzalico occupèrent le domaine de Gundila en automne/hiver 538/539; Bélisaire était à Rome en hiver 539. Il souligne que le général et l'évêque de Rome devaient se voir personnellement à Rome, non par correspondance, comme l'a supposé P. Amory. S. Cosentino met en évidence l'instabilité sociale due à la guerre des Goths dont le résultat est le déclin économique des Ostrogoths en Italie, en soulignant qu'il est "difficult to believe that the Goths had a weak identity as a group."³³

5. Problèmes de chronologie et d'identification

Nous suivons les identifications de Gundila et de Pitza (Sitza) proposées par S. Cosentino. Cependant, la chronologie pose encore quelques problèmes, par exemple, l'indication du temps *post aliquot annos* ne correspond pas à sa proposition (voir n° 6 du "Tableau-bilan" *infra*). De manière générale, celle de P. Amory peut se justifier. Du point de vue philologique, comme il le reconnaît à plusieurs reprises,³⁴ les sujets qui ont occupé le domaine pourraient être Tzalico et les Goths, ce qui paraît justifié plus tard

³² S. Cosentino, "Social Instability" 141–142.

³³ S. Cosentino, "Social Instability" 147, "All these measures make it difficult to believe that the Goths had a weak identity as a group, judging by the obstinacy with which the new regime eradicated their social organization, seized their properties and reconverted their cults."

³⁴ P. Amory, *People and Identity in Ostrogothic Italy* 321, n. 2 et 324–325; voir aussi J.-O. Tjäder, *Papyri Italiens*, vol. 2, p. 300, n. 12.

quand les fils de ce premier déclarent le droit du domaine. Mais dans ce cas-là, sa chronologie ne s'adapte pas très bien à l'indication temporelle *post aliquod tempus*³⁵ (n° 5 du "Tableau-bilan" *infra*).

De plus, tous les chercheurs s'accordent à identifier le "pape" avec Vigile,³⁶ évêque de Rome, ce qui reste problématique, car dans le texte mutilé, seul le mot *papa*, sans aucun nom, est clairement attesté. Aucun des "papes" mentionnés dans le texte n'ont de nom, ni l'évêque des Goths. Il est logique de supposer qu'un évêque à Rome auprès duquel Gundila s'est converti soit l'évêque de Rome. Mais il faut également noter que le terme dans l'Antiquité tardive ne signifie pas spécifiquement l'évêque de Rome (voir *supra* l'annotation n). De surcroît, Gundila n'est pas obligé de se convertir auprès de l'évêque de Rome, lors de la première mention de la conversion à la ligne 14. En tout cas, lors de l'actuel procès en 557 dans le *P.Ital.* 2.49, Vigile est mort. Mais aucun terme comme "ancien pape" n'a été mentionné.

6. *Nos propositions chronologiques et reconstructions de l'histoire relative à Gundila*

Pour résoudre ces difficultés, nous proposons deux autres chronologies possibles.³⁷ Voici la première:

Goth, arien et haut fonctionnaire de la cour ravennate, Gundila (Gudila) doit posséder un domaine à Nepi, situé au Nord de Rome, surtout après sa mission ordonnée par Théodoric pendant les synodes de Rome en 501 et 502. Peut-être s'installe-t-il à Rome ou à Nepi, après sa retraite.³⁸ L'empereur Justinien, hostile à l'arianisme, a promulgué une série de lois³⁹

³⁵ P. Amory, *People and Identity in Ostrogothic Italy* 324, a également dit que "In this case, we must condense the narrative at its outset."

³⁶ Depuis J.-O. Tjäder, on pense que le mot fragmentaire de la ligne 13 dont seul reste la fin *ilio* indique le nom de l'évêque Vigile de Rome. J.-O. Tjäder, *Papyri Italiens*, vol. 2, p. 300, n. 11, a proposé une reconstruction: *A papa Vigilio Gundila [uoluit esse] | r[con]ciliauit*. Mais l'espace des lettres manquées permet d'une "open-ended question." Cf. *supra* l'annotation 1 et n.

³⁷ Voir *infra* le tableau-bilan des conflits autour du domaine de Gundila.

³⁸ Les sénateurs, par exemple, qui résident à Rome, possèdent souvent des terres dans le sud de la Toscane, sur ce point voir par exemple L. Cracco Ruggini, "La *Tuscia* tardoantica. Annotazioni prosopografiche, socioeconomica e culturali," in Ch. Freu, S. Janniard et A. Ripoll (éds.), *Libera curiositas. Mélanges d'histoire romaine et d'Antiquité tardive offerts à Jean-Michel Carrié* (Turnhout 2016) 203–216.

³⁹ *Cod. Iust.* 1.5.12 (a. 527); 1.5.13–18 (non daté); 1.5.19 (a. 529); 1.5.20 (a. 530); 1.5.21 (a. 531); 1.5.22 (a. 531). Cf. S. Cosentino, "Social Instability" 145.

contre les hérésies,⁴⁰ y compris contre cette branche du Christianisme suivie par Gundila, à partir de 527. L'une de ces lois datée de 531 indique même qu'un hérétique n'a pas le droit de recevoir d'héritages, de legs ou de fidéicommiss.⁴¹ Entre 533 et 534, l'empereur a déclenché la guerre contre le Royaume vandale. Une fois la victoire remportée,⁴² en 535, il a ordonné de priver tous les Vandales de leur terres, κληροὶ Βανδύλων.⁴³

À la suite du déclenchement de la guerre en 535, jusqu'à⁴⁴ la prise de Rome par Bélisaire en décembre 536, ayant peur de perdre sa propriété, Gundila s'est converti au christianisme nicéen auprès d'un membre du clergé, peut-être l'évêque, et a effectué une donation à une église de Nepi, avec sa femme et son fils. En mars 537, le roi Vitigès a mené un siège de Rome. Certains, probablement le *comes* Tzalicco et ses Goths, ont occupé des *unciae* du domaine de Gundila. *Post* ou *postea* (ce qui correspond à la durée d'au moins d'un an à cause du siège), après la levée du siège, en mars 538, Gundila, converti, est allé voir l'évêque d'une cité inconnue ou de Rome et celui des Goths à Rome afin de récupérer sa terre. Le fait que Gundila s'est rendu auprès d'un évêque à Rome laisse supposer qu'il s'agisse peut-être de l'évêque de Rome, à savoir Vigile.⁴⁵ Comme

⁴⁰ *Cod. Iust.* 1.5.12 (a. 527, éd. Krüger, *Corpus iuris ciuilis*, vol. 2, p. 53): αἱρετικὸν γὰρ πάντα καλοῦμεν, ὅστις μὴ τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ τῆς ὀρθοδόξου καὶ ἁγίας ἡμῶν ὑπάρχει πίστεως = *haereticum enim uocamus, quicumque non est addictus catholicae ecclesiae et orthodoxae sanctaeque fidei nostrae*.

⁴¹ *Cod. Iust.* 1.5.22 (a. 531, éd. Krüger, *Corpus iuris ciuilis*, vol. 2, p. 60): *Diuinam nostram sanctionem, per quam iussimus neminem errore constrictum haereticorum hereditatem uel legatum, uel fideicommissum accipere*.

⁴² *Cod. Iust.*, 1.27. Pour la réorganisation impériale de Justinien et sa reconquête en Afrique du Nord, parmi de nombreux titres bibliographiques, voir, par exemple, l'œuvre classique de Ch. Diehl, *L'Afrique byzantine. Histoire de la domination byzantine en Afrique (533–709)* (Paris 1896); Chr. Courtois, *Les Vandales et l'Afrique* (Paris 1955); A. Cameron, "The Byzantine Reconquest of North Africa and the Impact of Greek Culture," *Graeco-Arabica* 5 (1993) 153–165; *L'Afrique Vandale et Byzantine*, I et II, vol. 1 et 2 = *AnTard* 10–11 (Turnhout 2003–2004); Y. Modéran, *Les Maures et l'Afrique romaine (IV^e–VII^e siècle)* (Rome 2003); Id. et M.-Y. Perrin (éds.), *Les Vandales et l'Empire romain* (Arles 2014); C. Morisson (dir.), *Le monde byzantin*, vol. 1: *L'Empire romain d'Orient (330–641)* (Paris 2012³) 28–29.

⁴³ *Procop. Vand.* 1.5.12 (éd. J. Hauray et G. Wirth, vol. 1, p. 333.13–17): Λίβυας δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀφείλετο μὲν τοὺς ἀγροὺς, οἱ πλεῖστοί τε ἦσαν καὶ ἄριστοι, ἐς δὲ τὸ τῶν Βανδύλων διένειμεν ἔθνος, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ κληροὶ Βανδύλων οἱ ἀγροὶ οὗτοι ἐς τότε καλοῦνται τοῦ χρόνου. Sur le destin des sortes *Vandalorum*, voir Y. Modéran, "L'établissement territorial des Vandales en Afrique," *AnTard* 10 (2003) 87–122; Id., "Confiscations, expropriations et redistributions foncières dans l'Afrique vandale," in P. Porena et Y. Rivière (éds.), *Expropriations et confiscations dans les royaumes barbares. Une approche régionale* (Rome 2012) 129–156.

⁴⁴ Il n'est pas exclu que ce soit même après la prise de Rome par Bélisaire.

⁴⁵ Nous proposons aussi une hypothèse qu'il soit un évêque de Ravenne, voir infra, 7. *Quelques hypothèses et remarques*.

les Goths n'ont plus d'avantage militaire pour l'instant, Gundila a réussi à reprendre son domaine.

Post aliquod tempus, en 541 ou 542, lorsque l'armée de Totila domine la région de Nepi, et que Tzalico est peut-être mort, ses fils ont réoccupé une certaine partie du domaine de Gundila à Nepi. Dans cette situation, à un moment donné, l'abbé du monastère de Saint Aelia de Nepi soutient aussi les fils de Tzalico, par conséquent le monastère a peut-être partagé le domaine avec les fils de Tzalico (cette solution a été aussi supposée par P. Amory).

La guerre n'est pas encore totalement terminée; l'abbé a besoin du soutien des fils d'un ancien *comes* goth. *Post aliquot annos*, après mai 544 (et avant le départ du "pape," s'il s'agit de Vigile, d'Italie et son arrivée à Constantinople, au début de 547), Bélisaire est revenu en Italie pour combattre avec Totila. Ancien haut fonctionnaire, Gundila est en bonnes relations avec Pitza, un proche du général de Justinien, et s'adresse directement à Bélisaire: "je suis déjà converti, mais pourquoi, les fils de Tzalico ont-ils pris mon domaine?" Étant donné que la propriété monastique a souvent un lien très fort avec les autorités politiques,⁴⁶ il n'est pas exclu qu'il y ait une entente du monastère (nicéen) de Nepi avec les Goths (par défaut ariens), afin de maintenir la propriété et le statut social. Bélisaire prend une décision, qui ne nous est pas connue à cause du texte fragmentaire. Les Goths ont donc peut-être rendu le domaine. Bélisaire, occupé par la guerre, a communiqué la situation au "pape." *Postea*, après avoir entendu cela, le "pape" est furieux. Il adresse une lettre à l'abbé susmentionné pour lui ordonner de rendre le domaine à Gundila. Mais peut-être après le départ de Vigile (s'il faut l'identifier du "pape" en question) de l'Italie (il est arrivé à Constantinople peut-être au début de 547), ou après la fin de la guerre en 554, l'abbé du monastère de Saint Aelia de Nepi reprit entièrement le domaine de Gundila. Il y avait déjà un procès relatif à cette affaire en présence d'Anastase, abbé du monastère susmentionné. Mais son mandat exact n'est pas connu.

Le 3 juin 557, un procès est entendu par Andreas, *executor*, sur l'ordre d'Adéodat, vicaire de la Ville. En tant que témoin, Pitza, un ancien haut fonctionnaire et militaire ostrogoth, l'ami de Gundila, a demandé au scribe de noter dûment son témoignage.

⁴⁶ Par exemple, au moins, à l'époque grégorienne, presque tous les monastères sont fondés par des sénateurs, R. Rizzo, *Papa Gregorio Magno e la nobiltà in Sicilia* (Palerme 2008) 228, cf. aussi le commentaire de R. Lizzi Testa à Cassiod. *Var.* 10.26, in A. Giardina et al. (éds.), *Varie*, vol. IV, p. 448, "Dei monasteri di cui si abbia notizia in età gregoriana, oltre a quelli edificati nelle proprietà siciliane del pontefice, quasi tutti vantavano fondatrici d rango senatorio."

Dans la première partie du témoignage, Pitza, emploie les verbes *reconciliauit* (ligne 14) et *occupauerunt* (ligne 15). Il n'est pas exclu que le témoin n'ait pas rapporté les événements de manière chronologique, ce qui laisse supposer que Gundila s'est converti au christianisme nicéen afin de protéger ses biens, car certains, nicéens, les avait occupés.

Ainsi proposons-nous une deuxième chronologie possible: l'occupation du domaine de Gundila par les fils de Tzalico serait contemporaine du siège de Rome par Vitigès de mars 537 à mars 538. Les étapes antérieures se situent alors entre 535 et mars 537. Après le déclenchement de la guerre des Goths, certains nicéens ont occupé le domaine de Gundila. Dans cette chronologie, l'arien Gundila a décidé de se convertir parce que son domaine a été pris par certains, nicéens. Il croit que sa foi est la raison pour laquelle il a perdu une partie de son domaine.

L'état très lacunaire du papyrus empêche de bien suivre l'évolution du litige et il est impossible de reconstituer les faits de manière exacte. Ces conflits autour du domaine d'un haut fonctionnaire, avec des autorités ostrogothes et impériales, des évêques nicéens et goths, durant et après la guerre entre le Royaume et l'Empire, sont très compliqués. Pour un Goth arien en Italie, se convertir au christianisme nicéen est un moyen de maintenir son statut social et sa propriété.⁴⁷

L'empereur Justinien n'est pas comme le roi Théodoric qui intervient souvent personnellement dans les conflits concrets entre le personnel ecclésiastique et un civil.⁴⁸ Justinien, éloigné de la péninsule, n'est pas présent. Le général Bélisaire, le plus haut représentant impérial en Italie, est intervenu à un moment donné, mais sa décision n'a pas abouti à une résolution définitive des litiges. Gundila, une autorité politique ostrogothe, peut-être à la retraite, a sollicité un évêque, d'une cité inconnue ou de Rome, et l'évêque des Goths, afin de réclamer ses droits pour son domaine. L'*episcopalis audientia* sous Théodoric est saisie dans les cas où un ecclésiastique est impliqué. Le roi arien laisse l'évêque résoudre le problème parce

⁴⁷ S. Cosentino, "Social Instability" 146, "Becoming orthodox and asking a Catholic church for protection seems to be a clear strategy of survival for the Goths after the middle of the sixth century." Les Goths cherchent également la *tuitio* de l'Église "catholique" pour leurs biens, G. Vismara, *Edictum Theoderici* 170, n. 468, "gli atti, poi, compiuti durante la Guerra gotica o al suo termine sono sospetti per l'intento di salvare beni o posizioni personali di goti romanizzanti preoccupati di assicurarsi la protezione (*tuitio*) della Chiesa cattolica o, quanto meno, di sottrarre i propri beni alla prevedibile confisca"; voir *P.Ital.* 1.13 = *ChLA* 29.880 (= *P.Marini* 86).

⁴⁸ Voir la documentation précieuse des *Variae* de Cassiodore, avec l'édition et le commentaire d'A. Giardina et al. (éds.), Cassiodoro, *Varie*, vol. II–IV (Rome 2014–2015); le vol. I devra être sorti en 2022.

qu'il pense qu'il s'agit de la façon la plus efficace de le régler et de maintenir sa justice⁴⁹ – souvent c'est l'Église qui a pris la propriété d'un civil. Gundila est venu auprès des évêques la première fois, car, converti, il a fait confiance au pouvoir religieux pour juger de son droit de possession. Mais une fois que les fils de Tzalico ont occupé son domaine et qu'est né un partage d'intérêt entre ces Goths et le monastère local de Nepi, Gundila perd confiance en l'évêque, de Rome ou d'une autre cité inconnue. C'est pourquoi il sollicite le pouvoir politique, à savoir Bélisaire, afin de réclamer son droit. Sans la présence d'un souverain, comme Théodoric le Grand, capable d'assurer une paix d'environ trente ans, l'efficacité des divers juges diminue, comme par exemple les évêques et Bélisaire dans le cas de Gundila.

7. *Quelques hypothèses et remarques*

Enfin, plusieurs points sur le procès relatif au domaine de Gundila restent encore obscurs : la nature du bien litigieux et sa relation avec l'église Sainte Marie à Nepi et avec la résidence, inconnue, de Gundila ; la vraie appartenance de Tzalico et de ses partisans à la lignée ostrogothe (de Totila?) ou byzantine (Bélisaire?) ; le lieu exact où s'est tenue la session judiciaire de 557 et la raison de la conservation des procès-verbaux dans l'archive archiépiscopal de Ravenne.

Les premières questions sont difficiles à répondre, tandis que l'on dispose de quelques indices pour la dernière. Le lieu de conservation du *P.Ital.* 2.49 suggère un lien entre Gundila et l'évêque, ou archevêque, de Ravenne, ce qui permet de proposer une nouvelle hypothèse concernant l'identification de l'évêque nicéen et de celui des Goths mentionné dans les procès-verbaux. Un évêque de Ravenne n'intervient normalement pas à Rome ou à Nepi ; mais cela n'est pas impossible, à titre exceptionnel.

Gundila était un haut fonctionnaire à Ravenne sous Théodoric et connaissait bien le personnel administratif, qui avait une bonne relation avec l'Église nicéenne de Ravenne. En tant qu'arien et goth, il devait posséder également une relation proche avec l'évêque arien de Ravenne. On connaît l'existence des communautés ariennes à Rome.⁵⁰ Mais il n'est pas

⁴⁹ R. Lizzi Testa, "Bishops, Ecclesiastical Institutions, and the Ostrogothic Regime," in J. Arnold, Sh. Bjornlie et K. Sessa (éds.), *A Companion to Ostrogothic Italy* (Leiden-Boston 2016) 451–479.

⁵⁰ Voir les études classiques de J. Zeiller, "Les Églises ariennes de Rome à l'époque de la domination gothique," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 24 (1904) 17–33 ; Id.,

exclu que l'évêque arien que Gundila a rencontré à Rome soit en réalité celui de Ravenne. Les études précédentes suggèrent que le *papa* est Vigile parce qu'elles supposent qu'un évêque à Rome doit naturellement être l'évêque de Rome (ligne 19–20, *aṇbulauit ipṣe [reconcili]aṭus Romae et rogauit papa et e[pisc(opum) G]uthor(um)*). Mais le témoin Pitza n'a pas dit "évêque de Rome et évêque des Goths de Rome." En revanche, il a dit que "Gundila est allé à Rome et a demandé à l'évêque et à l'évêque des Goths." La manière dont Pitza a raconté l'histoire laisse supposer une autre possibilité: que l'évêque de Ravenne et l'évêque arien de Ravenne soient intervenus et se soient rendu à Rome pour aider Gundila. Du point de vue philologique, le terme *papa* a été attesté pour désigner l'évêque de Ravenne, surtout par un autre papyrus de Ravenne.⁵¹ Il est donc logique que le *P.Ital.* 2.49 a ensuite été conservé dans l'archive archiépiscopal ravennate.

Quant à l'évêque arien de Ravenne, chronologiquement, il aurait eu la possibilité de se rendre à Rome avant 540, afin d'aider Gundila à sauver ses biens. Procope de Césarée mentionne qu'après la chute de Ravenne en 540, le roi Vitigès, sa femme et les notables goths (ainsi que le trésor royal) sont ramenés par le général Bélisaire jusqu'à Constantinople.⁵² L'évêque arien de la capitale, Ravenne, faisait sans doute partie de ce groupe de personnes éminentes du Royaume. C'est pourquoi Pitza ne parle plus de cet évêque arien dans la suite de l'histoire après cette date dans son témoignage.

Il faut aussi tenir compte de l'implication de l'administration de la cité de Ravenne dans cette affaire et de la relation entre l'ancienne capitale ostrogothe et la cité de Rome. Gundila lui-même devrait posséder un lien étroit avec la préfecture du prétoire d'Italie qui résidait à Ravenne. En 557, un vicaire de la Ville du préfet éminentissime entend encore la cause relative au domaine de Gundila, qui est déjà mort, plusieurs années après l'origine des conflits. En tant qu'ancien haut fonctionnaire jadis résidant dans la capitale du Royaume ostrogoth, Gundila connaissait bien

"Étude sur l'arianisme en Italie à l'époque ostrogothique et à l'époque lombarde," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 25 (1905) 127–146; cf. aussi Ch. Delaplace, "Existe-t-il une iconographie arienne aux V^e et VI^e siècles? L'apport des recherches historiques récentes," in J.-P. Albert, A. Brenon et P. Jiménez (dir.), *Dissidences en occident des débuts du christianisme au XX^e siècle* (Toulouse 2015) 49–58, <https://books.openedition.org/pumi/15763#ftn1> (mais l'auteur a mis le nom de Zeiller comme Zeller).

⁵¹ Agnellus, *LPR* 35 et *P.Marini* 84.1.4 et 2.4, cf. *P.Ital.* 1.12 et *ChLA* 25.791; voir sur ce point *supra* l'annotation n.

⁵² Procopius, *Bell. Goth.* 3 (*Bella* 7), 1, 1.

le personnel de la préfecture installée aussi à Ravenne. Le chapitre 12 de la Pragmatique Sanction promulguée par Justinien accorde aux évêques le droit de nommer un gouverneur provincial,⁵³ ce qui souligne la collaboration étroite entre l'autorité politique et ecclésiastique en Italie reconquise. Il n'est pas exclu que cette idée de l'empereur de Constantinople ait été déjà imposée en Italie lors de l'arrivée de l'armée impériale dirigée par Bélisaire. C'est pourquoi Bélisaire a tenu le *papa* au courant des conflits relatifs au domaine de Gundila. Étant donné que la compétence de l'évêque de Ravenne est difficilement explicable à Rome ou à Nepi où se trouvait le domaine de Gundila, les conflits ne sont pas résolus.

Il faut aussi noter qu'après la mort de l'empereur Justinien, Ravenne est intégrée dans l'Italie suburbicaine, comme l'a montré un papyrus de Ravenne.⁵⁴ Ce document précieux, daté de 565 à 570, atteste que les quatre *numerarii*, à savoir les fonctionnaires en charge de la comptabilité et rattachés à la préfecture, ainsi que les *fiscales*, les autorités fiscales, sont présents pour effectuer la transition des biens fonciers et immobiliers de l'ancienne église arienne *sanctus Martinus* (S. Apollinare Nuovo) à l'Église de Ravenne, représentée par l'archevêque Agnellus et les défenseurs de cette Église. D'après leur titre complet, *numerari in scr(i)n(io) suburbicar(io) et canon(um)*, les fonctionnaires doivent appartenir au bureau de la préfecture de l'*Vrbs*. Ce papyrus est postérieur au procès de Gundila jugé le 3 juin 557. La préfecture de la Ville, dont la fonction n'a pas été assurée dans le *P.Ital.* 2.49, a été sans doute rétablie à une date entre 565 et 570. Cela illustre la réorganisation et le rétablissement progressifs des Byzantins au fur et à mesure après la guerre des Goths, et montre en même temps le lien de plus en plus étroit entre Rome et Ravenne.

Quoi qu'il en soit, la question reste ouverte. On ignore la raison exacte de la conservation des procès-verbaux relatifs au procès de Gundila dans l'archive archiépiscopal de Ravenne, ainsi que l'identité du *papa*, si ce n'est pas Vigile, et de l'évêque des Goths évoqués.

⁵³ *Pragmatica sanctio pro petitione Vigilii* 12, in R. Schoell et G. Kroll (éds.), *Corpus Iuris Civilis. uolumen tertium. Novellae*, App. VII 12 (éd. anast. Berlin 1959) 800: *Prouinciarum etiam iudices ab episcopis et primatibus uniuscuiusque regionis idoneos eligendos et sufficientes ad locorum administrationem ex ipsis uidelicet iubemus fieri prouinciis, quas administraturi sunt...*

⁵⁴ *P.Ital.* 1.2 = ChLA 20.711 (= *P.Marini* 87); Al. Testi Rasponi (éd.), *Codex Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis* 215–216; L. Cracco Ruggini, *Economia e società nell'Italia annonaria. Rapporti fra agricoltura e commercio dal IV al VI secolo d. C.* (Bari 1995²) 446–447, n. 598.

Épilogue et conclusion

Le cas de Gundila montre l'inquiétude d'une autorité politique d'origine ostrogothe et arienne durant et après la longue guerre entre le Royaume et l'Empire et face à la *renouatio imperii* de l'empereur Justinien. Durant cette période de changements allant du déclenchement de la guerre en 535 jusqu'à la fin des conflits militaires en 554, c'est l'identité religieuse des personnes qui compte pour la protection des biens individuels et ecclésiastiques. Les communautés ostrogothes, en particulier, se trouvent en grande difficulté.

Un autre exemple illustre ce point. Les aristocrates ostrogoths Ranilo,⁵⁵ *sublimis femina* et son mari Felithanc, *uir sublimis*, ont effectué une donation importante⁵⁶ à l'Église nicéenne de Ravenne le 4 avril 553. Un an plus tard, le 13 août 554, l'empereur Justinien promulgue la Pragmatique sanction relative à l'Italie reconquise. Une réconciliation et surtout une transmission de toutes les propriétés de l'Église arienne et des Goths, incluant les terres urbaines et suburbaines ainsi que le personnel servile attaché à ces domaines et fidèle au paganisme, sont effectuées sous l'épiscopat d'Agnellus⁵⁷ (557–570). Comme Gundila, sensible à la situation politique et religieuse difficile, Ranilo, en déclarant dans l'acte de donation que ni elle ni aucun des descendants de sa famille ne peut contester cette donation, a bien présenté son souhait: en face du jour du jugement dernier (*dies iudicii*) et pour le salut du prince invincible gouvernant l'Empire romain (*salus inuictissimi principis Romanum gubernantis imperium*⁵⁸), elle sollicite la

⁵⁵ PLRE 3B, p. 1077, Ranilo; PCBE 2.2 1877, Ranilo; P. Amory, "Prosopographical Appendix," in *People and Identity in Ostrogothic Italy* 409, Ranilo.

Ranilo ne peut pas rédiger en latin. L'acte de donation a été donc rédigé par le scribe officiel de Ravenne, Severe, *P.Ital.* 1.13.49–55 (le nom apparaît à la ligne 51), également 64 et 82 = *ChLA* 29.880.49–55, 64 et 82; *PLRE* 3B, p. 1139, Seuerus 1; *PCBE* 2.2 2061, Severus 21. On ne sait pas si elle est capable de lire cette langue. Pour l'usage de la langue gothique et la connaissance du latin chez les Ostrogoths, voir par exemple P. Amory, *People and Identity in Ostrogothic Italy* 251.

⁵⁶ La donation est effectuée selon une formule romaine ou pré-justinienne alors que la manière de dater (*P.Ital.* 1.13.58–61 = *ChLA* 29.880.58–61) indiquée par le document correspond à l'époque post-justinienne, voir *ChLA* 29, p. 86.

⁵⁷ La transmission est mentionnée par Agnellus de Ravenne, *LPR* 85 (cf. le commentaire détaillé d'Al. Testi Rasponi [éd.], *Codex Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis* 215–216), et confirmée par un protocole de transition sur un papyrus qui date d'une période entre 565 et 570, *P.Ital.* 1.2 = *ChLA* 20.711 (= *P.Marini* 87). Il s'agit également d'une "donation" de l'Église arienne à l'Église nicéenne. Sur l'évêque Agnellus, voir entre autres *AA.VV.*, *Agnello arcivescovo di Ravenna. Studi per il XIV centenario della morte (570–1970)* (Faenza 1971).

⁵⁸ Pour le terme, cf. *P.Ital.* 1.8.12–13 = *ChLA* 17.652.12–13 (17 juillet 563) et *P.Ital.* 1.20.44–46 = *ChLA* 21.717.44–46; voir J.-O. Tjäder, *Papyri Italiens*, vol. 1, p. 431, n. 22; 445, n. 9; 463, n. 20.

protection, *tuitio*, de l'archevêque de Ravenne pour éviter toute éventuelle attaque à l'avenir.⁵⁹ Afin de protéger les biens, qui assurent leur statut social, les Ostrogoths rejettent même leur identité gothique et arienne. En même temps, le personnel ecclésiastique de l'Église arienne de Ravenne vend aussi la propriété. Il comprend la difficulté de garder les biens fonciers sous la domination byzantine.⁶⁰

Le cas exceptionnel de Gundila, ainsi que celui de Ranilo et des membres du clergé de l'Église arienne ravennate, attestés par la précieuse documentation des papyrus de Ravenne, illustrent une distinction entre les populations ostrogothes, minoritaires, et romaines, majoritaires. Il s'agit d'un résultat de la politique de Théodoric et des *Amali* de ne pas mélanger Goths et Romains.⁶¹

Le roi est ostrogoth et arien, sa religion est différente du christianisme nicéen pratiqué par la plus grande partie de la population romaine de son royaume. Minoritaire, il ne veut imposer aux chrétiens nicéens de se convertir à l'arianisme, mais ne veut pas changer sa pratique religieuse non plus. Il dit que "nous ne pouvons pas gouverner la religion, car personne ne peut être forcé à croire malgré lui."⁶² Il n'a pas l'intention

⁵⁹ *P.Ital.* 1.13.26–37 = *ChLA* 29.880.26–37: *nihilominus conferatis | titulo largitatis (:). Contra quam donationem nulllo tempore nullaue ratione (: me, posteros | successoresque meos uenturos esse polliceor, | inuocato tremendi (: diem iudicii, et salutem inluictissimi principis obtestans Romanum | gubernantis imperium, praecipue cum haec | ex mandato patris perfecerim et defensione | adque solaciis uestris me contineri non sit ambiguum, ut et tuitio {nem} uestra {m} aduersus | uiolentus inpetos nobis etiam tempore futuro | praestititur.*

⁶⁰ Voir par exemple *P.Ital.* 2.33 = *ChLA* 25.793 (= *P.Marini* 117); *P.Ital.* 2.34 = *ChLA* 20.704 (= *P.Marini* 119).

⁶¹ Le grand processus d'acculturation des Goths en Italie a échoué sur le plan du mélange ethnique, contrairement à l'idée de P. Amory. Sur l'identité des Ostrogoths, voir par exemple quelques études récentes: G.M. Berndt et R. Steinacher (éds.), *Arianism: Roman Heresy and Barbarian Creed* (Farnham 2014); J.J. Arnold, *Theoderic and the Roman Imperial Restoration* (New York-Cambridge 2014); G. Heydemann, "The Ostrogothic Kingdom: Ideologies and Transitions," in *A Companion to Ostrogothic Italy* 17–47; B. Swain, "Goths and Gothic Identity in the Ostrogothic Kingdom," *ibid.* 203–233; V. Gheller, "Identità" e "arianesimo gotico": *genesis di un topos storiografico* (Bologne 2017); H.-U. Wiemer, *Theoderich der Grosse, König der Goten*; AA.VV., *Le migrazioni nell'Alto Medioevo* (*Atti Settimane LXVI, Spoleto, 5–11 aprile 2018*), vol. 1–2 (Spolète 2019), entre autres W. Pohl, "Dinamiche etniche nel corso delle migrazioni," *ibid.* 1–21; P. Heather, "Migration and Identity in Late Antiquity," *ibid.* 83–105; I. Wood, "Responses to Migration and Migrants in the Fifth- and Sixth-Century West," *ibid.* 177–203; W. Pohl, "Gotische Identitäten," dans H.-U. Wiemer (éd.), *Theoderich der Große und das gotische Königreich in Italien* (Berlin 2020) 315–339.

⁶² Cassiod. *Var.* 2.27.2 (*CCSL* 96 = *MGH* aa 12): ... *religionem imperare non possumus, quia nemo cogitur ut credat inuitus*. Pour le terme *religionem imperare non possumus*, cf. par exemple le commentaire de R. Lizzi Testa, in A. Giardina et al. (éds.), *Varie*, vol. IV, p. 451. Il s'agit d'une lettre (*Var.* 2.27) de Théodoric adressée aux juifs de Gênes. Le terme *religio* chez Cassiodore s'applique plutôt aux rites religieux: V. Fauvinet-Ranson,

de réunifier les Églises, nicéenne et arienne.⁶³ Les sources contemporaines confirment que Théodoric est roi des Romains et des Goths,⁶⁴ une claire distinction entre ces deux peuples.

Théodoric gouverne le royaume d'Italie et de ses marges à la romaine⁶⁵ mais est conscient de garder l'identité des Ostrogoths. Il maintient la juxtaposition de la minorité gothique pro-romaine avec la majorité romaine.⁶⁶ Il montre le respect absolu de l'aristocratie sénatoriale romaine, avec des insertions mesurées de Goths dans le sénat.⁶⁷ Le roi utilise la législation impériale traditionnelle sans traumatisme. Le projet est bien reflété dans l'activité politique de Cassiodore,⁶⁸ médiateur entre Romains et Goths. Après le déclenchement de la guerre entre le Royaume ostrogoth et l'Empire romain d'Orient sous Justinien, les différences et les conflits entre les deux peuples et les deux branches du christianisme, à savoir nicéen et arien, sont devenus inconciliables. Les propriétaires ostrogoths, comme Gundila, dans les zones occupées par l'armée impériale, sont exposés à la confiscation. Ainsi ont-ils décidé d'abandonner l'identité gothique et de chercher la protection de l'Église nicéenne afin de sauver leurs biens et de garder leur statut social.

La politique de Théodoric de ne pas mélanger Goths et Romains permet à ces premiers de maintenir leur identité. Le roi comprend que sans insistance, la minorité risque d'être acculturée et assimilée par la majorité.

"Cassiodore et le souvenir des dieux," in M. Sartre et Cl. Sotinel (dir.), *L'usage du passé entre Antiquité tardive et haut Moyen Âge* (Rennes 2008) 47–58. Pour la tolérance religieuse dans l'Antiquité tardive, voir, par exemple, G.A. Cecconi et Ch. Gabrielli (éds.), *Politiche Religiose nel Mondo Antico e Tardoantico: poteri e indirizzi, forme del controllo, idee e prassi di tolleranza. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Firenze, 24–26 settembre 2009* (Bari 2011).

⁶³ M. Ožóg (traduit par M. Fijak), *Inter duas potestates: The Religious Policy of Theoderic the Great* (Francfort-sur-le-Main 2016) 218–219, "It seems that Theoderic had no intention to act in favour of a reunification of the Churches at the two capital cities of the Empire in order to prevent any possible action by the united and consolidated orthodox Church against Arians (as if following the Roman tradition of *divide et impera*)," 219, "It seems, however, that his actions had been motivated by his political pragmatism moderated by the ideal of *romanitas* rather than respect for religion itself."

⁶⁴ Jord. *Get.* 57.295; Anonymus Valesianus 2. *Theodericiana* 12.60.

⁶⁵ Anonymus Valesianus 2. *Theodericiana* 12.60 (CUF): *Militiam Romanis sicut sub principes esse praecepit*.

⁶⁶ Voir en particulier P. Heather, "Merely an Ideology ? – Gothic Identity in Ostrogothic Italy," in S.J.B. Barnish et F. Marazzi (éds.), *The Ostrogoths. From the Migration Period to the Sixth Century* (Woodbridge 2007) 31–79; S.J.B. Barnish, "*Cuncta Italiae membra componere*: Political Relations in Ostrogothic Italy," *ibid.* 317–352.

⁶⁷ Cf. A. La Rocca et F. Oppedisano (éds.), *Il senato romano nell'Italia ostrogota* (Rome 2016).

⁶⁸ A. Giardina, *Cassiodoro politico* (Rome 2006); voir aussi l'édition et le commentaire d'A. Giardina et al. (éds.), *Varie*, vol. II–IV (Rome 2014–2015) et I (Rome 2022, *non vidi*).

Mais l’alternance du pouvoir après 554 et la politique justinienne de la réorganisation de l’Italie ont finalement abouti à la disparition progressive de l’identité des Ostrogoths dans l’Antiquité tardive. Un réexamen du procès de Gundila illustre une telle disparition et aide à mieux comprendre la transformation de l’Italie de la domination des Ostrogoths à l’époque byzantine. Il offre également un cas particulier de la complexité des litiges sur les biens fonciers et du mélange, ou d’une collaboration, entre le tribunal séculier et le tribunal épiscopal dans la pratique juridique à une époque de trouble au milieu du VI^e siècle.

Tableau-bilan des conflits autour du domaine de Gundila

<i>Faits</i> (selon l’ordre du témoignage)	<i>Chronologies</i> ^A			
	<i>P. Amory</i>	<i>S. Cosentino</i>	<i>Nos propositions</i>	
			1	2
1. Gundila se convertit au christianisme nicéen.	après mars 538–541 ou 540/541 si certains dans le fait n° 2 désignent Tzalico et les Goths	nov. 537–mars 538	après mars 535/déc. 536–avant mars 537	après 535/déc. 536–avant mars 537 (les nicéens ont pris le domaine; l’ordre des faits ^C : 2, 1 et 3, enfin 4)
2. “Certains” occupent une partie de son domaine.		après mars 538–début de l’été 538	mars 537–mars 538	
3. Converti, Gundila, avec sa femme et son fils, fait une donation à S. Marie de Nepi.			entretiens	
4. <i>Post</i> ou <i>postea</i> (?), converti, Gundila vient auprès du “pape” et d’un évêque des Goths à Rome. [Gundila récupère son domaine.] ^B		printemps/été 538	après mars 538	
5. <i>Post aliquod tempus</i> , les fils de Tzalico occupent le domaine de Gundila à Nepi.	541 ou 542	automne/hiver 538–539	541 ou 542 ^D	mars 537–mars 538
[Nos datations: après cela, à un moment donné, l’abbé du monastère de Saint				

<i>Faits</i> (selon l'ordre du témoignage)	<i>Chronologies</i>			
	<i>P. Amory</i>	<i>S. Cosentino</i>	<i>Nos propositions</i>	
			1	2
Aelia de Nepi soutient les fils de Tzalico pour partager le domaine de Gundila (cette entente a été aussi supposée par P. Amory). La guerre n'est pas encore terminée; l'abbé a besoin du soutien des fils d'un <i>comes</i> goth.]			[à tout moment entretemps]	[à tout moment entretemps]
6. <i>Post aliquot annos</i> , Bélisaire est venu; Gundila s'adresse à lui; Bélisaire communique avec le "pape." [Nos datations: les fils de Tzalico perdent le domaine, mais l'abbé susmentionné refuse de le rendre.]	mai 544–546	hiver 539	mai 544–avant 547 ^E	mai 544–avant 547 ^E
7. <i>Postea</i> , le "pape," furieux, adresse une lettre à l'abbé susmentionné pour lui ordonner de rendre le domaine à Gundila.		printemps/été 539		avant 547 ^E
[Gundila récupère son domaine. Mais peut-être après le départ de Vigile d'Italie (il est arrivé à Constantinople sans doute au début de 547; s'il est le "pape" en question), ou après la guerre en 554, l'abbé du monastère de Saint Aelia de Nepi reprend entièrement (après la guerre en 554) le domaine de Gundila.]			[après 547 ^E ou après 554]	[après 547 ^E ou après 554]

Faits (selon l'ordre du témoignage)	Chronologies			
	P. Amory	S. Cosentino	Nos propositions	
			1	2
8. Procès de cette affaire en présence d'Anastase.	à tout moment (sauf le fait n°5) mais avant le 3 juin 557		à tout moment mais avant le 3 juin 557 ^F	à tout moment mais avant le 3 juin 557 ^F
9. Procès devant Andreas sur l'ordre d'Adéodat.	3 juin 557	3 juin 557	3 juin 557	3 juin 557

^A Pour la chronologie de J.-O. Tjäder, voir Id., *Papyri Italiens*, vol. 2, p. 196; cf. aussi le résumé par P. Amory, *People and Identity in Ostrogothic Italy* 382–383.

^B Entre crochets nos hypothèses.

^C Les faits 1, 2 et 3 n'ont pas d'indications temporelles.

^D Pour le fait n° 5, notre première proposition accepte la chronologie de P. Amory.

^E La borne chronologique de l'année 547 dépend de l'hypothèse que le "pape" en question soit Vigile, évêque de Rome.

^F Si Anastase est toujours abbé du monastère de Saint Aelia de Nepi durant toute la période. En tout cas, ce procès doit avoir lieu lorsqu'il est abbé.

La chronologie absolue et les dates mentionnées dans notre tableau

535: Déclenchement de la guerre entre le Royaume ostrogoth et l'Empire romain d'Orient

9 décembre 536: Arrivée de l'armée de Bélisaire à Rome

mars 537: Consécration de Vigile

mars 537–mars 538: Siège de Rome par le roi ostrogoth Vitigès

mars 539: Bélisaire est peut-être à Rome

après le 25 novembre 545: Vigile quitte Rome pour Sicile

début 547: Vigile est à Constantinople

544–548: Séjour de Bélisaire en Italie

554: fin de la guerre et promulgation de la Pragmatique sanction

3 juin 557: procès devant Andreas, *executor*, sur l'ordre d'Adéodat, vicaire du préfet de la Ville

4 avril 538 (?)–15 février 545 (?): épiscopat de Victor, évêque de Ravenne

14 octobre 546–février 556 (?): épiscopat de Maximien, évêque de Ravenne

24 juin 557–1^{er} août 570: épiscopat d'Agnellus, évêque de Ravenne

NOTES ON PAPYRI

P.Bas. 2.43

Sabine R. Huebner recently (2020) re-edited *P.Bas.* 1.16, a letter from one Arrianus to his brother Paul, which the editor at the time (Ernst Rabel, 1917) claimed to be the oldest Christian letter. *P.Bas.* 2.43 was re-used for another letter, from the Heroninus archive, now *P.Bas.* 2.44.¹ Huebner tried to narrow down the date to before November 239, but this is at best uncertain.²

The last lines of *P.Bas.* 2.43, have been read as follows (lines 19–21):

ἐρρωσθαί
σε εὐχομαι ὁλοκληρ-
[οῦν]τα ἐν κ(υρί)ῳ (written κω)

The reading ὁλοκληρ[οῦν]τα is new. Previous editors (Rabel, then Giuseppe Ghedini and Mario Naldini in their respective collections of early Christian letters³) read ὁλοκλη[ρῶ]ς. We do not expect ὁλοκληροῦντα

¹ The text is tentatively dated in the edition to the second year of an unknown emperor. Note that Wilcken in *P.Bas.* 1, p. 65 gives the date as (ἔτους) ζ// (not signaled by the editor of *P.Bas.* 2.44), which reduces the number of possibilities.

² Huebner thinks that line 9 states that Herakleides was nominated to the city council. But the beginning of that line may have contained another name, say, that of a relative of Herakleides, who would already be on the council himself. Perhaps Herakleides is the gymnasiarch of whose gymnasiarchy Arrianus reminds Paul in lines 6–9 (his main worry would have been the supply of oil to the gymnasium in the nome capital). Perhaps Herakleides cannot put his mind to it (μνῆσαι in line 8, for μνήσαι), because so-and-so has been nominated to the council. The beginning of line 10 is given by Huebner as [. . . .] ἀϋτ[ός], but I see no more than [. . .] . . . [.] on the plate (ἀϋτ[ός] is a leftover from Ghedini). Obviously, Huebner took [. . . .] as the object of μνήσαι. In the line note she turns Herakleides into another Christian. It is safer to put the letter in the third quarter of the third century, the date of most texts mentioning Herakleides. – A few minor observations about the transcription of *P.Bas.* 2.43. In the lacuna at the beginning of line 4 we can supply [τοῦ]. In lines 4–5, ἀναγ[κεον] (l. ἀναγκαῖον) ἡγ[ησάμην] is way too long for the lacuna. If the squiggle following the *gamma* is indeed an apostrophe, as all editors have assumed, the scribe may have forgotten to write καὶον at the beginning of the next line. I would in that case transcribe ἀναγ'! [<καῖον> ἡγ]ησάμην. In line 13, [ἡ δὲ κ]υρία is also too long for the lacuna. Just [ἡ κ]υρία will do.

³ G. Ghedini, *Lettere cristiane dai papyri greci del III e IV secolo* (Milano 1923) no. 3, and M. Naldini, *Il cristianesimo in Egitto* (Firenze 1968) no. 4.

to be broken off $\delta\lambda\omicron\kappa\lambda\eta\rho\text{-}\omicron\upsilon\acute{\nu}\tau\alpha$, but rather $\delta\lambda\omicron\kappa\lambda\eta\text{-}\rho\omicron\upsilon\acute{\nu}\tau\alpha$. There is indeed a deep trace after the *eta* on the right edge of the papyrus, plausibly read as a *rho* by Huebner, who did not comment on the unexpected word break.⁴

At first sight the first letter after $\epsilon\upsilon\chi\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ does not look like an *omicron*. Huebner did not remark on this. I initially thought that it could be read as a *phi*. The expression $\epsilon\rho\rho\omega\sigma\theta\alpha\acute{\iota}\ \sigma\epsilon\ \epsilon\upsilon\chi\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ can indeed be followed by a vocative such as $\phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon$. But the initial *phi*, if that is what it is, is immediately followed by a *lambda*, not the expected *iota* of $\phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon$. In letters in the Heroninus archive itself the vocative $\phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon$ is often abbreviated $\phi\acute{\iota}\lambda$, with the *lambda* a mere swirl above the *iota* (see, e.g., *P.Flor.* 2.232.13),⁵ but that is not what we have here. Upon closer inspection of the plate⁶ I noticed that the initial *omicron* was corrected from the first downward stroke of another letter, most likely an *epsilon*. The scribe must have anticipated the expression $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \kappa\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\omega$, which usually follows $\epsilon\rho\rho\omega\sigma\theta\alpha\acute{\iota}\ \sigma\epsilon\ \epsilon\upsilon\chi\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ immediately and here follows in the next line. For some reason the scribe decided to insert a participle matching the subject of the infinitive first. This often occurs elsewhere.⁷ He had used just such

⁴ In a pinch one could fit a letter after the *rho*, perhaps even one written above the *rho* (as the *omicron* of the preceding $\epsilon\upsilon\chi\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ is, which is not noticed by Huebner). I have thought of reading $\delta\lambda\omicron\kappa\lambda\eta\rho[\acute{\omega}][\tau\alpha]\tau\alpha$, the superlative of $\delta\lambda\omicron\kappa\lambda\acute{\eta}[\rho\omega]\varsigma$, the adverb read by previous editors, but such an adverb does not seem to occur elsewhere with $\epsilon\rho\rho\omega\sigma\theta\alpha\acute{\iota}\ \sigma\epsilon\ \epsilon\upsilon\chi\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ (see also n. 7 below), and the superlative of $\delta\lambda\omicron\kappa\lambda\acute{\eta}\rho\omega\varsigma$ is extremely rare and unattested in the papyri. See N. Litinas and G. Triantafyllou, *Adverbs in -ως in Documents of Graeco-Roman Egypt* (Rethymno 2019). It would be a stretch to read $\delta\lambda\omicron\kappa\lambda\eta\rho[\omicron(v)][\tau\alpha]$, where $\omicron v$ would be written narrowly after the *rho*, and a supralinear stroke would suffice to indicate the final *nu*. This does not really work, because we expect 2–3 letters before $\tau\alpha$ in the next line, if it started where the line above it does. That makes $\delta\lambda\omicron\kappa\lambda\eta\rho[\omicron\upsilon\acute{\nu}]\tau\alpha$ the best reading.

⁵ Similarly, the vocative $\tau\iota\mu\acute{\iota}\omega\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon$ is often abbreviated $\tau\iota\mu$, with the *mu* no more than a stylized swirl above the *tau-iota* combination, where the *ed. princ.* of the second volume of *P.Flor.* read “(firma)” and Preisigke (*BL* 1.148–149) wanted to read $\phi(\acute{\iota}\lambda\tau\alpha\tau)\epsilon$ in all instances, which he does not all spell out (I will also refrain from spelling them all out here). The *tau-iota* combination is admittedly written in a stylized manner: the vertical hasta of the *tau* was written first, then an arc was added above it, for the horizontal stroke of the *tau* and the downward stroke of the *iota*. The abbreviation $\phi(\acute{\iota}\lambda\tau\alpha\tau)\epsilon$ is at any rate impossible.

⁶ A better image of the final greeting is available online at <https://www.newsweek.com/researcher-handwriting-christian-ancient-papyrus-letter-roman-egypt-1449281>.

⁷ See *P.Flor.* 2.167.r.19–20: $\epsilon\rho\rho\omega\sigma\theta\alpha\acute{\iota}\ \sigma\epsilon, \kappa\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha\ \mu\omicron\upsilon, \epsilon\upsilon\chi\omicron\mu\alpha\iota\ \pi\ .\ .\ \delta\lambda\omicron[\kappa\lambda\eta\rho]\omicron\upsilon\sigma\alpha\acute{\nu}$, and *P.Giss.Univ.* 3.32.28–30: $\epsilon\rho\rho\omega\sigma\theta\alpha\acute{\iota}\ \sigma\epsilon\ \epsilon\upsilon\chi\omicron\mu\alpha\iota\ \acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\kappa\lambda\eta\rho\omicron\upsilon\sigma\alpha\acute{\nu}$ (for $\delta\lambda\omicron\kappa\lambda\eta\rho\omicron\upsilon\sigma\alpha\acute{\nu}$, which can perhaps be read on the upside down scan) καὶ $\epsilon\upsilon\tau\chi\omicron\upsilon\sigma\alpha\acute{\nu}$. There are many such cases in the papyri with $\epsilon\upsilon\tau\chi\omicron\upsilon\sigma\tau\alpha$ *vel sim.* In *P.Tebt.* 2.481.r.19 $\epsilon\upsilon\tau\chi(\omicron\upsilon\sigma\tau\alpha)$ or $\epsilon\upsilon\tau\chi<\omicron\upsilon\sigma\tau\alpha>\ \epsilon\upsilon\delta\omicron\chi\omicron\upsilon\sigma\tau\alpha$ was no doubt intended, not $\epsilon\upsilon\tau\chi\epsilon\upsilon\delta\omicron\chi\omicron\upsilon\sigma\tau\alpha$. It is in any case likely that in *O.Claud.* 4.892.9 $\epsilon\upsilon\tau\chi()$ should be expanded as $\epsilon\upsilon\tau\chi(\omicron\upsilon\sigma\tau\alpha)$ rather than $\epsilon\upsilon\tau\chi(\acute{\omega}\varsigma)$, as the edition has it. *O.Claud.* 2.242.8 reads $\epsilon\upsilon\tau\chi\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ in full, but the final letters after *chi* are not that clear on the photo. Reading a participle here, e.g. $\epsilon\upsilon\tau\chi\omicron\upsilon\acute{\nu}\tau(\alpha)$,

a participle in lines 13–14, matching the subject of the finite verb there: *δλοκληροῦσα* | [*προ*]σαγορεύει.

Now, if the scribe first started to write an *epsilon* following *ἐρρῶσθαί* σε *εὔχομαι* and if he was indeed anticipating the expression *ἐν κυρίῳ*, which often follows immediately, this makes it highly likely that the abbreviation *κῶ* stands for *κ(υρί)ῳ* and not for, e.g., *κῶμ(η)*, with a stylized swirl for the *mu* written above the *omega*, a possibility not even considered by Huebner.⁸ The swirl above the *omega* here is no doubt an overstroke to mark the *nomen sacrum*.

P.Bas. 2.43 is a Christian letter, but given the problems with the date (n. 2 above), it may not be the earliest such letter on papyrus.

University of Cincinnati

Peter van Minnen

is a distinct possibility. No other such adverbs occur with the expression *ἐρρῶσθαί* σε *εὔχομαι* unless it is *πανοικ(ε)ί* *vel sim*. In this connection, note that the scan of *PSI* 13.1335.30 reads *πανοικησίᾱ*, not *πανοικεσίᾱ*, and that *πανοικ[η]σίᾱ* can be supplied in *PSI* 14.1440.9. In *P.Flor.* 2.273.25, the plate shows that *πανοικησίᾱ* may have been written, not just *πανοικηία* (l. *πανοικείᾱ* [*sic*]). Alternatively, one could perhaps transcribe *πανοικη<σ>ίᾱ*. It is otherwise always *πανοικησίᾱ* in the papyri, and I therefore suspect that in *P.Hamb.* 4.254.4, *πανοικε(σίᾱ)* should be read as *πανοικεί*. The descender of the *rho* above it (exceptionally in this text; it is not uncommon elsewhere) ends with a horizontal stroke, which touches the final *iota* of *πανοικεί*. Note that no other word except the indefinite pronoun is abbreviated in this model text.

⁸ *ἐν κῶμ(η)* could have been followed in line 22 (now lost) by the (abbreviated) name of the village, say [*Θεαδ(ε)λφείᾱ*]), but that could also have been left out: Theadelphia was the village where the members of the elite whose affairs in the Arsinoite nome were managed by the likes of Heroninus owned a lot of property, and it did not always have to be mentioned by name. Paul may have been in charge of the holdings in Theadelphia, and Arrianus may have written this letter to him from the nome capital.

A letter from Ammonianos to Moros, assigned to the third century AD, discloses its author's frustrations in dealing with linen-weavers.¹ In the central part of the letter, Ammonianos complains about a certain unnamed linen-weaver, and uses the phrase ὅπου οἱ κόρακες ἀ[πέρ]χονται ('where the ravens fly'):

καὶ κἄν νῦν ὄρα μὴ ἀ[μ]ε-
 λήσης πέμψαι μοι τὰ δθόνη.α.
 10 ἴδην γὰρ ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν σε ὀχλ[ῆ]ται
 ὃν ὑπεβάλαταί μοι λινούφ[ον,]
 ὄντα ὡς ὅπου οἱ κόρακες ἀ[πέρ-]
 χονται. ἐρῖς πάνις ἔστιν τ[ῶν]
 λινούφων, κτλ.

8 *l.* καὶ ἐάν 10 *l.* ἥδειν ὀχλ[ῆ]ται *suppl.* Litinas 11 *l.* ὑπεβάλατε 12–13 ἀ[πέρ]-
 χονται *suppl.* Litinas 13 *l.* ἐρεῖς

“Do you even now see not to neglect to send me the linens. For I knew that it is impossible for you to bother the weaver, whom you suggested to me, who is like ‘wherever the ravens fly.’ You will say ‘there is a lack of weavers,’ etc.”

Scholars have recognized that ὅπου οἱ κόρακες ἀ[πέρ]χονται appears to be proverbial,² but nobody has so far succeeded in identifying it. Consequently, the precise meaning of the phrase remains obscure.

The difficulty of identifying ὅπου οἱ κόρακες ἀ[πέρ]χονται is probably owed to the fact that it stems from an ancient idea and is not a fixed proverbial phrase. There was a belief that ravens went away and spent time in desolate places. As a consequence, a way to say that someone was missing was to say that they were in the same place as the ravens.

The idea is expressed in the *scholia recentiora* to Aristophanes about the related ancient curse, ἔρρε ἐς κόρακας (“get lost”), at Σ Aristoph. *Plut.* 394c Chantry ἐς κόρακας· εἰς ἐρημίαν, ὅπου οἱ κόρακες διατρίβουσιν.

¹ P.Turner 43, edited by H.C. Youtie, repr. in his *Scriptiunculae Posteriores*, vol. 2 (Bonn 1982) 691–693 (= TM 30182). The papyrus was re-edited in N. Litinas, “The Lack of Linen-Weavers,” *BASP* 41 (2004) 115–118, at 117.

² The original editor, H.C. Youtie, observed that “[t]he words have the ring of a proverb, but we have turned up nothing comparable. The κόραξ, an omnivorous scavenger, is almost certainly used here metaphorically for a greedy and avaricious person.” Litinas similarly concluded that ὅπου οἱ κόρακες ἀ[πέρ]χονται could be “a phrase unattested so far.”

ἐκ τούτου ῥῆμα ‘ἀποσκορακίζω’ τὸ εἰς ἔρημον τόπον ἀποπέμπω. λέγεται δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀφανιζομένων (“‘to ravens’ (means) ‘to wilderness,’ where the ravens spend time; from this comes the verb ἀποσκορακίζω, ‘I send away to a desolate place.’ And it is said about those who are missing”). Tzetzes ad Aristoph. *Nub.* 121a Holwerda mentions this idea again in passing: ἐξελῶ σε θύραζε καὶ ἐκτὸς τῆς ἐμῆς οἰκίας ἐς κόρακας, μακρὰν εἰς ἐρημίαν καὶ ἀπροόπτους τινὰς τόπους οἳ διάγουσι κόρακες (“I will drive you to the door and outside of my house to the ravens, to a far-away wilderness and some unforeseen places, where ravens spend time”).

In the letter of Ammonianos, the place implied by ὅπου οἱ κόρακες ἀ[πέρ]χονται will be ἡ ἐρημία, for which the corresponding text in the cited parallels are εἰς ἐρημίαν, ὅπου οἱ κόρακες διατρίβουσιν and μακρὰν εἰς ἐρημίαν καὶ ἀπροόπτους τινὰς τόπους οἳ διάγουσι κόρακες. Since this part of the letter deals with the difficulties faced by the author in getting hold of any linen-weavers (e.g. πᾶντις ἔστιν τ[ῶν] | λινούφων), it seems that ὅπου οἱ κόρακες ἀ[πέρ]χονται can be regarded as a figurative way of saying that the unnamed linen-weaver mentioned by Ammonianos was missing and hence unavailable for work.

There is a question about how to interpret ὥς before ὅπου οἱ κόρακες ἀ[πέρ]χονται. In my opinion, the text as it stands on the papyrus is awkward. There are no attested instances in Greek where ἐρημία is used as a simile in the form ὁ δεῖνᾶ ἔστιν ὥς ἐρημία, and it seems odd for an author to say that someone is “like” a place. So the phrase “who is like where the ravens fly” gives strange sense when “where the ravens fly” refers to ἡ ἐρημία. I therefore suggest that what was intended was perhaps something parenthetical such as ὥς ⟨λέγουσιν⟩ or ὥς ⟨φασιν⟩ or ὥς ⟨τὸ λεγόμενον⟩; it would refer to some information Ammonianos happens to have heard about the linen-weaver in question. The sense would then be smooth: “For I knew that it is impossible for you to bother the weaver, whom you suggested to me, who is, as ⟨they say⟩, where the ravens fly.” The conjecture is solely intended to be diagnostic and there may well be a better solution to the perceived difficulty. As Youtie noted in his edition, the scribe also seems to have omitted some words required by sense at line 21.

Ammonianos is not attacking the character of the linen-weaver. Instead, he is drawing on popular metaphor in order to state his frustrations in a more expressive way. The papyrus is in fact the oldest material witness to the idea mentioned in the scholia.

CHRISTIAN INSCRIPTIONS FROM EGYPT AND NUBIA 9 (2021)

Alain Delattre *Université Libre de Bruxelles*,
Jitse Dijkstra *University of Ottawa*, and
Jacques van der Vliet *Leiden University/Radboud University Nijmegen*

Abstract. — Ninth installment of an annual overview of published inscriptions in Greek and Coptic from Christian Egypt and Nubia.

The ninth issue of our epigraphical bulletin covers the inscriptions published in 2021, with as usual some items added that we missed or came too late to our attention to be included in earlier bulletins: one from 2015 (21), one from 2017 (16), two from 2018 (15, 23–32), three from 2019 (37, 42, 59), and thirteen from 2020 (17, 18, 36, 38–40, 58, 60, 64, 65, 66, 67, 69, 71, 72).

1. Egypt and Nubia. Funerary prayer. V. Ruggieri, “La preghiera funebre Ὁ Θεὸς τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ πάσης σαρκός: la cristologia e i suoi elementi strutturali,” *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 87 (2021) 129–159. The prayer “God of the spirits,” used in the burial rites of the Greek Church until today, from the eighth century onwards takes a prominent place in the formularies of both Greek and Coptic funerary inscriptions, in Egypt, but especially in Nubia, where it rapidly became the standard text for Greek-language epitaphs until the thirteenth century. This well-documented article studies the attestations of the prayer in various contexts, with particular attention to its structure, its (presumably Alexandrian) origins, and its Christological character. Epigraphic witnesses are cited throughout but discussed specifically at pp. 152–157.

2–14. Egypt and Nubia. Greek/Coptic funerary stelae. J. van der Vliet, “Christian Epitaphs from Egypt and Nubia at the Museo Egizio, Turin: A Dossier,” *Rivista del Museo Egizio* 5 (2021), available online at <https://rivista.museoegizio.it/article/christian-epitaphs-from-egypt-and-nubia-at-the-museo-egizio-turin-a-dossier/> (29 pp.). Complete presentation of the Christian tombstones in the Egyptian Museum at Turin. Since

the collection of 25 stelae from Lower Nubia is well-known, only a brief description is given of its three main groups (3 from the Tafa-Kalabsha region, 20 from Sakinya, and 2 from Faras, for one of which see *CIEN* 7.38), with useful tables (Tables 1–3) referring to the main editions and DBMNT number. The principal focus is on the lesser-known collection of 15 stelae from Egypt, presented in Table 4, for all of which (re-)editions are offered in the remainder of the article. One of them (no. 11 = **10**) reuses a slab containing, on its back, part of a commemorative inscription in Greek, dating to ca. the second–fourth centuries CE, which is also edited (no. 12), but since it does not contain any Christian elements, we will only mention it under no. 11 here. Two other stelae (nos. 9–10), from Abydos, have already been included under their (re)edition in *CIEN* 8.25–26. In what follows, we will therefore discuss the remaining 13 texts (nos. 1–8, 11, 13–16 = **2–14**), maintaining Van der Vliet’s approximate geographical ordering of the stelae from north to south.

2. Faiyum. Greek/Coptic funerary stela, ca. 5th–6th cent. Turin, Egyptian Museum, suppl. 1335. *Ed. princ.* Van der Vliet, pp. 5–6, no. 1, Fig. 1. Limestone epitaph (46 × 26 × 7.5 cm), broken off at the top, representing a woman in praying gesture (*orans*), whose name is written on both sides of her head: Γερόσα. The name is also attested in a sixth-century (?) Greek papyrus from Naqlun, T. Derda and J. Wegner, “New Documentary Papyri from the Polish excavations at Deir el-Naqlun (*P. Naqlun* 35–38),” *JJP* 44 (2014) 121–126, *P. Naqlun* 36.5, there spelled Γηρόσα.

3. Faiyum. Greek funerary stela, 7th–8th cent. Turin, Egyptian Museum, suppl. 1332. *Ed. princ.* Lefebvre, *Recueil* 112 = Van der Vliet, pp. 6–7, no. 2, Fig. 2, with some minor corrections. Greek limestone epitaph of the type “Lord, give rest to the soul of your servant” (ll. 1–2), followed by a name starting with Chri-, who was a reader in a church of which the name is lost (ll. 2–3). The dating formula is introduced by ἐκυμήθη (read ἐκοιμήθη) ἐν κυρίῳ “he went to his rest in the Lord” (ll. 4–6). An ἀμή[v “Amen,” spaced out over the line, and perhaps a cross, conclude the text (l. 7).

4. Faiyum. Coptic funerary stela, ca. 7th–9th cent. Turin, Egyptian Museum, provv. 4817. *Ed. princ.* Van der Vliet, pp. 7–9, no. 3, Fig. 3. Limestone epitaph (41 × 21.5 × 9 cm) for a certain Phoibamon in the form of a cross “pattée,” on the branches of which 14 lines of text are written in Faiyumatic Coptic. The text starts, after a cross (+), with an invocation of ΠΝΟΥ† ΠΑΝΤΩΚΡΑΤΩΡ “God almighty” (ll. 1–2), followed by the formula ΑΛΙ ΟΥΝΕΪ ΜΝ ΟΥΑΝΑΠΑΥΣΙΣ ΜΝ ΤΕΨΗΧΗ Ν- “grant mercy and rest to the soul of” (ll. 2–8), in which the expansion to ΜΝ

ΟΥΑΝΑΠΑΥCIC is slightly unusual, and the name (ll. 8–9; note the rendering ΜΑΡΙΟC for ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟC “blessed” in l. 8). The dating formula (ll. 11–13) is introduced by ΑΓΕΜΤΑΝ ΝΜ<ΑΑ> “he went to his rest” (ll. 9–10), in which the letters ΑΑ in l. 9, written larger, may be understood to perform double duty for the line below, due to lack of space. Α ΖΑΜΗΝ “Amen” (ll. 13–14) completes the text.

5. Region of el-Sheikh ‘Ibada-el-Ashmunein. Coptic funerary stela, ca. 8th cent. Turin, Egyptian Museum, cat. 7133. *Ed. princ.* G. Seyffarth, “Inscripfen aus Aegypten,” *ZDMG* 4 (1850) 255, no. 5 = L. Stern, “Sahidische Inschriften,” *ZÄS* 16 (1878) 25, n. 2 = E. Revillout, “Les prières pour les morts dans l’épigraphie égyptienne,” *Revue égyptologique* 4 (1885) 4, no. 4 = *SB Kopt.* 1.467 = Van der Vliet, pp. 9–10, no. 4, Fig. 4. Brown marble epitaph in Coptic for the mason Epimache. The invocation of ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΝΧΊ΄CΘΟΥ ΝΝΑΠΟCΤΟΛΟC ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ “God of the lords, the holy apostles” introduces a prayer for mercy on the soul of the deceased (ll. 1–3). Then come his name and profession (ll. 3–4) and the dating formula introduced by ἸΤΑΓΕΜΤΟΝ ΜΜΟΑ “he went to his rest” (ll. 4–7; something went wrong with the indiction year in l. 7, probably a reading error). The last segment is an *appel aux vivants*, in fact, those who knew the deceased, to pray to God for mercy on his soul (ll. 8–11). This is followed, in l. 11, by ΖΑΜΗΝ ΕΑ<Ε>ΩΩΠΕ ἸC ΧC “Amen, so be it. Jesus Christ,” and a cross centered beneath the line.

6. Region of el-Ashmunein. Coptic funerary stela, ca. 6th–7th cent. Turin, Egyptian Museum, cat. 7132. *Ed. princ.* Van der Vliet, pp. 10–12, no. 5, Fig. 5. Brownish-beige limestone slab (42.5 × 42 × 8 cm), its top right-hand part broken off, that served as a memorial for four monks: Apa Biktor (ll. 1–3), a man with the title *papas* (name in lacuna; ll. 4–7), Phoibammon (ll. 8–12), and Iohannes (ll. 12–16); the last three are called ΠΕΝCΟΝ “our brother.” The entries consist of the name, with an identifier (patronymic and/or place of origin), then ΑΓΜΤΟΝ ΜΜΟΑ “he went to his rest,” the date (these are successive, so likely refer to the same year), and the addition ΖΝ ΟΥΕΙΡΗΝΗ ΖΑΜΗΝ “in peace. Amen” or either one of these elements. Two monks come from ΠΑΜΟΥΝΕ ΠCΟΒΤ, the first attestation in Coptic of an *epoikion* in the Hermopolite nome known from Greek papyri as Ψῶβθον Ἀμούνεως (on which see further 36 below).

7. el-Ashmunein (Hermopolis). Coptic funerary stela, ca. 7th–9th cent. Turin, Egyptian Museum, suppl. 2201. *Ed. princ.* Van der Vliet, pp. 12–13, no. 6, Fig. 6. Fragment of a reddish marble epitaph (9.5 × 10 × 3 cm), preserving only letters from the name and date parts of the formulary.

9. Middle Egypt? Coptic funerary stela, ca. 6th–8th cent. Turin, Egyptian Museum, provv. 4871. *Ed. princ.* Van der Vliet, pp. 13–14, no. 8, Fig. 8. Limestone epitaph (50.5 × 40 × 6 cm) in the form of a Latin cross, of which the left and right tips of the horizontal branches were connected to the top of the vertical by a semi-circular band, the right-hand part now gone, for a certain Noute. The 21 lines of text, written on the branches, consist, after a cross, of an invocation of the Trinity (ll. 1–7), the name of the deceased preceded by ἀϥ[Μ]ΤΟΝ [Μ]ΜΟϥ ἡ̅Ḳι “... went to his rest” (ll. 7–12), the date (ll. 12–13), to which is added ϣ̅ⲛ ⲓⲟϥⲣⲏⲛⲏ̅ (read οὐϥεῖρⲏⲛⲏ̅) ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲡⲛⲟϥⲧⲉ ϣ̅ⲁⲙⲏⲛ “in the peace of God. Amen” (ll. 14–16), a prayer to Jesus Christ for help (ll. 16–20, with ϣⲟϥ<ε> for βⲟⲩⲑⲉⲓ “help”), and a cross (l. 21; Latin, with an X drawn through the point where horizontal and vertical meet).

11. Armant (Hermonthis). Greek funerary stela, ca. 6th–8th cent.
Turin, Egyptian Museum, suppl. 1337. *Ed. princ.* Van der Vliet, pp. 18–19, no. 13, Fig. 13. Sandstone epitaph (31 × 24 × 6.5 cm) for a certain Ketatios, showing a cross “fourchée” in a wreath and a triangular *tympa-num* with floral motif at the top, while the text is written in between the two. Part of the top and the lower part of the stone are gone. The inscription has another cross “fourchée” centered on l. 2, with the Greek written in l. 1 and then continuing behind the cross in l. 2. As with the previous inscription (no. 11 = **10**) it has the acclamation Εἷς Θεός “One God,” followed by the name, Κετᾶτίος, which could be a garbled rendering of Γελάδιος (*NB Kopt.* s.v.; Trismegistos People, Nam_ID 9849), with a reading error of τ for λ.

12. Armant (Hermonthis). Greek funerary stela, ca. 6th–8th cent. Turin, Egyptian Museum, suppl. 18116. *Ed. princ.* Van der Vliet, pp. 19–20, no. 14, Fig. 14. Sandstone tombstone (47 × 28 × 11 cm) for a woman, Mariamme, with much the same decoration (and more of the stone preserved) as the preceding one (no. 13 = **11**), but a different text, starting with the name (l. 1), and then continuing with the, originally pre-Christian, formula [Ο]ὐτις (read Οὐδεὶς) ἀθάνατος ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ (read κόσμῳ) τούτῳ “Nobody is immortal in this world.”

13. Esna (Latopolis). Coptic funerary stela, ca. 6th–8th cent. Turin, Egyptian Museum, suppl. 18125. *Ed. princ.* Van der Vliet, pp. 20–21, no. 15, Fig. 15. Round-topped sandstone epitaph (54 × 31.5 × 7.5 cm) for a woman, with in the center an eagle with outstretched wings and a *bulla*, and above it, flanked by two lions, perhaps another bird. In the lower part, below the eagle, where the stone is much worn, is a single line of text with the woman’s name on -ΜΟΥΘΙC (reasonably suggested to be Thermouthis) and patronymic (ΧΙ ΝCΙΛΠΑΝ[OC] “the daughter of Silpanos”).

14. Southern Upper Egypt (Aswan?). Coptic funerary stela, ca. 9th–10th cent. Turin, Egyptian Museum, provv. 1580. *Ed. princ.* Van der Vliet, pp. 21–23, no. 16, Fig. 16. Fragmentary sandstone epitaph (31.5 × 20 × 7.5 cm) of the *Totenklage*-type. Only two, joining fragments, the upper right corner and part of the right-hand margin below it, have been preserved of an originally much larger stone, making reconstruction highly tentative. The text seems to start with an acclamation of Christ, asking for mercy (l. 1), followed by laments about the inevitability of death and the human condition (ll. 2–3), possibly a reference to the image of death as a journey (ll. 3–4), the introduction of the deceased (ll. 5–8), who may well have been the ΑΠΟΥCCΟΡ[ΟΥΡ] “‘Abū al-Surūr,” mentioned in l. 6, and a prayer of the “God of the spirits”-type (ll. 11–16; for this prayer, see now **1** above).

15. Egypt. Monasticism. E. Wipszycka, *The Second Gift of the Nile: Monks and Monasteries in Late Antique Egypt* (Warsaw 2018). As the author explains at pp. xi–xii, this is not an English translation of her well-known *Moines et communautés monastiques en Égypte (IV^e–VIII^e siècles)* (Warsaw 2009), but rather of a Polish derivative of it published in 2014, which has been substantially reworked and updated. Though there is some overlap, there are significant differences with Wipszycka’s 2009 book, such as a greater focus on literary accounts (for instance, the first seven chapters deal with monastic literature). As a result, inscriptions are more

sparingly referred to (cf. *Moines et communautés*, pp. 99–106 where inscriptions are even assigned a separate section). Both books are therefore to be consulted alongside each other.

16. Egypt. Monastic archaeology. D.L. Brooks Hedstrom, *The Monastic Landscape of Late Antique Egypt: An Archaeological Reconstruction* (Cambridge 2017) offers an engaging first synthesis on monastic archaeology in Egypt, demonstrating how for a long time the picture in the literature of the monastic landscape as empty, poor, and isolated has held sway over the field, which in the last few decades – in the wake of a surging interest in excavating and studying monastic sites – has been replaced by a more realistic one, based mostly on the archaeological remains, that the monastic built environment was in fact dynamic, extremely diverse, and frequently interacting with local communities. Chapters 1–2 provide a succinct overview of the history of excavations of monastic sites (up until the 1980s); Chapter 2 also contains important theoretical observations on different approaches to such sites, which are then applied in the remainder of the book. Chapter 3 describes the landscape in which monks lived, Chapter 4 the manifold documentary sources informing us about their activities, highlighting the diversity and fluidity of terms used to describe monastic spaces. In Chapter 5, we turn to the idealized monastic landscape (the “mindscape”) as constructed in the literary sources. The final two chapters (6–7) then present the actual landscape by discussing a selection of archaeological sites. As appears from this analysis, monastic structures are not significantly different from secular ones; it is a combination of features, such as a niche in the eastern wall, benches for long-term sitting, and weaving workshops, supplemented by paintings and graffiti, which are frequently cited throughout the book, that can help identify a site as monastic. This important study lays the foundation, and sets the parameters, for a more refined and sophisticated study of monastic remains in the coming years.

17. Egypt. The cross in Christian art. G. Spalding-Stracey, *The Cross in the Visual Culture of Late Antique Egypt* (Leiden 2020). In this book, based on a doctoral dissertation defended at Macquarie University in 2018, the author admirably undertakes a first study of the massive evidence for representations of the cross in Late Antique and medieval Egypt. Unfortunately, as she explains in the Introduction (p. xiv), she only focuses on “significant” crosses, that is, “those that are the central or solitary feature in an image, or those that are in some way visually outstanding or unusual”

(again in Chapter 1, a general discussion of the cross in Egypt, at p. 10), while excluding crosses in papyri and graffiti. As she herself admits, this division is rather arbitrary and subjective; for instance, in monastic contexts the line between paintings and *dipinti* is often difficult to draw. Moreover, on pp. 7–8 (with Fig. 1), she distinguishes just four types of crosses (the Greek and Latin cross, *crux ansata* and cross “pattée”), whereas the cross “potent” and “fourchée” were also extremely common in Egypt (cf. the typology and discussion by J.H.F. Dijkstra, *Syene I: The Figural and Textual Graffiti from the Temple of Isis at Aswan* [Darmstadt-Mainz 2012] 81–82, with Fig. 20, not mentioned in this book). The survey she gives of crosses per site in Chapter 2 therefore remains quite superficial and restricted in use, the more so since a database compiled by the author (mentioned at pp. xix, 11–12), on which observations for any given site are based, has not been included. Despite these issues, the following chapters, on the various supports on which the crosses are found (Chapter 3), their symbolism and design (e.g. in combination with vegetal or faunal motifs; Chapter 4), the location and date of these designs (Chapter 5), and their context (Chapter 6), give some impression of the immense diversity of depictions of the cross in Christian Egypt.

18. Egypt. Coptic *Sammelbuch*. M.R.M. Hasitzka, *Koptisches Sammelbuch V* (Berlin 2020). The fifth installment of this useful collection contains only few inscriptions, all from Egypt. Nos. 2350–2354 are epitaphs in stone; no. 2355 is an inscribed shroud with a bilingual (Bohairic-Arabic) funerary prayer. As in earlier volumes, the Coptic texts are reproduced with a summary apparatus, but no translation. The relevant entries are (corrections proposed in our bulletin have not been incorporated):

- 2350 = *CIEN* 4.9 (Saqqara or Bawit).
- 2351 = J.H.F. Dijkstra and J. van der Vliet, “Une stèle funéraire copte au Musée des Beaux-Arts de Montréal,” *Cd’É* 87 (2012) 189–196 (repr., in an English trans., in J. van der Vliet, *The Christian Epigraphy of Egypt and Nubia* [London 2018] 185–191, cf. *CIEN* 6.2; Middle Egypt).
- 2352 = *CIEN* 2.55 (Antinoopolis).
- 2353 = *CIEN* 2.51 (Faiyum).
- 2354 = *CIEN* 2.52 (Faiyum).
- 2355 = **21** below.

19. Egypt. Christian graffiti. J. van der Vliet, “Inscribing Space in Christian Egypt,” in A.E. Felle and B. Ward-Perkins (eds.), *Cultic Graffiti*

in the *Late Antique Mediterranean and beyond* (Turnhout 2021) 91–102 reflects, on the basis of his extensive work on this topic, on the interconnections between graffiti, space and religious practices in Christian Egypt, illustrated by selected examples from the Wadi el-Natrun, Kellia, and el-Bagawat. The first group of graffiti comes from the north-eastern corner of the nave of the church of the Holy Virgin at Deir el-Surian. One of these texts, in Bohairic Coptic (of which a preliminary text is given), a prayer to God, through the intercession of St. James the Persian, to have mercy on a certain Michael, can be connected to a reliquary of the saint that was no doubt once located in a nearby niche, explaining why the cluster of graffiti was inscribed here. We then move to Kellia (cf. his study discussed at *CIEN* 5.5). Whereas Van der Vliet earlier suggested that the graffiti from Church 61 at Qusur ‘Isa may have been related to the human remains that were found in its altar room, here he points to one of the texts, again in Bohairic Coptic, that invokes God to help a certain Iakob $\epsilon\mu\ \phi\eta\lambda\gamma\ \langle\eta\rangle\tau\epsilon\phi\alpha\eta\alpha\gamma\kappa\eta$ “in the hour of his agony” (the improved text builds on corrections proposed in *CIEN* 2.17), this time through the intercession of $\alpha\pi\alpha\ \mu\alpha\kappa\alpha\rho\iota$, likely Macarius the Alexandrian, who may rather have been the focal point for graffiti writers. The inscriptions from el-Bagawat in the Kharga oasis for the most part concern later visitors’ graffiti, which over a long time display a wider attraction of the site than its original funerary function (cf. his study discussed at *CIEN* 8.84). For instance, in one Coptic *dipinto*, yet again a prayer to God, now to help a certain Philotheos, Apa Daniel is mentioned as intercessor, who is none other than the prophet shown in a nearby painting. The text of two further *dipinti* is given, the first, in Greek and Coptic, addressing an abstract $\pi\eta\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \eta\eta\epsilon\psi\lambda\eta\lambda\ \eta\eta\epsilon\tau\omicron\gamma\alpha\alpha[\beta]$ “Intellect of the prayers of the saints” to intercede with Christ on behalf of a certain Theodoros, the second, in Coptic, addressing the living to say a prayer for Chael. These examples, and others, richly illustrate the dynamic relationship between writer, space, and a double audience, human and divine, which make these graffiti, rather than mere informal scribbles, into ritual acts.

20. Egypt. Greek *dipinti* on amphorae. J.-L. Fournet, “How Late Antique *Dipinti* Contribute to a Better Knowledge of Amphora Contents,” in D. Bernal-Casasola et al. (eds.), *Roman Amphora Contents: Reflecting on the Maritime Trade of Foodstuffs in Antiquity* (Oxford 2021) 63–76 presents a typology of Greek notations painted on Late Antique amphorae, highlighting the difference between the highly stylized *dipinti* on amphorae of type LRA 1, which cover the entire process from the point

of filling the vessels to the arrival at their destination and confirm that these amphorae were intended for wine, with those on other amphorae, which display a diversity of formulae and were used for various products. Thus, the importance of this material, which remains understudied but can provide detailed information about such matters as the contents of the amphorae, the production process and trading networks, is emphasized.

21. Egypt. Inscribed shroud, 12th–14th cent.? Cambridge UL, inv. Michael. LX. *Ed. princ.* A. Delattre and N. Vanthieghem, “Un linceul copte-arabe inscrit de l’ancienne collection Michaelidès,” *Cd’É* 90 (2015) 195–198; the text is now included in *SB Kopt.* 5.2355, see **18** above. First edition of a funerary prayer written in red ink on a piece of linen (39 × 40 cm), which originally must have been part of a larger shroud. Its provenance is unknown. The text, underneath a large cross “fourchée,” is bilingual. The name of the deceased, Wahba, is filled in in Arabic (in l. 2) as part of a Bohairic funerary prayer of liturgical inspiration, asking for the rest of the deceased’s soul in the bosom of the Patriarchs. The procedure suggests that the scribe was conversant with liturgical Bohairic, but that Arabic was his or her first language.

π6(ωι)ς εκε† ἡτον ἡτεψυχῃ
ἡπεκβωκ وهبة هEN KENQ
NḢḢIO† ΕΘΟΥΑΒ ΑΒΡΑ-
ΖΑΜ ΝΕΜ ΙΣΑΑΚ ΝΕΜ

5. ΙΑΚΩΒ ΗΕΝ ΠΙΠΑΡΑ-
†COC

“Lord, may you give rest to the soul of your servant Wahba in the bosom of our holy fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in paradise.” The edition resolves π6(ΟΕΙ)ς in l. 1 and renders supralinear dots as strokes. The prayer seems strangely abbreviated. The parallels suggest that it should have continued at least with *ΝΤΕ ΠΟΥΝΟQ* (in the garden) “of delight” (cf., e.g., *SB Kopt.* 2.1095.10, cited by the editors, and the Liturgy of St. Basil, with further discussion at *CIEN* 7.4). The date of the shroud is a matter of conjecture.

22. Alexandria. Greek inscriptions. A. Wojciechowska, “The Epigraphic Curve in Egypt: The Case Study of Alexandria,” in K. Nawotka (ed.), *Epigraphic Culture in the Eastern Mediterranean in Antiquity* (London 2021) 184–200. Following up on the debate about R. MacMullen’s “epigraphic habit,” this volume of essays takes a quantifying approach to ancient

epigraphy over time. Case studies for Egypt concern Alexandria (the present essay) and the Faiyum (34 below), both illustrated by histograms. The counts are entirely based on the existing *corpora*. The paper on Alexandria splits up datable private and public inscriptions by century and quarter-century and takes a separate look at Latin inscriptions. Our period, Late Antiquity, shows a long-term decline after the reign of Diocletian, with a slight recovery in the sixth century, entirely represented by epitaphs. A steep increase in the early years of the seventh century is mainly caused by the inscriptions of the circus factions from Kom el-Dikka, the last dated Late Antique inscriptions from Alexandria.

23–32. Wadi el-Natrun. Greek and Coptic inscriptions. *Ed. princ.* M. Kupelian, “The Hermitage (*Manshubiya*) of the Monastery of Abu Maqar (St. Macarius) in Wadi al-Natrun,” *BSAC* 57 (2018) 91–114. Publication of the paintings and inscriptions from a cave to the south of the monastery of St. Macarius; see already the work of J. van der Vliet, “History through Inscriptions: Coptic Epigraphy in the Wadi al-Natrun,” *Coptica* 3 (2004) 193–194 (repr. in M.S.A. Mikhail and M. Moussa [eds.], *Christianity and Monasticism in Wadi al-Natrun* [Cairo 2009] 335–336, and in J. van der Vliet, *The Christian Epigraphy of Egypt and Nubia* [London 2018] 86–87), who is thanked for having provided translations of the texts. On one wall, there is a painting of St. Menas and, beside him, Christ (with the legends ὁ ἅγιος Μῆνα<ς> and Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστό)ς; accents on Greek words are omitted in the edition, p. 97). On another wall is a depiction of the nursing Virgin Mary next to Christ in Glory with the Four Living Creatures, the latter almost completely destroyed (the legend ἅγιος can be read twice). Two colophon-type prayers in Bohairic Coptic belonging to the paintings, for the founder and the painter, have been added to this wall, the one below left of the Virgin Mary and the other on both sides of Christ in Glory (23–24). In addition, eight textual graffiti are painted to the left (nos. 1–6 = 25–30) and above (nos. 7–8 = 31–32) the depiction of Menas, suggesting a devotion to the saint. There are also several crosses painted on the wall to the left of St. Menas (Figs. 5 and 13). The textual *dipinti* are dated by the editor to the eleventh or twelfth century, but they could also be more or less contemporary with the paintings, which date to the tenth century. Nos. 1–7 (25–31) are quite similar in script (they may even have been written by the same scribe), and some of the persons mentioned seem to share family links: there are two sons of Theodoros (nos. 2 = 26 and 7 = 31), two sons of Io(h)annes (nos. 5 and 6 = 29–30), a Georgi and a son of Georgi (nos. 3 = 27 and 7 = 31).

23. Coptic prayer with painting, 10th cent. *Ed. princ.* Kupelian, pp. 97–99, Fig. 11 (also Figs. 4 and 8). Prayer of the founder Mena Panau (the latter a patronym or more likely a toponym, Bana [Kynopolis] in the Delta), painted in black near the nursing Virgin. The founder has been identified by Van der Vliet, “History through Inscriptions,” 194, n. 22, with the ΜΗΝΑ Π[ΑΝ]ΑΥ mentioned in the colophon of a Vatican manuscript dated to 978/979 CE as the spiritual father of the scribe, the deacon Gabriel (see A. Hebbelynck and A. van Lantschoot, *Codices coptici vaticani, barberiniani, borgiani, rossiani*, vol. 1 [Rome 1937] 472–473). The text reads:

Π̅Θ̅C̅ IC̅ Π̅Χ̅C̅ C̅ΜΟΥ̅ Ε̅ΠΑ-
ΙΩΤ̅ ΜΗΝΑ ΠΑΝΑΥ̅ Δ̅C̅ΚΙ-
ΤΗΣ̅ Χ̅Ε̅ Ν̅ΤΟϞ̅ Α̅Β̅Ϟ̅Ι̅ Φ̅Ρ̅Ω-
ΟΥ̅Ω̅ Μ̅Π̅Ι̅Β̅ Ν̅Ε̅Ρ̅Φ̅Μ̅Ε̅Υ̅Ι̅ Ν̅-
5. Τ̅Ε̅ Π̅Ι̅C̅Π̅Ε̅Λ̅Ε̅Ο̅Ν̅ Ν̅Ε̅Μ̅ †̅-
Ζ̅Ω̅Γ̅Ρ̅Α̅Φ̅ΙΑ̅ ·̅ Α̅Μ̅Η̅Ν̅ Ε̅-
C̅Ε̅Ω̅Π̅Ι̅ Ε̅C̅Ε̅Ω̅Π̅Ι̅

“Lord Jesus Christ, bless father Mena Panau, the ascetic, for he provided for these two monuments, namely this cave and this painting. Amen, so be it, so be it.”

24. Coptic prayer with painting, 943/944 CE. *Ed. princ.* Kupelian, pp. 99–100, Fig. 12 (also Fig. 7). Prayer of the painter left and right of Christ in Glory. The text is quite damaged and ends with the date of 660 in the Era of the Martyrs, that is, 943/944 CE. On the left: ΕΘ̅|Ο̅|Υ̅]ΑΒ̅ [Α̅]ΡΙ̅ Π̅Α̅Μ̅Ε̅Υ̅Ι̅ ̅Η̅Ξ̅Ν̅ Ν̅Ε̅Τ̅Ε̅Ν̅Ε̅Υ̅Χ̅Η̅ Ε̅Τ̅Ω̅Η̅Π̅ Ν̅Α̅Ζ̅Ρ̅Ε̅ Π̅Ν̅Η̅Π̅ (read Φ̅Ν̅Η̅Β̅) Χ̅C̅. On the right:]̅ Α̅Μ̅[Η̅Ν̅ Ε̅C̅Ε̅]Ω̅Π̅[Π̅Ι̅]̅ .̅ Μ̅Ρ̅ Χ̅Ξ̅ “... holy ..., remember me in your prayers agreeable to the Lord Christ. ... Amen, so be it. [Era?] of the Martyrs, 660.” At the beginning, likely read Ω̅ Ν̅Α̅Ι̅Ο̅†̅ Ε̅Θ̅|Ο̅|Υ̅]ΑΒ̅ “Holy fathers”; the *ed. princ.* has Ε̅|†̅[Ο̅Υ̅]ΑΒ̅.

25. Coptic dipinto, 10th–12th cent. *Ed. princ.* Kupelian, p. 101, no. 1, Fig. 10. The text has been edited as Τ̅Α̅Μ̅Α̅ |̅ C̅Η̅Ο̅Υ̅Ε̅Ρ̅Ο̅C̅, with Tama probably being a feminine name otherwise unknown. In l. 2, read instead C̅ΜΟΥ̅ Ε̅Ρ̅Ο̅C̅ “Bless her.”

26. Coptic dipinto, 10th–12th cent. *Ed. princ.* Kupelian, p. 101, no. 2, Fig. 10: ✕̅ Α̅ΡΙ̅ Π̅Μ̅Ε̅Υ̅Ο̅Υ̅Ι̅ Ν̅Ο̅Υ̅C̅Τ̅Α̅Θ̅Ι̅ Υ̅(Ι̅Ο̅C̅)̅ Θ̅Ε̅Ο̅Δ̅Ο̅Ρ̅Ο̅C̅ “✕̅ Remember Oustathi, son of Theodoros.” Oustathi is a variant of Eustathios (cf. Trismegistos People, Nam_ID 9365). Note the abbreviation for the Greek noun υἱός as ὕ (also in nos. 3 = 27, 5–7 = 29–31).

27. Coptic *dipinto*, 10th–12th cent. *Ed. princ.* Kupelian, p. 101, no. 3, Fig. 10: ⲭ ⲁⲣⲓ ⲡⲙⲉϣⲟϣⲓ ⲛⲡⲓϥⲁⲃⲓ γ(ⲓⲟϥ) ⲣⲉωⲣⲓ “Remember Pisakh, son of Georgi.”

28. Coptic *dipinto*, 10th–12th cent. *Ed. princ.* Kupelian, p. 101, no. 4, Fig. 10: ⲱⲉⲗⲟϣ ⲁⲡⲟϣⲓⲟϥⲥⲉⲣ (transcribed in Latin characters in the edition) “Shelou, (son of) Apoulouser.” The patronymic is the common Arabic name ‘Abū l-Yusr.

29. Coptic *dipinto*, 10th–12th cent. *Ed. princ.* Kupelian, p. 101, no. 5, Fig. 10: ⲙⲏⲛⲁ γ(ⲓⲟϥ) ⲓⲱ. “Mena, son of Io(hannes) (?)” The supra-linear stroke is longer towards the right than in the next entry, so that one is inclined to read ⲓⲱⲁ, but the traces are inconclusive.

30. Coptic *dipinto*, 10th–12th cent. *Ed. princ.* Kupelian, p. 102, no. 6, Fig. 10: ⲥⲧⲉⲡⲉⲛ γ(ⲓⲟϥ) ⲓⲱ “Stepen, son of Io(hannes).” Stepen is a variant of Stephanos (cf. Trismegistos People, Nam_ID 5863).

31. Coptic *dipinto*, 10th–12th cent. *Ed. princ.* Kupelian, p. 102, no. 7, Fig. 10 (also Figs. 4–6): ⲣⲉωⲣⲓ γ(ⲓⲟϥ) ⲑⲉⲟⲗϥ ⲙⲁ ⲉⲙⲧⲟⲛ ⲛω (read ⲛωⲟγ) “Georgi, son of Theodoros, give them rest.”

32. Coptic *dipinto*, 10th–12th cent. *Ed. princ.* Kupelian, p. 102, no. 8, Figs. 4–5. Painted in larger letters than the rest of the *dipinti* in between large crosses “fourchées” (one on the left and two on the right) and centered above the painting of Menas and Christ, the sequence ⲗⲟϣⲕϣⲙⲁⲛⲛⲁ. In the edition it is interpreted as a single name (transcribed in Latin characters), with reference to the name ⲕϣⲣⲓⲙⲁⲛⲛⲁ in two tenth-century Bohairic tombstones, *SB Kopt.* 2.1094.10 and 1095.7. Another possibility would be to read it as ⲗⲟϣⲕ γ(ⲓⲟϥ) ⲙⲁⲛⲛⲁ (but there is no dot visible above the γ).

33. Saqqara. Dating formulae in Coptic funerary stelae. A. Delattre, “À propos de la date de quelques inscriptions du monastère de Jérémie à Saqqara,” *ZPE* 218 (2021) 133–138 reviews and re-edits the dating formula of six epitaphs from the monastery of Apa Jeremiah at Saqqara. The first two, H. Thompson in J.E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara* (1908–9, 1909–10). *The Monastery of Apa Jeremias* (Cairo 1912) 86, no. 274 = C. Wietheger, *Das Jeremias-Kloster zu Saqqara unter besondere Berücksichtigung der Inschriften* (Altenberge 1992) 325–326, no. 58, and H. Thompson in J.E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara* (1907–1908) (Cairo 1909) 47–48, no. 65 = Wietheger, *Jeremias-Kloster*, 337–338, no. 84 = *SB Kopt.* 4.1994, in which the indiction year differs from the Diocletian year, show that the system to start the indiction year earlier, in the month Pachon, was in use at Saqqara, apparently, as other texts from the same

site seem to suggest, alongside the system where indiction year and Diocletian year both began in Thoth. In the next two, Thompson in Quibell, *Saqqara (1908–9, 1909–10)*, 68, 87, nos. 221, 280 = Wietheger, *Jeremias-Kloster*, 326, 335, nos. 60, 80, the word (α)ϣπ (in the former text spelled ϣαπϣ), for “year,” is read. And in the final pair of texts, Thompson in Quibell, *Saqqara (1907–1908)*, 31, no. 11 = Wietheger, *Jeremias-Kloster*, 338–339, no. 86, and Thompson in Quibell, *Saqqara (1907–1908)*, 30–31, no. 10 = Wietheger, *Jeremias-Kloster*, 338, no. 85 = *SB Kopt.* 4.1995, a rare indication of the day of the week (ἡ(μέρας) + number) is found, though in the latter case the new reading results in a discrepancy with the other parts of the dating formula.

34. Faiyum. Greek inscriptions. J.K. Wilimowska, “The Epigraphic Curve in the Fayum Oasis,” in K. Nawotka (ed.), *Epigraphic Culture in the Eastern Mediterranean in Antiquity* (London 2021) 201–214. For the principles underlying this essay, see **22** above. The counts are based on both Egyptian and Greek inscriptions from the twentieth century BCE onwards, but Coptic ones are excluded as they cannot be precisely dated. The numbers show a gradual decline in the Roman period, reaching a minimum in the fourth century, probably due to local circumstances (the abandonment of town sites). After the fourth century there is a relative growth in the number of Christian inscriptions, most of them epitaphs. As the author notes, the picture for the fourth to eighth centuries may be distorted by the lack of precise dates and the haphazard character of the finds.

35. el-Bahnasa (Oxyrhynchus). Greek funerary stela, 6th–7th cent. *Ed. princ.* L. Mascia and J.J. Martínez García, “A New Christian Epitaph from Oxyrhynchus,” *ZPE* 218 (2021) 139–141. Slab of limestone (38 × 53 cm) found, in three fragments, during the 2020 campaign of the University of Barcelona in the Upper Necropolis (within the church in sector 24; see *CIEN* 7.8–10). The lower part of the stone is lost. The epitaph is of the ἐκοιμήθη-type and begins with a cross “pattée.” Ll. 1–3 then read: ἐκοιμήθη ἐν κυρίῳ ἡ μακαρία [. . .] δώρα “The blessed ...dora went to her rest in the Lord” (given the space and a possible trace of a vertical above the break line, Ἰσὶδώρα seems most likely as the name of the deceased). The dating formula follows in ll. 3–4: ἐν μηνί Φαμ[εν]ῶθ “in the month Phamenoth.” In l. 5, only the last letters have been preserved, which seem to be a τ or a π, then a ρ with a σ (or sinusoid?) written above the line. It is interpreted as an abbreviation for πρεσβύτερος,

who is then proposed as the commissioner of the epitaph. This seems very speculative, however, since we expect the text to continue with the dating formula.

36. Region of el-Ashmunein. Toponymy. J. van der Vliet, “A Note on Hermopolite Topography,” *Göttinger Miszellen* 262 (2020) 23–24 identifies the Coptic counterpart of the *epoikion* of Ψῶβθον Ἀμούνεως in the Hermopolite toparchy of Leukopyrgites Kato, attested in some Greek documents of the second–fourth centuries, in a Coptic funerary stela from ca. the sixth–seventh centuries kept in the Egyptian Museum of Turin (cat. 7132; for the first edition of this stela, see 6 above). The epitaph twice mentions the toponym ΠΑΜΟΥΝΕ ΠΟΒΤ (ll. 9–10 and 13–14), which is clearly the equivalent of Ψῶβθον Ἀμούνεως and can be translated as “(The settlement) of Amoune (ΠΑ ΑΜΟΥΝΕ) at the wall (*sbt/*ΠΟΒΤ).”

37. el-Sheikh ‘Ibada (Antinoopolis). Amulet on stone, ca. 5th cent. *Ed. princ.* D. Minutoli, “Un amuleto magico proveniente da Antinoupolis,” *Analecta Papyrologica* 31 (2019) 127–135. Publication of a small amulet made of greenish stone (Egyptian green schist or serpentine) discovered during clandestine excavations and recovered by the Italian archaeological mission in 2015. The stone, triangular in shape, is very small (2.4 × 1.9 × 0.5 cm) and is pierced with a hole that allowed it to be hung, for instance, with a cord around the neck. On one side (A), we can find the magic formula αβεραμενθω ου λαθερξαν, attested several times in magical texts. On the other side (B) have been inscribed the seven vowels (αεηιουω), *charaktes*, and the Christian invocation Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, βοήθει) “Jesus Christ, help.”

38–40. el-Sheikh ‘Ibada (Antinoopolis). Three Greek funerary stelae. *Ed. princ.* C.E. Römer, “Three Inscriptions from Ansina: Witnesses of Two Worlds Combined in Late Antique Egypt,” in T.M. Muhammad and C.E. Römer (eds.), *Thought, Culture, and Historiography in Christian Egypt, 284–641 AD* (Newcastle 2020) 177–191. First edition of three Greek epitaphs belonging to a group of 50 Greek and 66 Coptic funerary inscriptions excavated by the Egyptian authorities in the 1970s and brought to Fustat. They are labelled as coming from Antinoopolis but the exact place where they were found is unknown. The author suggests that they may derive from the South Necropolis of Antinoopolis but were then reused in the courtyard of a monastic building between the city and Upper Ansina, that is, the large settlement south of Antinoopolis.

38. Greek funerary stela, 6th cent. *Ed. princ.* Römer, pp. 180–182, no. 1, Fig. 3. Limestone epitaph (43 × 84 × 6 cm) of the ἐκοιμήθη-type for the priest Kostantinos. The edition prints a standardized and regularized text, which hides the linguistic and graphic particularities. We therefore include a new edition here:

Ἐκοιμέθε ὁ μακάριος Κωσταντῖνο'ς
 πρε(σβύτερος) μ μυνι Τῦβι vac. κη vac. νιδ(ικτί)ο(νος) vac. ὁ Θ(εὸς)
 ἀνάπαυσον τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ μετ-
 vac. ἀ τῶν ἁγίων σου ἀμήν. +

1. read ἐκοιμήθη || 2. πρε[—] inscr. | read ἐν μηνι | νιδ° inscr. | read ἰνδ(ικτί)ο(νος) ||
 3. read ψυχὴν || 4. read ἁγίων

“The blessed Kostantinos, the priest, went to his rest in the month Tybi, the 28th, of the (?) indiction. God, give rest to his soul with your saints. Amen. +” Note that the indiction year was apparently omitted.

39. Greek funerary stela, 5th–7th cent. *Ed. princ.* Römer, pp. 182–184, no. 2, Fig. 4. Tombstone (38 × 66 × 3 cm) of the *Totenklage*-type. From the photo the material does not seem to be alabaster, as the editor suggests, but rather marble, as is quite usual in Antinoopolis (or even a dense limestone). The text is neatly written, and the letters are engraved with great care. Several letters are provided with small horizontal strokes, such as υ and μ, and especially ω (where the stroke forms a cross in the center of the letter). The *diaeresis* on almost all ι's is represented by three dots arranged in a triangle (this feature is not noted by the editor). The text begins and ends with a cross “pattée.” At the bottom of the stone, in the space left free, a cross surrounded by plant motifs has been engraved, flanked on either side by two figures (consisting of a vertical with two curls that are mirrored) on pedestals. The content is no less careful than the form: the text displays a rare and expressive vocabulary, as well as scriptural reminiscences. It starts with a comparison between human life and dust (ll. 1–3: Βίος ἀνθρώπιος [read ἀνθρώπειος] χοῦν μιμεῖται ἐκ βί{ν}ου πνεύματος ῥιπιζόμενον “Human life resembles dust blown about by the breath of life”). Next comes an evocation of the deceased and her sudden death (ll. 3–14: Οὐκοῦν καὶ ἡ μακαρία Φεβρώνια τοῖς τοῦ βίου πλεονεκτήμασι διαλάμπουσα καὶ παρθενία περιαστράπτουσα ἡρπάγη αἰφνιδίως τῇ τοῦ θανάτου φρικωδεστάτῃ ὥρᾳ {σ}στηρηθεῖς<α> [read στερηθεῖσα] τοῦ παρόντος γλυκυτάτου φωτὸς καὶ πρὸς Θ(εὸ)ν ἐκδημήσας<α> ἐλέους τυχεῖν παρακαλοῦσα “So also the blessed Phebronia,

shining by her virtues in life and gleaming by her virginity, was suddenly taken away at the most terrifying hour of death, deprived of the very sweet present light, and, as she was departing to God, begging to obtain mercy"). The text ends with the ἐκοιμήθη "she went to her rest"-formula and the date (ll. 14–16). There are two errors in the editor's text: in ll. 7–8 she has περιστράπτουσα and l. 16 should read ἱς, not ις.

40. Greek funerary stela, ca. 5th cent. *Ed. princ.* Römer, pp. 184–187, no. 3, Fig. 5. Limestone tombstone (98 × 57 × 3 cm) containing an epigram commemorating the death of a young lady in elegiac couplets. Pentameters are indented and their *caesura* is materialized by a *vacat*. The text is ten lines long and describes the grief of a man, who addresses the deceased girl. He compares her to the Penelope of Homer (ll. 3–5, οἷν γὰρ τὸ πάροιθεν Ὀμηρεῖ φάτο βίβλος Πηνελόπην "for as the old Homeric book describes Penelope") and states that Parrhasius himself, the Greek painter of the classical period, could not have represented her (ll. 5–6, Παρράσιος δὲ οὐχ οἷός τε γράφειν *vac.* σὸν δέμας ἐν γραφίδι "even Parrhasius would not be able to represent your person in a painting"). He ends the poem by wishing that God may reunite them when he is old and will join her (ll. 9–10, ἀλλὰ Θεὸς μετέπειτα πάλιν ζεύξοιεν ἐκεῖσε ἄμφω, γηραλέος *vac.* εἴτ' ἂν πρὸς σὲ μόλω "But may God later reunite us both there, when grown old I will come to you"; the last verse is partly ametric). The text, full of classical culture, is unique in its kind within the corpus under study; it illustrates the strongly Hellenized character of Antinoopolis. In the *ed. princ.*, one should add a cross at the beginning of l. 1 and a few accents are to be added or corrected: in l. 3, read φάτο; in l. 5, φίλην; in l. 9, ζεύξοιεν; and in l. 10, πρὸς σὲ.

41. Deir Abu Hennes. Christian graffiti. A. Delattre, "Graffiti from Christian Egypt and the Cult of the Saints: A Case Study from Dayr Abū Ḥinnis," in A.E. Felle and B. Ward-Perkins (eds.), *Cultic Graffiti in the Late Antique Mediterranean and beyond* (Turnhout 2021) 103–110. Overview of the project to edit the over 400 inscriptions, mostly Greek and Coptic graffiti, from the *laura* of Deir Abu Hennes (for an earlier overview, see *CIEN* 2.53). Of these, nearly 100 are found in the church, dedicated to John the Baptist, in quarry DAH 012, over 150 in the communal building in quarry DAH 033, and the rest, around 170, spread out over the hermitages. The author notes a particular clustering of graffiti around the funerary inscriptions at the site, two examples of which are given, the bilingual commemorative inscription for the Isaurian Papias in DAH 033 (for which, cf. *CIEN* 6.4) and the Greek one of Apa Lots in DAH 023,

whose hermitage, witness the graffiti, seems to have been turned into a funerary chapel.

42. Bawit. Coptic and Greek inscriptions. É. Chassinat, *Fouilles à Baouît II* (Cairo 2019). Second volume of *Fouilles à Baouît* from the notes and plates prepared by É. Chassinat. The volume was planned to appear shortly after the first one (published in 1911), but never came out. From the rich documentation left by É. Chassinat and C. Palanque, D. Bénazeth and C. Meurice have reconstituted the book and provided it with comments. Various inscriptions are mentioned or reproduced in the plates (without text, translation or, often, recent bibliography). The inscriptions from the North Church have now been edited by F. Calament (see next entry). Some texts have already been published, such as the inscription of the sculptor Ioseph copied by C. Palanque (pp. 24–25; cf. P. du Bourguet, “La signature sur son œuvre d’un sculpteur copte du VI^e siècle,” in *Hommages à la mémoire de Serge Sauneron*, vol. 2 [Cairo 1979] 115–120), the wooden lintel Louvre inv. E 16947 (p. 15, Fig. 2, Pl. 31 = *SB Kopt.* 1.356), and the funerary stelae Louvre inv. AF 5422 and E 17008 (Pl. 138, nos. 1–2 = *SB Kopt.* 2.1104 and 1097). Others are apparently still unpublished (the inscriptions on pp. 24–25, the wooden lintel Louvre inv. E 17007, reproduced at Pl. 138, no. 3, which in ll. 2–4 mentions ΠΕΚΟΝΟΜΟΣ ΝΠΛΑΟΣ “the *oikonomos* of the people,” and the barely readable *dipinti* on limestone blocks at Pl. 139, nos. 1–4).

43–55. Bawit. Coptic and Greek inscriptions. D. Bénazeth, *L’église de l’Archange-Michel dans le monastère copte de Baouît* (Cairo 2021). Comprehensive publication of the North Church of the monastery of Bawit, dedicated to the Archangel Michael. The building was summarily excavated in 1902, and new excavations were conducted by the Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale and the Louvre between 2003 and 2007. The first four parts of the book detail the archaeological results and, after a general part covering such topics as the history of excavations and pottery, contain studies of the architecture, decoration, and furniture of the church, which was completed in the eighth century and remained in use into the tenth century. The part on the texts (pp. 371–466), a contribution by F. Calament, is devoted to the inscriptions and graffiti from the walls of the church (nos. 8–91), as well as the inscriptions on architectural elements and furniture, now mostly in museums (nos. 92–103). The author relies both on the results of recent excavations and the transcriptions of É. Chassinat and C. Palanque (cf. 42 above), who documented texts now lost (or much

more fragmentary than at the beginning of the twentieth century). In all, nearly one hundred texts are published, most of them for the first time. They are labelled, following other publications by the same editor, under the acronym “I.Bawit II” (I.Bawit II.8–103). The editions are carefully produced and richly illustrated. A thorough synthesis on the epigraphy of the monument (pp. 445–458), a textual index listing names, places, and dates (pp. 459–462), and a concordance (pp. 463–466) follow.

The inscriptions from the church mainly consist of the legends of paintings, numerous invocations of the God of the Archangel Michael (or of the Archangels Michael and Gabriel), and prayers left by, or for, the craftsmen who worked on the decoration of the church (I.Bawit II.8 = 43, 54 = 49, and 56 = 51 [one can probably add no. 9], mentioned already in F. Calament and H. Rochard, “Les peintres à l’œuvre à Baouît. Témoignages épigraphiques et picturaux,” in S. Brodbeck et al. [eds.], *Mélanges Catherine Jolivet-Lévy* [Paris 2016] 49–68 = *CIEN* 5.58). Inscriptions are generally written with black ink (sometimes in red paint; only a few are incised). Most of the inscriptions are in Coptic, but there are some Greek texts (edited in Coptic characters), mostly legends of paintings, such as I.Bawit II.26, 29, 34, 39, 45–47, and 71 (but see also the wooden panel no. 94, second text). We present here a selection of some of the most interesting texts.

43. I.Bawit II.8. *Ed. princ.* Calament, p. 376, Figs. 569–572, 695. Prayer addressed to πχo[ε]ις <μ>παρχηανγελος μιχαηλ “Lord of the Archangel Michael” (l. 1) to remember ηρωμ[ε] nīm εαβωεπ (read εαφωεπ) ρίσε επείτοπος ε[το]γααβ “everyone who has taken care of this holy *topos*” (ll. 2–3). Presumably this should be taken to mean the craftsmen who worked there, since the text is written by painters (ηερωκραφος, l. 5). Cf. also I.Bawit II.9, briefer, but very similar.

44. I. Bawit II.10. *Ed. princ.* Calament, p. 378, Fig. 576. *Dipinto* in black ink, which invokes the God of the Archangel Michael (ll. 1–2) and asks to remember brother Patermoute, son of brother Iof (that is, Iob; ll. 2–4). Patermoute goes on by wishing for a good ending in the midst of his brothers (ητε πρωτε εν ταραιν εβολ ενανους ρη τημτε <η>ηεσνη “that God may bring about a good ending for me in the midst of the brothers,” ll. 4–5) and that he be remembered once he dies (αω ειωανσωκ οη αρη παμνογε ηακαπε ηαιοτε “and when I pass away, too, remember me with charity, my fathers,” ll. 6–7). Below the text, Patermoute adds a line (l. 9) to state that he wrote the text himself and ask once again to be remembered. The editor dates the text to around the seventh century, that is, shortly before the proposed date for

the construction and consecration of the church (see also pp. 456–457, and, by D. Bénazeth, pp. 467–473, on the chronology of the church), but it could just as well be later.

45. I. Bawit II.20. *Ed. princ.* Calament, p. 381, Figs. 586–587. *Dipinto* in black asking God for remembrance of Mouses, son of Pale, and ἀπα ἱσακ ψοῦππε πσαλλοῦτος ἀγῶ πεζηγίτης νπιτοπος (ll. 2–4). The name ψοῦππε would be a *hapax* and there is no article before πσαλλοῦτος. From the drawing, we thus propose to read ἀπα ἱσακ ἀνοῦπ πεπσαλλοῦτος ἀγῶ πεζηγίτης νπιτοπος “Apa Isak, (son of) Anoup, the singer and exegete of this *topos*.”

46. I. Bawit II.22. *Ed. princ.* Calament, p. 382, Figs. 588–589. *Dipinto* drawn with charcoal invoking the God of Saint Michael and Gabriel and asking to have pity on the “small soul” (τακοῦι μψήχη, wrongly edited as τα κοῦι {μ}ψήχη; l. 3) of Merkoure, son of Biktor. The text is dated to the Hijra era (σαρακηνῆς τμβ ρομπε “year 342 from the Saracens,” that is, 953/954 CE; ll. 5–6).

47. I. Bawit II.31. *Ed. princ.* Calament, p. 387, Figs. 600–601. *Dipinto* drawn with charcoal asking for the blessing and forgiveness of Jesus Christ, the God of the Archangels Michael and Gabriel. The spelling is peculiar, and the text has many errors. At the beginning of l. 4, on Fig. 600, we read κο (read κω) ναῖ <εβ>ολ “forgive me” (rather than κω ναῖ εβολ). The name of the author of the text has been edited παπα <πα>ιμοῦν (ll. 4–5); note that one could also edit <α>πα παλμοῦν.

48. I. Bawit II.35. *Ed. princ.* Calament, p. 389, Fig. 607. *Dipinto* in black that mentions only a quantity of something (oil according to the editor). The text is somewhat surprising to find in a church and reads: ἑτοοῦ οὔρος ἡξήστης “four and a half *xestai*.” From the image, the *dipinto* appears to predate the decoration. Is it an account left by the craftsmen during their work in the church, intended to be covered by the paintings, but which remained visible? In this case it does not necessarily have to refer to oil, but it could also concern a product used during the work (cf. the *artabae* of plaster in another Bawit inscription, mentioned and edited in *CIEN* 5.58).

49. I. Bawit II.54. *Ed. princ.* Calament, p. 394, Fig. 629. Invocation of God to remember two plasterers (πκονιάτης; ll. 2 and 3).

50. I. Bawit II.55. *Ed. princ.* Calament, p. 395, Fig. 630. *Dipinto*, drawn in red ink, where Apa Houmise asks πνοῦτε μπανγελος ἐπίμα ετοῦααβ “God of the angel of this holy *topos*” (ll. 1–2) to remember him. At the end of the text (ll. 5–6), the formula is edited as ντεπχοε[ι]ς ην τᾶζαν εβολ [εσε]ρ<ω>α[λοῦ]. It seems more

economical to us to edit the last sequence as $\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\rho\alpha[\nu\alpha\sigma$, and hence to translate “that the Lord may bring about my end pleasing to him.”

51. I. Bawit II.56. *Ed. princ.* Calament, p. 396, Figs. 631–632. Funerary *dipinto* addressed to the God of the Archangel Michael, who is asked to have mercy on the soul of the deacon and reader Ioannes. There follows the $\nu\tau\alpha\sigma\mu\tau\omicron\nu\mu\mu\omicron\sigma$ “he went to his rest”-formula (ll. 9–10) and the date (ll. 10–14), which contains both the indiction and the Diocletian year (the number of the latter is in a lacuna, preventing the text from being precisely dated).

52. I. Bawit II.58. *Ed. princ.* Calament, p. 397, Figs. 631, 633. Funerary *dipinto* addressed to $\pi\nu\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon\ \pi\alpha\kappa\alpha\theta\omicron\varsigma$ “Good God” (ll. 1–2), who is asked to have mercy on the soul of a brother Isaak. The name $\iota\varsigma\alpha\alpha\kappa$ in l. 4 is followed by the letters $\pi\nu\omicron$, which the editor prefers to see as an abbreviation not of the Greek noun $\nu\omicron\tau\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$, but of $\pi\nu\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$. However, the fact that the word is abbreviated (with a superscript τ) clearly points to a Greek word and so we should read here $\pi\nu\omicron\tau(\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma)$ “the notary” (cf. **57** below for the same function).

53. I. Bawit II.59. *Ed. princ.* Calament, p. 398, Figs. 631, 634. Funerary *dipinto* asking God to have mercy on the soul of a singer, whose name is in a lacuna. Next come the $\nu\tau\alpha\sigma\mu\tau\omicron\nu\mu\mu\omicron\sigma$ “he went to his rest”-formula (l. 3) and the date (ll. 3–5): twenty Khoiak of the eighth indiction, followed by the Diocletian year. The hundred figure of the latter was not read by Palanque and is indecipherable on the old photograph; only the end of the figure survives: $\mu\alpha$ “41.” The editor does not offer a dating for the text, yet by combining the indiction and the Diocletian year (whose number ends in 41, so has to be 141, 241, and so on), it is possible to find the precise date of the *dipinto*. The concordance between a Diocletian year ending in -41 and an eighth indiction occurs every three centuries: on Diocletian years 141 (= 424/425 CE), 441 (= 724/725 CE), 741 (= 1024/1025 CE), and 1041 (= 1324/1325 CE). Since the church was in use between the eighth and tenth centuries, only one date is possible: Diocletian year 441 (accordingly, restore $[\gamma]\mu\alpha$ in l. 5). We can therefore date the text to 724/725, more precisely, 20 December 724. There follow the names of several monks, also singers, who are the deceased’s children (ll. 6–8). The text concludes with the simple prayer $\pi\nu\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon\ \dagger\ \chi\alpha\rho\iota\varsigma\ \nu\alpha\gamma$ “God, give them grace” (ll. 8–9).

54. I. Bawit II.82. *Ed. princ.* Calament, p. 406, Fig. 659. Funerary inscription incised in a wall outside the church (where inhumations were also found). The text begins with an invocation of “God of the spirits and Lord of all flesh” (l. 1, cf. **1** above), who is requested to have mercy on

the soul of Zacharias, son of Biktor (rendered **ΒΙΚΤΩ**), from (the monastery of ?) Apa Elijah the Syrian (cf. *CIE*N 4.12, where this text is already discussed). This is followed by the **ΝΤΑϞΜΤΟΝ ΜΜΟϞ** “he went to his rest”-formula (ll. 4–5) and the date (ll. 5–6), 9 Mecheir of the year 303 of the Saracens, that is, 4 February 916.

55. Among the inscriptions on architectural elements and furniture, we can mention the carved wooden fragments that probably belonged to the church. Most of these inscriptions have already been published. Three texts are edited here for the first time: I.Bawit II.96 (p. 437, Fig. 672; on a small wooden panel, discovered in 2003 during excavations, see also p. 368; the text reads **ΒΙΚΤΩΡ ϞΩΡ** “Biktor, [son of] Jor”), I.Bawit II.98 (p. 438, Fig. 674; a *dipinto* in red on a small column, **ΠΑΙΔΚ(ΩΝ) ΠΑΜΟΥΝ** “the deacon Pamoun”), and I.Bawit II.99 (p. 438, Fig. 675; remains of two lines of a *dipinto* in black, maybe a legend, on a fragment of a pilaster capital).

56. Bawit. Coptic inscriptions about singers. A. Avdokhin, “Singers Silently Speaking: Psalmists in Inscriptions from Late Antique Middle Egypt (Bawit),” *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 29 (2021) 607–636. Micro-historical study focused on the singers attested in the Coptic inscriptions from Bawit (cf., e.g., **45** and **53** above; the inscriptions from the North Church are not included in this study). The author shows that some singers were part of the monastic elite and, more in general, that they formed a socially cohesive group with other categories of monks. The paintings and inscriptions on the west wall of Chapel 17 are analyzed first (J. Clédat, *Le monastère et la nécropole de Baouît*, vol. 1 [Cairo 1904] 79–81). In the niche, there are paintings of five saintly monastic figures, including **ΨΑΖ ΠΑΠΑ ΠΕΨΑΛ(ΤΗΣ)** “Master Papa, the singer.” Note that **ΠΣΕΩΥΤ** (not **ΠΣΕΩΥΤ**) near one of the other figures should be translated as “the weaver” rather than “the doorkeeper” (see Crum, *Dict.* s.v. **ϞΩϞΕ**) and that the paintings do not date to the seventh century, as indicated on p. 623, but the eighth century, as shown by the dated *dipinti* below some of the figures, two of which are funerary inscriptions for monks represented (years 735, 737, and 739, see A. Delattre, “Remarques sur quelques inscriptions du monastère de Baouît,” *BIFAO* 108 [2008] 74–75). The author then turns to the inscriptions on the west wall of Chapel 28 (Clédat, *Monastère et nécropole de Baouît* 1, 157–158), which contains saintly monastic figures on either side of the niche in which Azariah appears. Among these important figures for the monastic community are two singers: **ΠΑΣΟΝ ἸΣΑΚ ΠΩΗ ΠΑΛΑΥ ΠΕΠΨΑΛΤΗΣ** (read **ΠΕΨΑΛΤΗΣ**) “Brother Isak, the son of Palau, the singer,” and **ΨΑΖ ΜΑΚΑΡΕ ΠΩΗ**

ΝΨΑΖ ΜΗΝΑ [Π]ΝΟΒ ΝΝΕΨΑΛΤΗΣ (read ΝΝΕΨΑΛΤΗΣ) “Master Makare, the son of master Mena, the chief of the singers.” The author links the presence of singers to the figure of Azariah, one of the three Hebrews in the fiery furnace, celebrated in the Song of the Three Young Men. Such a link between the representations of singers and adjacent paintings can also be made in Chapel 17, since among the figures represented on the west wall is King David, the singer par excellence, holding in his hands a codex on which Ps. 71:6 is written (Clédat, *Monastère et nécropole de Baouît* 1, 79, with Pl. 51). The author then turns to three *dipinti* not related to paintings in Room 1 (J. Maspero and É. Drioton, *Fouilles exécutées à Baouît*, vol. 1 [Cairo 1931] 49, 52, 53–54, nos. 4, 21, 27). Particular attention is given to no. 27, a prayer for protection by one Apollo who also asks for the protection of four other persons, including ΠΑΣΟΝ ΒΑΜΟΥΛ ΠΩΕΝ ΠΑΛΑΥ ΠΕΨΑΛΤ(ΗΣ) “brother Qamoul, son of Palau, the singer” (l. 10), after which the latter continues the text, in his own hand (ΑΝΟΚ ΠΙΕΛΑΧ(ΙΣΤΟΣ) ΒΑΜΟΥΛ ΠΩΝ ΠΑΛΑΥ ΠΕΨΑΛΜΟΤΟΣ “I, the most humble Qamoul, the son of Palau, the singer,” ll. 14–15). Note that Qamoul and the monk Isak from Chapel 28 have the same patronymic, Palau, a rather rare name. Moreover, a Palau the singer left his own *dipinto* in the North Church (I.Bawit II.87, *ed. princ.* Calament, p. 409, Figs. 664–665; for the edition see previous entry). Thus, we may well be dealing here with a father and his two sons. The author ends by referring to another attestation of a singer from Chapel 18 (Clédat, *Monastère et nécropole de Baouît* 1, 94, no. 2).

57. Bawit. Coptic funerary stela, 620 CE. *Ed. princ.* F. Calament, “Un exceptionnel témoin épigraphique de la dernière occupation perse en Égypte,” *Journal of Coptic Studies* 23 (2021) 1–13. Limestone epitaph (43.5 × 35.3 × 4 cm), almost complete, found reused right of the entrance to the passage between the great basilica and the so-called “South Church.” The text begins with an invocation of the Trinity (ll. 1–2), the Archangels Michael and Gabriel (ll. 2–3), the Virgin Mary (ll. 3–4), Adam and Eve (ll. 4–5), the triad of Bawit (ll. 6–8), and ΝΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΤΑΥ[ΕΡ ΠΟΥΩΨ ΜΠΝ]ΟΥΤΕ ΧΙΝ Μ[ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ] ΑΔΑΜ ΨΑΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΟΟΥ Ν[ΖΟΥΟΥ “all the saints who have done God’s will from our father Adam until today” (ll. 8–11). Next comes the ΑΡΙ ΠΜΕΕΥΕ ΝΤΕΨΥΧΗ Ν- “remember the soul of”-formula (ll. 11–12), and the names of the two deceased individuals commemorated in the stela: ΑΠΑ] ΜΑΚΑΡΕ ΠΝΟΤΑΡΙΟΣ “Απα Makare, the notary” (ll. 12–13) and ΠΑΣΟΝ ΜΗΝΑ

περσον “brother Mena, his brother” (ll. 15–16). The exceptional nature of the inscription lies in the fact that the cause of their death is indicated and that it is related to historical events: they were both “killed by the Persians” (ll. 13–14: ΝΤΑΜΠΕΡCOC ΜΟΟΥΤϞ; ll. 16–17: ΝΤΑΜΠΕΡCOC ΜΟΟΥΤϞ), respectively on 26 Phamenoth and 10 Pachon of an 8th indication (ll. 14–15 and 17–18). The text ends in ll. 18–19 with ΖΝ ΟΥΕΙΡΗΝΗ [ΝΤΕ ΠΝΟΥΤ]Ε ΖΑΜΗΝ “In the peace of God. Amen.” The event(s) referred to can be dated to the Persian occupation of Egypt (619–629 CE) and, accordingly, the two dates of death correspond to 22 March and 5 May 620.

58. Region of Asyut. Greek inscription, 5th cent. or later. I. Eichner, *Der Survey der spätantiken und mittelalterlichen christlichen Denkmäler in der Nekropole von Assiut/Lykopolis (Mittelägypten)* (Wiesbaden 2020) presents the results of a survey conducted in 2009 at Gebel Asyut el-Gharbi, about one kilometer south of Asyut. The pharaonic tombs at the site were reinhabited by monks during Late Antiquity, and the author proposes, following J. Kahl, *Ancient Asyut: The First Synthesis after 300 Years of Research* (Wiesbaden 2007) 138–140, to identify three of the tombs (Tombs II, III and IV), linked together in the Late Antique period, as the hermitage of John of Lykopolis (*h. mon.* 1; *h. Laus.* 35) himself. The ceiling in the entrance to one of the tombs indeed contains a medallion, much ruined, depicting the bust of a man with a nimbus around the head, to the right of which one can read Ἰω(άννης) (Ιω with an oblique stroke over the ω; the text is edited [p. 6, Pls. 2a–b, 3a] as Coptic ΙΩ(ΖΑΝΝΗC), but legends of paintings are usually in Greek, as it was rendered by I. Eichner and T. Beckh in J. Kahl et al., “The Asyut Project: Seventh Season of Fieldwork,” *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 39 [2010] 210). The inscription and depiction are taken to attest to the cult of this famous fourth-century monk (pp. 5–10, 111).

59. Sohag (White Monastery federation). L. Blanke, *An Archaeology of Egyptian Monasticism: Settlement, Economy and Daily Life at the White Monastery Federation* (New Haven 2019), which goes back to a doctoral dissertation at the University of Copenhagen of 2014, provides an archaeological study, along the lines of Brooks Hedstrom’s book (16 above), of the White Monastery and its subsidiaries, the Red Monastery and the women’s monastery at Athribis. Occasionally inscriptions are drawn on, such as at p. 178 those of female monastics at Athribis (see next entry).

60. Sohag (women's monastery at Athribis). Coptic *dipinti*. S.J. Davis, "Anastasia, Thecla, and Friends. Archaeological and Epigraphic Evidence from the Shenoutean Women's Monastery at Atripe," *Le Muséon* 133 (2020) 259–287. Preliminary report on the *dipinti* found, as part of the Yale project (since 2016) to record the Christian remains at the site, directly east of the temple of Repit in the refectory and pillared hall of the women's monastery that formed part of the Shenoutean federation. While it had previously been assumed that the remains belonged to the women's monastery, the texts now definitively confirm that we are dealing with a female monastic community. Two layers of ceramic deposits were encountered in the refectory, one dating to the sixth–seventh and one to the eighth–ninth centuries. A text on the east wall (REF-10 [E-05], shown on Fig. 20) is said to contain the date 594/595 CE (ⲧⲓⲁ), but from the photo we cannot discern the ⲧ and this seems rather the ending of a name (or noun) on -ⲓⲁ. A ceramic assemblage from the pillared hall also dates to the sixth–seventh centuries and, since it comes from the latest phase of use, the *dipinti* from this structure date to this time span, or even somewhat earlier.

The texts mostly consist of the names of the female monastics, accompanied by the epithets ⲩⲏⲙ "junior" and ⲕⲟⲩⲓ "little," and twice the rare noun ⲏⲣ "companion." Most interesting are the cases where we have a bit more text. On the east wall of the refectory is a *dipinto* in five lines written in black ink (REF-12 [E-07]; text given at p. 269, with Fig. 10), which begins as follows (ll. 1–3): ⲛ ⲟⲩⲁⲛⲓⲁⲓⲁ ⲩⲏⲙ ⲁⲥⲕⲁ ⲡⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲛ ⲧⲉⲧⲣⲁⲡⲉⲥⲁ ⲛⲥⲓⲱⲛ "ⲛ Ouangilia junior dispensed the water from the table of Zion" (the text then becomes fragmentary but mentions at l. 4 a second nun, ⲑⲉⲱⲕⲛⲟⲥⲧⲉ, and at l. 5, ⲡⲏⲓ "the house," possibly a unit within the monastery; note that there is a small cross above the ⲛ of ⲟⲩⲁⲛⲓⲁⲓⲁ and that the ⲁ of the name ⲑⲉⲕⲕⲁ above, REF-11 [E-06], with Fig. 12, was partly written over it, and is thus later). "The table of Zion" is taken to refer to the refectory (pp. 275–276; same phrase reconstructed in REF-06 [E-12]), but could also refer more widely to the monastic *diakonia* (for which see E. Wipszcyka, "Diaconia," in A.S. Atiya [ed.], *The Coptic Encyclopedia*, vol. 3 [New York 1991] 895–897); the sentence as a whole may be related to the distribution of water (pp. 281–282; same verbal expression in REF-10 [E-05]). There are also three longer texts from the pillared hall (the so-called "Six-Pillared Hall"). Two of these were written in black ink above each other on the south face of the southwestern pillar in a similar script, likely by the same person (6PH-21 and 22 [15-30-103/01 and /02]; pp. 274–275, with Fig. 18). The

first begins with $\alpha\text{ΝΟΚ ΤΕΝΤΑΙΤ ΤΩΨ ΝΖΑΚ}$ “I am the one who has given orders prudently” (the text then becomes unclear). The second reads:

$\alpha\text{ΝΑΣΤΑCΙΑ ΤΑΠΕ ΝΤΕΤΡΑΠΕ-}$
 $\text{ΖΑ ΠΧΟΕΙC ΕΚΝΑΖΑΡΕΖ 'ΕΡΟC Ζ̄Ν ΟΥ' \{Ν\} ΟΥΟ-}$
 $\text{ΕΙΨ Μ̄Ν ΝΕCΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΟC}$

“Anastasia, the head of the table. Lord, may you guard her for a while, along with her *oikonomoi*.” In l. 2, the scribe was put off by the last letter of ΖΑΡΕΖ and continued with ΝΟΥ (of ΖΝ ΟΥ-), then realized that he had made a mistake, and wrote the object (ΕΡΟC) and beginning of the prepositional phrase (Ζ̄Ν ΟΥ-) above the Ζ of ΖΑΡΕΖ (Davis has 'ΕΡΟC' Ν'ΕΖ̄ΝΟΥ' , but his Θ is a C , continuing a bit lower after ΕΡΟ- for lack of space due to the Α of ΤΡΑΠΕ- in the preceding line). Anastasia, assisted by her stewards, perhaps as head of the *diakonia* (see above), was apparently responsible for the administration and distribution of food, which is in line with the function of the building, adjacent to the refectory and containing storage vats (pp. 275–276). The third, again in black, is found opposite the previous two texts on the north face of a pilaster in the south wall (6PH-25 [15-30-17/01]; pp. 276–277, with Fig. 19, showing less than what is transcribed as some of the plaster had fallen down when the photo was taken). It starts with a, plausibly reconstructed, invocation of God in Greek (transcribed in Coptic font), and continues with a similar request for protection as in the previous *dipinto*, now for the whole monastic community:

$[\Theta(\epsilon\delta\omicron)\varsigma \text{ τοῦ ἁγίου Σινου-}]$
 $\text{θίου προφήτου κα[ι] ἄρχη-}$
 $\text{μανδρίτου ΕΚΝΑΖΑΡΕΖ}$
 $\text{ΑΠ̄ΝCΩΟΥΖ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΤΗΡC ΙC}$

“God of Saint Shenoute, prophet and archimandrite, may you guard our entire congregation. Jesus.” Note that the request for protection is done through the intercession of Shenoute, the patron saint of the monastery.

61. Abydos. Coptic funerary stela, ca. 6th–8th cent. Inv. ANC 54994. *Ed. princ.* J.H.F. Dijkstra, “A Coptic Funerary Stela from the North Necropolis at Abydos,” *Journal of Coptic Studies* 23 (2021) 39–46. First edition of a fragmentary Coptic limestone epitaph (21.3 × 16.8 × 3.7 cm) discovered in 2020 by the mission of the Institute of Fine Arts/New York University and Princeton in the North Necropolis. The stela is of the

litany-type and belongs to a group of four other such stelae with a certain provenance in Abydos (see *CIEN* 8.25–28). These texts are listed, with numerous textual improvements proposed in the footnotes (as already announced under *CIEN* 8.28, including the information that this stela is located in the Oriental Institute Museum, Chicago, and the reading of two additional lines). The stone is broken at the top and, in a triangular shape, at the right-hand side and bottom. The inscription begins in l. 1 with a mention of the prophets, the patriarchs, or the confessors (l. 1), then the martyrs (ll. 1–2), probably preceded or followed by the apostles. The list of monastic saints is headed by the Bawit triad (ll. 3–4) and continues with the pairs Apa Iohannes and Apa Iakob (ll. 5–6), Apa Patermoute and Apa Proou (ll. 6–7), and Apa Jeremiah and Apa Makare (ll. 7–8), then Apa Mouses (ll. 8–9), and, after a saint whose name is lost, probably an Apa Serene (l. 10). The last two lines are too damaged. The analysis of the inscription shows that there is a general pattern that is followed by all epitaphs of the litany-type group, but also a great diversity in how it is applied.

62. Region of Armant. Coptic graffiti. F. Krueger, “The Monastery of Apa Posidonios at Hermonthis and an Alleged Local Cult of ‘Poseidon’ (with Notes on ‘Kothos’ and the Supposed Fish-Cult at Latopolis),” *APF* 67 (2021) 110–137 delves into the question whether the patron saint of the *topos* of Apa Posidonius in the desert of Armant can be identified with the homonymous ascetic in Palladius’ *Lausiac History*. He leaves the question unsettled though he considers it a “distinct possibility” (p. 123). In going over the evidence for the monastery, at pp. 113–116, 119–122, the author mentions some Coptic graffiti that were presented in the author’s revised doctoral dissertation (see *CIEN* 8.54–57), reiterating that there is no evidence in the graffiti from Darb Rayayna that proves that the site was the *topos* of Apa Posidonius (or that of Apa Tyrannus). The author also rightly dispenses with the notion that the cult of Poseidon at Armant, mentioned in the Bohairic *Encomium on Pesynthius*, has anything to do with the monastery.

63. Aswan (monastery of St. Hatre). Coptic funerary stelae. L.S. Krastel, “Dayr Anba Hadra, Funerary Stelae of,” in K.J. Torjesen and G. Gabra (eds.), *Claremont Coptic Encyclopedia* (2021), online at <https://ccd.claremont.edu/digital/collection/cce/id/2177>. Brief overview of the more than 145 funerary stelae from the monastery of St. Hatre at Aswan, part of the author’s forthcoming doctoral dissertation (see also *CIEN* 8.64–71).

64. Nubia. History. G.R. Ruffini, “The History of Medieval Nubia,” in G. Emberling and B.B. Williams (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Nubia* (Oxford 2020) 759–771. A bird’s-eye view of medieval Nubian history, for a considerable part relying on epigraphical sources.

65. Nubia. Textual genres. G.R. Ruffini, “Nubian Texts, Nubian Lives,” in G. Emberling and B.B. Williams (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Nubia* (Oxford 2020) 773–786. A lively written review of Nubian text genres, including epigraphical ones, and their relevance for the reconstruction of life in medieval Nubia.

66. Nubia. Languages and language use. A. Łajtar and G. Ochoła, “Language Use and Literacy in Late Antique and Medieval Nubia,” in G. Emberling and B.B. Williams (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Nubia* (Oxford 2020) 787–805. This is by far the best introduction to the complex language situation of Late Antique and medieval Nubia that is currently available. The authors carefully map the use of the various written languages of Nubia (primarily Greek, Sahidic Coptic and Old Nubian) and their respective diffusion over time, space, and genre (domains), illustrated by useful charts. Language contact phenomena, including code-switching and borrowing, are also discussed. For Nubian Greek, see additionally *CIEN* 7.38 and 8.133.

67. Nubia. Cult of the angels. M. Łaptaś, “‘Eternal Bodies’: Images of Archangels in the Upper Parts of Nubian Buildings,” *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean* 29 (2020) 715–737. The article discusses painted representations of angels found in the higher parts of sacral buildings (staircases, vaults), in particular at Faras (cathedral; see *CIEN* 6.57–68) and Dongola (Church SWN.B.V). Several (Greek) legends and dedicatory texts are cited that identify the subjects and donors of the paintings.

68. Nubia. Graffiti. A. Łajtar, “Cultic Graffiti in Christian Nubia (Sixth to Fifteenth Centuries),” in A.E. Felle and B. Ward-Perkins (eds.), *Cultic Graffiti in the Late Antique Mediterranean and beyond* (Turnhout 2021) 159–176. A well-illustrated overview of graffiti writing in Christian Nubia. The bulk of Nubian graffiti are visitors’ inscriptions left at religious centers, mainly, from north to south, Qasr Ibrim, Faras, Sonqi Tino, Dongola, Banganarti, and Ghazali. Relatively rare in the earliest periods (sixth–eighth centuries), the practice became more popular over time, with large assemblages dating from the late Christian period, in particular at the church of

the Archangel Raphael at Banganarti, where a true “graffiti industry” was at work in the thirteenth–fourteenth centuries (see *CIEN* 8.133). Graffiti are found in all three written languages of Christian Nubia (Greek, Sahidic Coptic, and Old Nubian), yet with a clear preponderance of Greek. Code-switching is frequent, with graffiti often beginning with a word for “I” in one language only to continue in another. Beyond the mere identification of the patron of the text, the graffiti may contain prayers addressing the Godhead either directly or via locally venerated saints. The prayers often ask for specific favors, such as mercy, protection, forgiveness of sins, or enlightenment. More extensive ones quote from liturgical texts, such as hymns. Graffiti may consist of mere names of divinity or angels, which also have an apotropaic function. Angelic names in particular were often written in playful ways, using monograms, ciphers, or other visual devices. In addition to textual graffiti also figural ones are found, especially at Banganarti (cf. *CIEN* 8.134). Leaving graffiti was a widespread expression of piety, but the more sophisticated items the local clergy must have produced on order for visitors.

69. Nubia. Centers of pilgrimage. B. Żurawski, “The Topography of Power in Medieval Nubia,” in G. Emberling and B.B. Williams (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Nubia* (Oxford 2020) 807–828. The author argues for the close association of political power and religious pilgrimage in several of the main urban centers of medieval Nubia, discussing the archaeological and epigraphical evidence for Dongola, Faras, Soba East, Qasr Ibrim, Jebel Adda, and el-Zuma.

70. Nubia. Kingship. A. Łajtar and G. Ochala, “A Christian King in Africa: The Image of Christian Nubian Rulers in Internal and External Sources,” in P.M. Forness, A. Hasse-Ungeheuer, and H. Leppin (eds.), *The Good Christian Ruler in the First Millennium: Views from the Wider Mediterranean World in Conversation* (Berlin 2021) 361–379. Review of the scarce information on kingship and royal institutions in Christian Nubia, for a considerable part based on epigraphical sources (epitaphs, dedicatory inscriptions, commemorative *dipinti*). Following a presentation of the sources, the authors discuss the evidence for dynasties and kinship structure, titles and forms of address, the character and instruments of royal power, and the names borne by kings. In spite of obvious Christian and Mediterranean inspiration, Nubian kingship was deeply rooted in indigenous culture and cannot be considered a mere copy of Byzantine institutions.

71. Faras (Pachoras). Settlement history. W. Godlewski, “Pachoras: A Brief History of the Town from the 5th to the 7th Centuries,” *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean* 29 (2020) 699–713. The author cites, at p. 700, the inscription of King Tokiltoeton from Ikhmindi (DBMNT 458) as evidence for a move of the administrative center of Noubadia from Faras to Ikhmindi, following a disastrous Nile flood in the fifth century.

72. Faras (Pachoras). Funerary stelae of bishops. A. Łajtar, “Agonistic Terminology in Christian Nubia,” *U schyłku starożytności. Studia źródłoznawcze* 19 (2020) 261–273. The epitaphs of two bishops of Faras, Ignatius (*I.Varsovie* 106; 23 January 802) and Aaron (*I.Khartoum Copt.* 3; 12 December 972) look back upon their lives using agonistic terminology. Ignatius passed 55 years of his life ἐν μὲν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν τῆς μοναδικῆς βίου “in the combats of solitary life” (where for masculine βίου perhaps read πολιτείας), whereas Aaron is styled ἀθλοφόρος “prizewinner.” The article situates the background of this terminology in biblical (Pauline), monastic, and patristic literature. For agonistic terminology in (monastic) funerary epigraphy, see also *CIEN* 3.1.

73. Banganarti. Visitors’ inscriptions, ca. 13th–14th cent. A. Łajtar, “The People of Banganarti,” in B. Żurawski (ed.), *Banganarti Studies I* (Warsaw 2021) 21–48. The predominantly thirteenth–fourteenth-century visitors’ inscriptions in the Upper Church at Banganarti provide ample information about the people who left them. This article offers a meticulous review of the evidence, based on the introductory chapters of the author’s edition of the inscriptions, which should be consulted for the texts (*CIEN* 8.133). After an introduction to the site and its graffiti, it discusses the names of the pilgrims, morphologically partly Greek and biblical, partly Nubian. The Nubian *onomasticon* is notably different from that in contemporaneous documents from Qasr Ibrim in the Noubadian north, which may partly reflect different language varieties (Andaandi [Dongolawi] in the south; Nobiin in the north). Some of the Greek names are not attested elsewhere and are clearly witness to a desire for sophistication (such as Ἀγαπος, Δόξος or Ζωόδοτα). Arabic names seem to betray contacts with the Arabic speaking world around the Red Sea rather than Islamization. The near absence of women among the visitors who left inscriptions is striking. Socially, the visitors included kings and royal officials as well as local administrators, in addition to notaries and scribes and an isolated architect (οἰκοδόμος). Among clerical functions, bishops are almost totally absent, the most frequent functions being those of priest

and deacon. Lower orders may hide under the generic term κληρικοί “clerics.” Clergymen often combine various charges, including secular ones. Insofar as the churches which they served can be identified, most were situated in the Dongola region. Monastic titles are rare, even though three archimandrites left their names. Several people bear titles ending in the element -κωλ -*ikshil* (with variants), the meaning of which is unknown. The author tends to consider them as honorary titles rather than names of real offices. The entire ensemble provides a lively picture of the fairly homogeneous literate upper strata of Makourian society in the later medieval period.

REVIEWS

El-Maghrabi, Mohamed Gaber, and Cornelia Römer (eds.), *More Texts from the Archive of Socrates: Papyri from House 17, Level B, and Other Locations in Karanis (P. Cair. Mich. III)*. Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete, Beiheft 45. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2021. xviii + 214 pages. ISBN 978-3-11-071428-9 (hardcover) and 978-3-11-071452-4 (pdf).

This edition continues the publication of papyri from Karanis excavated by the University of Michigan and now kept in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. They were returned from Ann Arbor to Egypt in 1953, although they were unpublished at the time. The original agreement between the University of Michigan and the Egyptian authorities had stipulated a return of the papyri after study and publication. What was agreed upon in 1953 is unknown.¹

P.Cair.Mich. 3 follows on the heels of *P.Cair.Mich. 2*, published in 2015 and reviewed by me in *BASP* 53 (2016) 419–420. One of the editors, Cornelia Römer of the German Archaeological Institute, started working on the papyri from Karanis in the Egyptian Museum in 2010 and decided to involve Egyptian students (and budding papyrologists) in their publication. It has been a great success, because she and her co-editor Mohamed El-Maghrabi have been able to bring out editions at regular intervals of 5–6 years. This second installment is more substantial than the first (*P.Cair.Mich. 3* contains 33 texts against 25 texts in *P.Cair.Mich. 2*), and the documents are on the whole more interesting.

In the introduction (pp. ix–xviii), Römer presents data on almost 50 published and unpublished inventory numbers (sometimes comprising more than one text) now in Cairo that come from area G in Karanis, more particularly house B17 and its immediate surroundings (the adjacent streets BS1 and BS2 and the houses B2, 12, 18, and 25; see the map in *P.Cair.Mich. 2*, p. xvi). The list on pp. xii–xvii is useful and gives us some idea of what to expect next, but the use of color coding is rather distracting. Dates are given in red, literary texts in blue (but also the ledger *P.Cair.Mich. 2.12*

¹ See now B.J. Haug, “Politics, *Partage*, and Papyri: Excavated Texts Between Cairo and Ann Arbor (1924–1953),” *AJA* 125 (2021) 143–163.

on p. xvii, by mistake), and direct attestations of (family members of) Socrates (Sokrates, but Socrates is the form used throughout the volume and in this review), the protagonist of the papers deposited in B17, in orange. Texts that are too late or, in some cases, too early for Socrates himself are marked more reasonably with an asterisk. There are a few cases where fragments of one and the same text were found in different, nearby locations. This concerns a few literary texts (listed on p. xvii), fragments of which are easier to identify. The high incidence of literary texts is in any case remarkable. Socrates belonged to the village elite and dabbled in Greek literature, as we see most clearly in his use of a rare Callimachean word in the tax roll he wrote himself (see the next paragraph). Also, when papyri from Karanis were returned to Egypt in 1953, the University of Michigan did not keep all the literary texts for themselves in making the selection. My original estimate of the total number of texts found in B17 (over 200) may have to be doubled in light of Römer's findings (p. xvii).

Römer also explains in the introduction (pp. ix–xi) why they have dropped the quotation marks around “archive” in the title of this second installment. While the texts found in B17 do not constitute “the archive” of Socrates, many did once belong to his archive. What was found in B17 and can reasonably be associated with him is the part of the archive that was discarded here at some point. Did Socrates also live (or work) in B17, as I originally assumed?² I now think that B17 may have merely been used as a dump site for discarded papers of Socrates, a house adjacent to where he and his family really lived. Their residence may have been B2 instead, an even more opulent house immediately across the street BS2 from B17, where a fragment of Callimachus' *Aitia* was found. A rare word occurring in Callimachus' *Aitia* made it into the tax roll from Karanis written by Socrates (*P.Mich.* 4.223.2665), and the fragment of Callimachus' *Aitia* found in B2 may have belonged to Socrates himself rather than a neighbor.

Römer makes several odd mistakes here. She does not refer to a more recent remark of mine about the use of B17 that I flagged in my review of *P.Cair.Mich* 2,³ and she also thinks that the tax roll was found in B2 (n. 19 on p. xvi; it was purchased). In n. 2 on p. ix she claims that one of the editors of the texts in the volume (8.1) refers to the archive of Socrates

² P. van Minnen, “House-to-House Enquiries: An Interdisciplinary Approach to Roman Karanis,” *ZPE* 100 (1994) 227–251.

³ P. van Minnen, “Archaeology and Papyrology: Digging and Filling Holes?” in K. Lembke, M. Minas-Nerpel, and S. Pfeiffer (eds.), *Tradition and Transformation: Egypt under Roman Rule* (Leiden 2010) 437–474 at 463.

as a “dossier,” but on p. 31 he in fact refers to two items from B17 as being part of the “dossier” of Mikkalos. In n. 5 on p. x, Römer rejects my idea that Socrates may have lived in B2, because the πράκτωρ ἀργυρικῶν Socrates mentioned in some early second-century papyri (who therefore cannot be “our” Socrates) lived there. I do not follow the reasoning here. A papyrus mentioning the older⁴ Socrates was found in B3, not B2, and he could have been the grandfather of “our” Socrates, who was also a πράκτωρ ἀργυρικῶν. In any case, even if the older Socrates would have lived in B2, which we do not know, I do not see why “our” Socrates cannot also have lived there half a century later.

There are 33 texts in the new volume, some repeated from *P.Cair. Mich.* 2 with additional fragments. All are illustrated in color in the text, but these illustrations are sometimes too dark and not always helpful. Römer herself edits eight texts (**1, 3, 5, 7, 11, 31, 32, 33**), her co-editor El-Maghrabi four (**9, 19, 20, 21**). Fatma Hamouda edits five texts (**16, 27, 28, 29, 30**), the last four of which formed part of her 2015 M.A. thesis. Shaymaa Moussa edits three texts (**2, 4, 6**), and Rasha el-Mofatch (**13, 23**), Suzanne Soliman (**17, 22**), and Haytham Qandeil (**18, 26**) two texts each. Eman Selim (**10**), Yosra Ahmed (**12**), Seham Aish (**14**), Shereen Aly (**15**), Sahar Hassan (**24**), and Mervat Zaki (**25**) each edit one papyrus, while Graham Claytor and Noha Salem share the editing of a text preserved in two copies (**8.1** and **8.2**).

The first section (A) contains literary texts from B17 and its environment. In fact, only **7** is from B17 and only in part, because some fragments of it were found in the street BS1. The other findspots are all in Area G in Karanis: houses B2, B9, B12, and B25 and the street BS2. All texts date from the second century. **1–5** are fragments of Homer. **1–2** are from *Iliad* A, from B9 and B12 respectively. Note that **1** (*Iliad* A 91–96) is written in an early example of the *onciale romano*. Also note that **2** (*Iliad* A 159–167) shows interpunctuation in the form of ` in ll. 4 and 9 (the latter instance is not marked in the edition; in both instances, sentences with δέ follow).⁵ **3** (from B25) is from *Iliad* B (734–759) and could be part of the same roll as *P.Cair. Mich.* 2.2 (the dark illustration does not allow me to evaluate this possibility). **4** (from B2 and B12) is from *Iliad* Δ (356–399), and **5** (from B9) is from *Iliad* Φ (207–216 and 251–262). — **6** (from BS2)

⁴ Note that Römer’s note says “later” where “earlier” is expected.

⁵ Not in this form in J.-L. Fournet, “Les signes diacritiques dans les papyrus documentaires grecs,” in N. Carlig, G. Lescuyer, A. Motte, and N. Sojic (eds.), *Signes dans les textes. Continuités et ruptures des pratiques scribales en Égypte pharaonique, gréco-romaine et byzantine* (Liège 2020) 145–166.

is a fragment of Demosthenes' *De corona* (242–243).⁶ It may be from the same roll as *P.Cair.Mich.* 2.9 (from house 4034, which is not anywhere near BS2). — **7** (from B17 and BS1) adds two more fragments to *P.Cair.Mich.* 2.5, a list of comedies and satyr plays with brief *hypotheses*. New titles of plays include Κύκλωψ (B side 2, l. 4; Euripides' *Cyclops*?), Χλωρ[ίς (B side 2, l. 9), Βάχχη (C side 2, l. 5; Βάχχη is also clearly written in *P.Cair.Mich.* 2.5, here A side 2, l. 7), and Σκύλλα (C side 2, l. 7).

The next section (B) is the largest in the volume. It contains documents from B17 and its environment. **28** and **31–33** should have been included here (see below). **8.1** and **8.2** are two copies or drafts of the will of one Petheus from the reign of Domitian (82–96), therefore too early for “our” Socrates to have been involved, although they were found in B17. One of the three children of Petheus is Mikkalos, known from papyri now in Berlin and London and also from these two texts found in Karanis. **8.1** is clearly a draft, as it is written on the back of a land register; it is also left incomplete. **8.2** could be a copy, as the text and the subscriptions are all written in one, neat hand, but it is missing a relevant section (**8.1**, ll. 12–15). **8.1**, l. 5 reads ε . ἰδιατῖθεσθαι, where μεταδιατῖθεσθαι is expected (supplemented in **8.2**, l. 7). The illustration⁷ allows us to read ἐπιδιατῖθεσθαι, which must mean the same thing as μεταδιατῖθεσθαι, “dispose of afterwards.” In **8.1**, l. 12 δι[α]τίνον[τα] can safely be read, because in **8.2**, l. 17 διατείν[ου]σαν, which would give us the only alternative, cannot be read instead of διατείν[ον]τα. **8.2** is the much-improved re-edition of SB 18.13308. The note on l. 44 concerns l. 41. In l. 45 Τεν . ξως seems to start with Σ. — **9** (from BS1) is an offer to lease land from AD 126. The first hand also wrote ll. 13–14. — **10** (from B17) re-edits *P.Cair.Mich.* 2.14 from AD 130 (or 129). The text is concerned with preparations for Hadrian's visit to Egypt; a calendar of events concerning this visit is given on pp. 54–55. In ll. 12–13, the reading of the amount of φορτία of some kind of καλάμη, δι[σχίλια ὀκτα]κόσ[ι]α, seems adventurous, especially ὀκτα-. The text relates to villages in the *meris* of Themistos at the other end of the Arsinoite nome. The qualification of Hadrian as μ[εγίστου Αὐτοκράτορος] also occurs in two other texts concerning the preparation of Hadrian's visit (see the note on ll. 13–15).

⁶ On the papyrological attestations of this speech, see now L. Sardone, *I papiri del De Corona di Demostene* (Bari 2021).

⁷ Only the Cairo fragments are illustrated, but the fragment in Ann Arbor is accessible on the Michigan APIS site.

11 (from B17) is a petition to the prefect of Egypt (157–148 rather than 133–137). The petitioner is a woman [ἀ]πό (l. 4) the Arsinoite nome, but [δ]ος can also be read, in which case a much longer formula can be supplemented in the lacuna to the right of l. 3 (e.g. N.N. patronymic ἀπὸ κόμης Καρανίδου τοῦ Ἡρακλείδου μερίδ[ος] instead of N.N. τῶν | ἀ]πό. In l. 7 the correct accentuation is ἐδα[φῶν. — **12** (from B17) is a report of taxes (most likely the *laographia*, paid in installments of 8 drachmas) collected in 148/149 by the πράκτορες ἀργυρικῶν of Arsinoe, a village where tax collectors from Karanis were apparently also active. In col. 1.5 the editor reads ἡμῖν εἰς ἀρίθ(μῃσιν) νηνός (l. μηνός). I rather see ἡμεῖν εἰς ἀρί(θμῃσιν) μηνός. There is no mark of abbreviation for ἀρί(θμῃσιν) (or ἀρίθ(μῃσιν)), and the last word rather looks like μνηος (l. μηνός), but in this kind of hand it is hard to decide what was written. The *nu* of μηνός (or the *eta* of μνηος) is connected to the *omicron* with a horizontal stroke (presumably interpreted as a *nu* by the editor). In col. 2.3 Φασε[ῖτος] is much more likely than Φάσε[ως].

13 (from B17) is a lease, for two years, of six female pigs (worth 400 drachmas) by Polion son of Socrates from Sempronius Gemellus. Polion may be related to “our” Socrates (Polion’s grandfather was called Sarapas; Socrates’ father was called Sarapion), and Sempronius Gemellus may be related to Sempronia Gemella (her brother?), who may well have been the mother of Socrates’ sons. There is no need for both Polion and Sempronius Gemellus to have had some connection to “our” Socrates for this particular text to have ended up among Socrates’ papers. The name Socrates was popular also in Karanis, as elsewhere in the Arsinoite nome, because of the “echo” of the name of the principal crocodile god Souchos there (Sok-).⁸ The editor claims that the main text is written in Socrates’ own hand. I do not think so. The hand is too neat for *SB* 18.13306 and *P.Mich.* 4.223,⁹ and *SB* 6.9263, a receipt also adduced by the editor (in n. 1 on p. 73), is too cursive to be in Socrates’ hand. The lease was registered in the *grapheion* of Karanis. The note to this effect (l. 19) is written in the same hand as *P.Mich.* 6.428.19 (see the illustrations on p. 74), which

⁸ W. Clarysse, “Sokrates and the Crocodile,” *Cd’É* 94 (2019) 127–133.

⁹ The two published texts identified by me as having been written by Socrates himself: van Minnen (n. 2) 244–245 with Tafel XIIIa and XIV. R. Mascellari, *La lingua delle petizioni nell’Egitto romano* (Firenze 2021) 2.850–851, n. 9 argues that both these texts could also have been written for Socrates by a scribe, but the distance in time between the two texts (seventeen years) rather speaks against this. Also, the fact that the tax roll was not a copy written in one go (as by a scribe) but an original written in “chunks” (each covering the taxes collected over several days) throughout the year makes it seem more likely that it was the tax collector’s own handiwork.

gives us an approximate date (the middle of the second century). The text is “signed” by Sempronius Gemellus in his own hand. The rent is 30 piglets a year. The text seems to break off abruptly in l. 8: καθά(περ) ἐγ δίκης (or rather δίκη(ς); ending with an elongated *eta*) καί (the last word, crammed in on the right edge of the papyrus). Perhaps the subscription in ll. 9-17 was written first, and the main text added above it later. The scribe of the main text would in that case have run out of space, leaving the expression following καί (whatever it was) incomplete. On the back Polion is identified as a μάγειρος, “butcher” (rather than “cook”). Note that the number of pigs seems to have an overstroke there (ἑξ) and that the following word may be τιμ(ῆς), τι with a similar overstroke for *mu*. It is indeed followed by the value of the six pigs. — **14** (from B17) is a letter to the πράκτορες σιτικῶν of Ptolemais Nea (near Karanis) from the κωμογραμματεὺς of Karanis, Hieria (Nesos), Ptolemais (Nea), and other villages. The hand is shaky. In l. 1 I would read Δομιττίωι and in l. 8 Πτολεμαῖδο(ς) (the suspended *omicron* is clear, *pace* the apparatus). The date is either under Antoninus Pius (152) or Marcus Aurelius (175).

15 (from B17) is a draft of a petition to the prefect of Egypt (161–164) for an exemption of a liturgy, here the γραμματεία in the service of the πράκτορες ἀργυρικῶν of Karanis. Such a scribe would be involved in issuing receipts and such, presumably for Socrates and his associates (the text dates from 161–164). The petitioner claims to be 77 years old and thus to be disqualified from the liturgy. He also uses additional arguments, probably a weakness in his arm (ll. 11–12) and poor eyesight, which is hinted at in ll. 16–17. The text as reconstructed by the editor contains many hypothetical readings and supplements and should therefore be treated with suspicion. Note that ταύτην in l. 12 is deleted by dots above each separate letter. In ll. 14–15, δι’ ὅλων τῶν [ἐντολῶ]ν σου is especially suspect. I rather expect a reference here to the time the liturgy of the γραμματεία is going to take: perhaps δι’ ὅλων τῶν [ἡμερῶ]ν, “day in, day out”). That leaves σου, which I would take with what follows: σου ἀπλῶς τὴν ὑπηρεσίαν, “serving you in general,” with σου being an “objective” genitive (as in *SB* 1.3924.43–44: τὰ δὲ ὑμέτερα [*l. ἡμέτερα*] ἐν ὑπ{π}ηρεσίᾳ [to be read instead of the unintelligible ὑποπαρετῖα] ἐστὶν τῆς ἐκείνων θεϊότητος, “I serve their [Tiberius’ and Livia’s] divinity”). What follows in l. 17, ἔτι τε τοῦτον μὴ εὐορκεῖν, is perhaps more general than the editor assumes; rather than “furthermore for a person not being able to fulfill his oath” I would say, “and that this person [who also has poor eyesight] cannot even take an oath” (of whatever kind in support of himself or another). Below the text appears a note related to the text on the back of

the papyrus. I do not see ὕ(πέρ) in the first line there. The third line, [π]αρά (δραχμῆν) α τίθ(ενται) (δραχμαὶ) β presumably means, “instead of 1 drachma, 2 drachmas are noted” (rather than, “one drachma less; two drachmas were paid”), and if this indeed relates to the text on the back, it gives us an idea of what kind of information (amounts of drachmas) is missing to the right there – and what the text is for: money taxes for αἰγιαλοῦ land. — **16** is written on the back of **15** (thus after 161–164) and contains a list of individuals (presumably paying money taxes on αἰγιαλοῦ land), including a veteran of *legio II* (note that [is missing to the right of l. 28). For Kastor son of Ptolemaios (l. 5) the commentary should have referred to the note added on the front of the papyrus, below **15**, which concerns a Kastor son of Ptolemaios (the two sides were edited by different editors).

17 (from B17) is just a date under Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (after 161 or 167). — **18** (from BS1) is a declaration of undated land from 167–169. Three more such declarations from B17 and one more from BS1 had already been published (see n. 1 on p. 103). Line 1 is written *in ecthesi*. The photo is cut off at the bottom, where ll. 14–15 should appear. — **19** (from B17) is a receipt for ναύβιον κατοίκων and ἀριθμητικὸν κατοίκων paid διὰ Σωκράδους, who may well be “our” Socrates (no patronymic or official title follows the name). The date is 168/169. — **20** (from B17) is a receipt for rent for a παραδεισοφοινικῶν (written παραδισιφοινικ[ῶνος] on the papyrus) from AD 169. The lease is guaranteed for ten years, apparently starting with the year over which the rent has just been paid (ll. 12–15). Note that Παρθικ(ῶν) in l. 17 is abbreviated (not: Παρθικ[ῶν]) and that in ll. 18–19 Πρώ[ταρχος] does not fill the lacuna to the left of l. 19 and therefore must have been followed by a patronymic and more. — **21** (from B17) is an excerpt from a census register from after AD 188. Ages are given for certain members of a family with metropolite (fiscally privileged) status for year 14 as well as for the preceding year 13, the year of the census. I would print ιγ (ἔτει) rather than ιγ (ἔτους) in such cases (the individuals were aged so-and-so “in year 13”). Also note that the parallel given for σταθμός in the note on l. 3 on p. 125, *P.Ryl.* 2.102.8, should be understood differently: σταθ(μοῦ) κδ and in l. 14 there σταθ(μοῦ) λς are not references to numbered σταθμοί but should be understood as σταθ(μούχου), and κδ and λς should be taken with what follows, μέρους οἰκίας, “owner of 1/24 (or 1/36) of a home.” The illustration is printed too small; the blank right half could easily have been left off to allow the left half to be printed at double the current size.

22 (from BS1) is an offer, from AD 192, to lease 9.5 arouras of arable land for three years. The owner is an Antinoite citizen. In the lacuna in l. 10 it should be ἀρτάβαις to match αῖς in l. 9, and if the amount of seed matched the number of arouras exactly (1 artaba of seed for 1 aroura), (ἡμισεία) would have followed. — **23** (from B17) is a second-century list of vineyard workers (accentuate ἐργατῶν in l. 1), apparently working in vineyards owned by Ptolemaios and one Socrates, who is perhaps “our” Socrates. The editor corrects καθαρίζων in l. 2 to καθαρίζ<όντ>ων, but the text could switch to the nominative here: καθαρίζων ξκασ(τος) (rather than ξκασ(τον)), “each cleaning.” What follows must be the numbers of vines the laborers in the vineyards each clean on a given day, so instead of δ ἄμπ(ελώνων) (each “of the 4 vineyards”) I prefer λ ἄμπ(έλους), “30 vines.” — **24** (from B17) is a second-century list of cleruchs of the 94th cleruchy. In line 3, Πλαλα may be a nickname or an occupational designation (as λαχανοπώλης is in l. 2), because if it were a papponymic, τοῦ should have preceded, as Παυλείνου is in l. 4. — **25** (from B17) is a report of proceedings of the βουλή and dates from the early third century. The editor prints alternative readings in or right next to the text. — **26** is a letter from the κωμογραμματεὺς of Karanis, Sarapion, to the scribes of the capital of the Arsinoite nome. Sarapion could be “our” Socrates’ son. The text is from the late second/early third century.

27–30 are in a section of their own (C), documents from other locations in Karanis. In fact, **28** is from B25, across the street from B17, and should have been included in section B. The others are indeed from other locations. The asterisk following their location number indicates that the papyri were found below the floor. **27** (from 264/265) is an *epikrisis* application by a father to secure metropolite status for a son. The addressees are two otherwise unknown officials – the first just happens to share his name and alias with a contemporary from Oxyrhynchus. The reading βιβλ[ιοφύλαξι in l. 2 is wrong. It should be Βησα[(Βησά[μμωνι or Βησα[ρίωνι), the name of the second addressee. In l. 1, the supplement Μάρκῳ Αὐρηλίῳ should be in the plural, and it may have been just Αὐρηλίοις, because Μάρκῳ is based on the Oxyrhynchite homonym. What precedes Βησα[is part of the title of the first official, πρὸς (in charge of) ... κ]αὶ τοῖς [. . .]στατείοις (the editor suggests [ἐπι]στατείοις). — **28**, a third-century account from B25, has the same ratio between artabas and loaves of bread as the contemporary Heroninus archive: 1 artaba yields 30 ζεύγη of bread. — **29**, a third-century list of property, mentions an οἰκία τριπυργιαία (l. 7), the latter a rare adjective. — **30** is a late-third/early-fourth-century sale of a house in the Sekneptyniou neighborhood

in the capital of the Arsinoite nome. In l. 6, ἐκ πλήρου[ς is confusingly printed ἐκ πλήρου [c.

31–33 are in a section (D) of their own, called “semi-literary texts from house B17 and its environment.” There is good reason to abandon the category “semi-literary” altogether.¹⁰ In this case, the texts are all documentary, just as the ones from B17 and its environment in section B, where they should have been included, along with **28**. **31** is an oracle question to the god Soxis-Pnepheros found in B9. It is the earliest text in the volume (dated to 21/22). Correct the accent on Ἀλεξάνδρεαν in l. 3. — **32** is a fragment of a second-century letter, found in the street BS1. — **33** is the draft of a second-century letter from one Sarapion, written on the back of another, unpublished text. Whether Sarapion was a goldsmith depends on how one interprets ll. 15–16 (ποήσω ... ψ]έλια χρυσία β; another verb governing ψ]έλια χρυσία β may have intervened). Sarapion could conceivably be Socrates’ father or son. The papyrus was found in B17.

A bibliography of works cited (for Takoma read Tacoma) and Greek indices conclude the volume. Ἀντινοεύς and Ἑλλήν are listed under official terms and titles, where one would not expect them.

Thanks to the efforts of Römer and El-Maghrabi and their Egyptian team we now have more texts “from” the archive of Socrates at our disposal and, to quote from Römer’s introduction (p. x), “we would like to have more.” This could well be our motto as papyrologists as we press on.

University of Cincinnati

Peter van Minnen

¹⁰ See P. van Minnen, “Is There a Class in This Text? The Authority of Interpretive Communities in Papyrology,” in J.-L. Fournet and A. Ricciardetto (eds.), *Catégories en papyrologie* (forthcoming).

Marek Dospěl, *Ostraka and Other Inscribed Material from Bir Shawish, Small Oasis: Excavation Seasons 2005 and 2007*. American Studies in Papyrology 54. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2020. xvii + 212 pages. ISBN 978-0-9799758-7-5.

This is the publication of inscribed material that was found in Bir Shawish (Small Oasis) by the Czech archaeological expedition during the 2005 and 2007 excavation seasons. The book is the author's reworked PhD dissertation in Egyptology that was submitted at Charles University in 2015. The book publishes 50 ostraca, 10 inscribed vessels, and 26 decorated lids. All items are accompanied by black and white images, which are unfortunately often too dark to aid in checking readings. The expected availability of images online may make checking readings more feasible.

The first, very brief chapter introduces the book and sets out its structure. The second chapter introduces the larger region to which Bir Shawish belongs, the Bahariya Oasis, known as the Small Oasis in antiquity. Section 2.3 credits the work and scholarly contributions of Ahmed Fakhry (1905–1973) whose excavations from 1938–1945 created the first maps of the Bahariya oasis. The southern part of the small oasis is a proper oasis itself, known as the el-Hayz Oasis. Various archaeological surveys have identified a dozen sites within this oasis that show evidence of human activity. Archaeological material from Roman and Byzantine periods dominates the evidence unearthed so far. The final section of the chapter introduces the site where the finds were made, Bir Shawish. Except for one ostrakon, all materials published in this volume come from one structure, identified as House 3 by the archaeologists. This house measured 37 by 23 meters and consisted of 3 floors and a rooftop, containing a total of 33 rooms.

Chapter 3 is the chapter that is devoted to the publication of the ostraca and the other inscribed materials. It begins by introducing the archaeological context (section 3.1). The archaeological reports have not been published yet, so the author stresses that his discussions are preliminary. He also stresses the lack of precise coordinates for many of the textual finds, and even claims that some “could be misattributed to the wrong room.” As somebody who has been working with legacy data from the University of Michigan Karanis excavations and misattribution of finds to different stratigraphic levels,¹ I find this fascinating: it would seem that 90 years of continued development of archaeological practice may not make much difference after all. The author makes the claim (p. 27) that

¹ See, most recently, *P.Mich.* 21, p. 8.

most objects come from primary contexts and habitation layers, acknowledging “the limitations of the collected archaeological data.” I think that this claim moves beyond the available evidence and needs some more careful thinking. The author, of course, is not helped by the fact that the archaeological reports have not been published yet, but the little archaeological evidence presented in the book does not support his claim of primary contexts for the inscribed materials presented here.

Then follow the editions of the documents, beginning with the 50 ostraca. Given the attention given to the archaeological context it is quite disappointing that the texts are presented not by their findspot, but in a more traditional way, by their taxonomy. There is also no attempt to present texts in archives or dossiers notwithstanding the many connections that can be made between documents that are now presented quite far from one another in the book. I am wondering whether a more focused discussion and analysis of the 15 texts mentioning Abraham, son of Jakob (many receipts addressed to this man), from an archival perspective could yield further information.

The ostraca are all difficult to read and interpret, and the editor is to be commended for teasing out as much information from these short and often fragmentary documents as he does. The commentary is at places uneven, with no information given to help the reader in places where such information would be needed. For example, in ostrakon no. 8.3–4, we find acknowledgement of receipt of 1 artaba of wheat, “for the fellow citizens” (ὁ(πέρ) | πολ(ιτῶν)). Some indication of who the author thinks these “fellow citizens” are, and why Herakleides is paying for them, would be welcome. But perhaps there is an easier solution. The image appears to have πολυ(), perhaps a personal name Polykrates, Polydeukes, or similar, which, interestingly, would fit the “Oasite archaisms in name-giving” that the author addresses on pp. 169–170. Ostrakon no. 15 shows a rough breathing with the article ὁ in line 6, which the author notes, but does not discuss. This would be a good place to provide parallels or further literature about the use of such marks in documentary texts. In ostrakon no. 18, the word “harvest” is left out of the translation.

The second part of chapter 3 presents the other inscribed material, beginning the numbering of items anew. The author distinguishes *dipinti* (ink on amphora), *graffiti* (incised inscriptions, either before or after firing), and *opercula*, or ceramic lids, many of which contain only decorative elements, largely vegetation and decorative motifs.

The fourth chapter summarizes and discusses some of the aspects that are illustrated by the new material. The author has selected dating (4.1), commodities and measures (4.2), administration and management (4.3),

personal names (4.4), religion (4.5), and military presence (4.6). The ostraca here confirm the role of cotton in oasite agriculture, which the author summarizes on pp. 156–158. A majority of the ostraca appears to be dealing with people involved in an estate, and the author summarizes what the texts show on pp. 162–164. A very brief fifth chapter (pp. 181–183) serves as a conclusion to the volume and allows the author to revisit thoughts he expressed in a 2013 publication.² At the end follow 5 appendices (4 useful concordances and a table presenting the material according to archaeological context), a bibliography, an index of documents discussed, and the usual indices.

University of Michigan

Arthur Verhoogt

² M. Dospěl, “Written, Inscribed and Some Decorated Material from Bir Shawish, El-Hayz Oasis,” in M. Dospěl and L. Suková (eds.), *Bahriya Oasis: Recent Research into the Past of an Egyptian Oasis* (Prague 2013) 91–112.

Lajos Berkes, *Vom byzantinischen zum arabischen Ägypten. Neue dokumentarische Papyri aus dem 5. bis 8. Jahrhundert (P.Heid. XI)*. Studien und Texte aus der Heidelberger Papyrussammlung 2. Heidelberg: Heidelberg University Publishing, 2021. xi + 171 pages + 33 plates. ISBN 978-3-96822-097-0 (ebook), ISBN 978-3-96822-098-7.

The above title can be downloaded for free, most easily I found (19 October 2021), by accessing [heiUP_OAPEN_Berkes_book.pdf](#). The volume presents 43 papyri (one more than the advertised 42) – or, more strictly speaking, since six of them are two-sided, 43 numbered texts, **459–501** inclusive, from 37 different papyri, carefully described, well edited, and finely illustrated. The editions have been drawn predominantly from the collection in Heidelberg, supplemented by selections from Bremen (1), Giessen (1), Leipzig (2), and Michigan (4). The description, p. 15, of the acquisition of two of the last-named, P.Mich. inv. 3519 and 3566 (now *P.Heid.* 11.488 and 496), quotes the assertion from the APIS catalogue to account for both: “The papyrus was purchased from Nahman in 1925 and came to the University in October 1926 as a gift of Oscar Weber and Richard H. Webber (of Detroit).” This repeats an error previously corrected.¹ In truth, Richard and Oscar Webber (*sic*) were two of four brothers, the others being James B. and Joseph L., nephews and heirs of J.L. Hudson, founder of a once fabulously successful department store. Oscar Webber was prominent enough on his own as businessman and philanthropist to warrant a frontpage obituary in the *Detroit Free Press*, 24 May 1967, followed next day by an obituary in the *New York Times* (p. 47).²

This hardly matters when it comes to the substance of the book under review, in which its editor-author, Lajos Berkes, orders his papyri principally by genre (“Gattung”), secondarily by date. Whether the axiom “il n’y a pas d’histoire sans dates” is strictly true,³ the latter organizing principle raises some instructive difficulties for historians of late Byzantine-early Arab rule in Egypt, since only one selection, **462**, a Coptic legal document, comes with a secure absolute year date, by the era of Diocletian, useful obviously for its own assignment to 787/788 while also providing a *terminus*

¹ J.G. Keenan, *APF* 59 (2013) 385–386, regarding P.Mich. inv. 3470 (“Undertaking under Oath for a Military Recruit”), and C.M. Sampson, *BASP* 51 (2014) 59, n. 2, regarding P.Mich. inv. 3676 (“An Assessment from Karanis”).

² Press photo of the four brothers in their mature years: <https://digitalcollections.detroitpubliclibrary.org/islandora/object/islandora%3A146437> (accessed 12 August 2021). Joseph is the President Harry S. Truman lookalike.

³ From Cl. Lévi-Strauss’s *La Pensée sauvage* as excerpted in Antoine Proust, *Douze leçons sur l’histoire*² (Paris 2010) 101.

post for its verso, **472**, a Coptic account, which must therefore be the latest document in the volume. Another, **459**, a Greek-Arabic protocol, dated to 685–705 by the rule of the amir ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn Marwān, serves the same purpose, though less precisely, for itself and its verso, **489**, a Coptic letter. For the rest, the papyri, when bearing dates, give them only by year within an indiction cycle, a reminder that, however well this served tax records and other purposes of their time, its use to historians in establishing absolute year dates and sequencing is limited. This is true even when a document is associated with an archive, as in the case of a list of donkeys, **466**, perhaps related to the archive of Senouthios, *anystes* (see *CPR* 30), therefore perhaps dating to 647, or with an archive-cum-dossier like that of Menas son of Sarapammon (**473–476** with the editor’s comments, pp. 73–74 and the chart on 76–77). The default method for dating is, here as always, by palaeographical comparison.⁴ In the end, while the book’s title and sub-title may seem to privilege an order by chronology rather than typology and perhaps to imply a balanced spread from the fifth to the eighth centuries, there are only five texts assignable to the fifth or sixth century; the rest are all from the seventh or eighth – in other words, the period to whose papyri Carl Wessely was the first to devote sustained attention during his long but underrated career.⁵ The late papyri, especially the Greek tax lists and receipts with their spindly hands, radical abbreviations, symbols, and superscriptions (especially noteworthy in this regard: **471**, a list of tax payments full of Arabic names in Greek transliteration), are a more than ordinary challenge to decipherment. Berkes manages these splendidly, at times miraculously.

As for the primary, that is, typological arrangement: After the protocol (**459**), there are legal documents (**460–462**), accounts and lists (**463–472**), tax receipts (**473–485**), and letters (**486–491**), in turn susceptible to sub-categorization. The receipts, for example, are principally those of the “ἔσχον διὰ-Typs” (**473–482**, cf. p. 72), with four of them (**473–476**) coming from the archive of Menas son of Sarapammon. This kind of grouping is advantageous in bringing to the fore comparisons of language, format, and text design and leads to the interesting observation that a short tax register

⁴ This can pose its own special difficulties when unsupported by other evidence, especially when the stakes are high, a salutary lesson throughout Brent Nongbri’s *God’s Library: The Archaeology of the Earliest Christian Manuscripts* (New Haven 2018) – but that is not so much the case here.

⁵ Recent sketch of the scholarly issues involving these and their enveloping centuries, going beyond its religion-specific title: L. Berkes, “Introduction: A Papyrological Perspective on Christians and Muslims in Early Islamic Egypt,” in L. Berkes (ed.), *Christians and Muslims in Early Islamic Egypt* (Durham, NC 2022) 1–9.

like **468** (see its introduction) may provide data for compilation of a later and obviously more comprehensive “Abrechnung.” Conversely, and even more certainly, any account bearing in its heading the label ἔχθεις in reference to tax arrears (“Ruckstand,” **465.1n.**) is likely to have been extracted from a more comprehensive tax list of earlier date.⁶ Likewise extracted from official accounts, but as file copies in the form of receipts, are what the editor calls “Buchungsbescheinigungen” (**493–494** with introduction, p. 123). Among the receipts **474** is unusual in that it is not issued to a single taxpayer; instead, it records payments made by five persons “through Menas the soldier.” One might guess that this receipt, written with the fibers, was created for Menas’s purposes, not the taxpayers’, and that the five taxpayers each received their own separate receipts, now lost, written *transversa charta* against the fibers.⁷ If so, **474** was not a standalone document but a “node” within a network of receipts.

The tradeoff for the advantages of the typological arrangement is the occasional splitting of individual papyri as artifacts. This is not so noticeable when pairs of texts are printed in numerical succession with shared physical descriptions and introductory cross-references, as in the case of **464–465**, accounts in Greek on two sides of one papyrus; but the distancing effect is obviously more pronounced when editions from one papyrus are positioned far apart, as in the example involving **459**, the Greek-Arabic protocol previously mentioned, and **489**. Grouping of the last ten pieces, in a departure from the typological principle as primary, relies on their associations with the *logisterion* of Hermopolis (**492–494**), the monastery of Apa Apollo in Bawit (**495–499**), and an Arab official named ‘Abd Allāh b. S‘ad/As‘ad (**500–501**).

Precise physical descriptions for the papyri, in smaller type, are provided between their introductions and texts. Like the papyri themselves these have a certain cumulative interest that transcends their interest as single items. Most of the texts were written *transversa charta*, a practice that became standard in the sixth century and, for receipts, as remarked above, a clue that they were originals. Although roughly half the papyri have backs that are blank (e.g., **463**) or carry only summary labels (**460**, **480**, **492–494**) or addresses (**486**, **488**, **490**, **491**), the rest show signs that papyrus as a writing material was in these times prone to significant “reuse

⁶ See now also the introductions to *P.Yale* 4.164 and *P.Aegyptus* Cent. 1.44.

⁷ See on this phenomenon J.-L. Fournet, “Trois nouveaux reçus d’annone civile transportée par le monastère de la Métanoia (Égypte, VI^e siècle),” *JJP* 50 (2020) 109–147, esp. the observations at 111, n. 10.

and recycling.”⁸ Reverse sides were used for texts unrelated to those on the front, sometimes in a different language, for example, **481 + 490**: a Greek receipt for *demosia* + a Coptic translation of a Muslim official’s Arabic letter; **484**, a Greek receipt for *demosia* on the verso of an Arabic letter; **498 + 499**: a Greek letter + a Coptic epistolary instruction (“Anweisung”) of the ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΖΑΙ-type. Some existing pieces were cut for reuse (**459, 461, 478, 490, 498, 499**). Protocols (**459, 467, 478**) were not discarded but repurposed – for a list, itself reused for writing exercises in Coptic and Greek (**467**), a Coptic letter (**489**), a poll-tax receipt (**478**).⁹ Fronts could be washed out and reinscribed, as in the case of a Coptic letter (**496**) that overwrites another Coptic document (cf. also perhaps **497**). From these instances the impression one gathers, unless this is a fluke peculiar to this selection of papyri, is that protocols and other already inscribed papyri in the seventh-eighth centuries were more likely to serve as scrap than in earlier times. And if this is true (it is by no means certain),¹⁰ one is prompted at least to ask whether this is related to a supply-side problem, e.g., a decline in the availability of materials or in manufacturing expertise,¹¹ that paved the way for the eventual victory of paper as the main medium for writing in medieval Egypt.¹² Meanwhile, the physical descriptions also hint at why some papyri, and not just those in this edition, have survived only in fractions as left or right halves (**496; 495**),¹³ or as upper or lower quadrants from the left or right side (**501; 460, 498; 500; 487**). It is sometimes apparently, sometimes certainly, a result of their ancient, especially central vertical and horizontal folding and creasing.¹⁴ On the contrary, survivors of central vertical folds in this volume include the tax receipt **492** and the “Buchungsbescheinigungen” **493** and **494**.

⁸ Cf. Marina Rustow, *The Lost Archive: Traces of a Caliphate in a Cairo Synagogue* (Princeton 2020), Index references, p. 586.

⁹ Cf. the introduction to *P.Aegyptus Cent.* 1.44.

¹⁰ Contrast the proportion of space over text in many of the Qurrah papyri.

¹¹ On the contrary, W.M. Malczycki, “The Papyrus Industry in Early Islamic Era,” *JESHO* 54 (2011) 185–202, based on surviving papyrus roll protocols, presumes a continuing constancy of production.

¹² Note, by the way, and despite the commentary note ad loc., the possible mention of parchment as writing material in **496.2**, cf. *P.Berl.Sarisch.* 18.6. I am at first blush not persuaded that it was its prestige value (thus Rustow, *Lost Archive* [n. 8] 135–137) that launched paper to its eventual triumph. For an economic explanation: M. Shatzmiller, “The Adoption of Paper in the Middle East, 700–1300 AD,” *JESHO* 61 (2018) 1–32.

¹³ A typical example: *P.Messeri* 48, a private letter; left half survives intact, right half lost.

¹⁴ Contrast **460** in which the left and right lower quadrants survived a midpoint vertical fold.

Whatever the causes, it is only partly owing to the survival of most of them as fragments that no one text in this edition is so prominent as to demand attention beyond the others. In other words, none fully qualifies for the mode of presentation recently recommended in the pages of *BASP*.¹⁵ Nonetheless, there are definite points of interest. For example, one of the two-sided papyri has on one side, **461**, a declaration to the emir of Hermopolis, in Coptic with Greek prescript, regarding payment of *demosion* for a fourth indiction, and on the other, **482**, a Greek receipt for *diagraphon* paid through the dyers of the Blue [circus faction] quarter of the same city. The editor himself (p. 35) singles out **463** for its terminology regarding village administration in Late Antiquity. **496** mentions “the soldier of our lord, the most honorable *dux*” (ΠΜΑΤΟΙ ΝΠΕΝΔΟΕΙΣ ΠΕΥΚΛΕ(ΕΣΤΑΤΟΣ) ΝΔΟΥΞ), presumably of the Thebaid. **501** is a another Fayyūm tax account ordered alphabetically by villages, χωρία, in a familiar handwriting style, valuable, based on their respective contributions, for assessing the relative importance of the villages listed.¹⁶ At the same time, the villages themselves, just by being named, add proof of the Fayyūm’s continued regional viability even after the Late Antique contraction of its agricultural reach.¹⁷

The commentaries, by design (cf. “Editorisches,” p. 1, on discussion in general), are refreshingly kept to their essentials, except for the long note on κλου(β)ιον, **460.13**, a poorly known measure with dubious remains in the line in question (Tafel II). In the bibliography, p. 7, under Gascou, *Les grands domaines*, read 1–90 for 160–175. In the translation of the verso of **460** (p. 24) read 355 for 455. The top and bottom edges of **464**, to judge from Tafel VI, seem to show signs of burning,¹⁸ perhaps accounting for the raggedness of those edges of the papyrus; such burning, if that is what this is, is likewise apparent at the right edge of its other side, **465**. A Greek tax receipt with Coptic subscription, **478**, has added visual interest for preserving its seal (Tafel XVI). In the introduction to **486**, p. 103, 4 lines up, a comma is needed between “boats” and “dikes” in the

¹⁵ J.G. Keenan, “Papyri Tell Tales: Creating Narratives from Documents,” *BASP* 57 (2020) 277–296.

¹⁶ For geographical clustering instead of alphabetical listing of Fayyūm tax units, see most recently L. Berkes and B. Haug, “Two Topographical Tax-Registers in Greek from Eighth-Century Fayyūm,” *BASP* 58 (2021) 187–201.

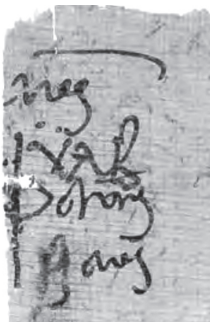
¹⁷ In its central as opposed to its outer portions, a major theme in Brendan Haug, *Garden of Egypt: Irrigation, Society, and the State in the Premodern Fayyūm* (Ann Arbor, forthcoming).

¹⁸ Cf. T.M. Hickey and J.G. Keenan, “At the Creation: Letters of Grenfell, 1897,” *AnalPap* 28 (2016) 380, n. 152.

quotation from Roger Bagnall. In **494.2** the writing between Καλλινίκου and ὀγδόης (Tafel XXVII), identifying the tax paid for, is tinier than the writing before and after it, perhaps therefore a later insertion into a left-open blank.

Texts that invite closer looks are **463** and **487**.

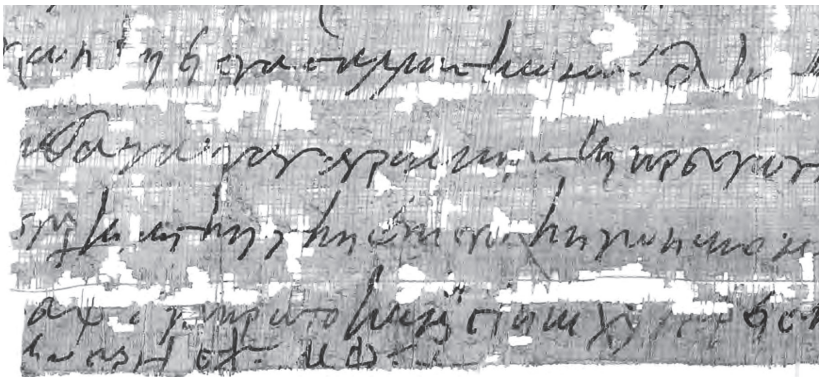
463 (Tafel V), briefly mentioned above, is a tax account organized by villages of the Hermopolite nome, with sub-headings for officials of Kalamine and Sentryphis (the other villages named are Psobthis and Phbu). The payments as presented are in full solidi, the majority in single digits and all without fractions or carats. Since amounts for four of the entries (col. 2.3, 4, 8, 9) have been left blank, the text qualifies as a “draft” (“Entwurf”). In all other entries, after each number there follows a word that has resisted confident decipherment despite its seventeen appearances, often with all ink clear and intact; the editor reasonably settles on εὔστα-θ(μα), “full-weighted,” variously dotted, as defining the solidi in question (col. 1.1n.). Unrecorded in either transcription or critical apparatus are the horizontal strokes written above most instances of this abbreviated word (exceptions at col. 2.1–2, 12, and perhaps at col. 1.1). Such notation sometimes (col. 1.3–9) takes the form of a short stroke over the abbreviated word’s last letters, sometimes (cols. 1.10, 2.5, 7, 10–11) the form of a stroke blanketing almost, or even more than, the whole word – extending rightward and curling downward so flamboyantly in col. 1.1 as to suggest it is possibly to be construed, not as having been written above in association with the word below, but as standing on its own line and representing some version of οὗτως (cf. **464.2**, **465.2**, **466** passim, **469.2**), perhaps here to be printed as οὔ(τω)ς.



In col. 2.2 a large δ, for the number of solidi, covers a partly washed-out *stigma*. The editor notes a comparable substitution, δ for ε, at col. 2.7,

while there seems to be yet another such rubbing out and replacement at col. 1.4, where the integers are currently printed as ιβ. Nevertheless, in its position at the very left edge of the papyrus after a break caused by a vertical fold, the diaeresis over *iota* reported in the critical apparatus is hard to make out; if present, its left dot was in the lacuna left of the break and its right dot neither spaced apart from the letter nor written as distinctly as that found in col. 2.6 (ιη). There is, besides, a small but telling separation between *iota* and *beta*, which suggests that the “iota” is to be construed not in association with *beta*, but as the right leg of an N-shaped *nu* in the abbreviation ν̣ as throughout the text; thus, here, and also in lines 2 and 3, read ν[ο(μίσματα)].¹⁹ The scribe then began *beta* but rubbed it out and replaced it with an integer that is legible but unusual looking. It is perhaps an imperfect attempt to write the symbol for 2/3 (ϖ) in correction for 2, spatially compressed by the desire to overwrite *beta* as neatly as possible, using only one u-stroke at the top instead of two.

487 (Tafel XXII) is a sixth-century Hermopolite letter to a lordly recipient (δεσποτεία, 5, cf. 7) concerning taxation, mentioning village headmen (πρωτοκομῆται, 2, cf. 9) and a soldier (στρατιώτην, 4). The lower left quadrant offers opportunity for modest if sometimes incomplete or imperfect improvements.



Line 6 ἰλων καὶ εἰς τὰς ἄλλας κόμας: The commentary suggests ἄλλῃλων or μέλλων, but the trailing phrase, “and to the *other* villages,” establishes that before καὶ at least one village was identified by name and

¹⁹ This stroke, by the way, looks like a continuous vertical stroke extending down from line 2 through line 4, but it must be broken between the three relevant lines; the left bulge of *delta* in line 3 is written across it.

the only Hermopolite village ending in -λων is Μαγδῶλα Βουκό]λων, a sometime tax-collecting hub for its district.²⁰

Line 7 ἐντα]ῦθα ταῦτα τὰ γράμματα: What has been read as *theta* seems instead to be a gigantic, roughly C-shaped and right-slanting final *sigma* overwriting the right half of another letter (*epsilon*?). The line's first visible *alpha* does not then conclude the preceding word; it initiates the one following, αὐτῷ, whose ω (for the editor's αυ) is certain. Around this certainty the other traces must be accordingly adjusted. Suggested revision:] . . ζ αὐτῷ ταῦτα γράμματα. The *upsilon* in ταῦτα is hard to discern, a tiny blip at most; alternatively, but less satisfactorily (it implies a second but this time uncorrected error), read τὰ {τα} γράμματα.

Line 9] . ουφ[.] . . τοῦ πρωτοκωμή(του) Σινβίχε(ως): The stroke forming the circular component of *phi* leaves off before completing from below the upward stroke of what should have been the circle's right arc, just short of a horizontal break in the papyrus. The result looks like *psi*, not written upright (contrast *phi* in line 10) but with a significant and perhaps telling rightward tilt. Preceding this is what looks like a large *alpha*, suggesting a reading of] ,Αψ (1700; cf. ,Βφ in line 10). If this is correct, the preceding lacuna should end with σί(του) (ἄρτ.).]. Matters thus resolved would, however, leave πρωτοκωμή(του) in a syntactical limbo, an ambiguity that could be resolved by reinterpreting the right-slanting *psi* as the symbol for ὑπέρ. In its printing, πρωτοκωμή(του) has been treated as if its abbreviation were indicated by a suspended *eta*. If this is correct, indication of the word's having been written in abbreviation has been doubled because the right leg of μ extends with a backward curl that in and of itself should sufficiently signify abbreviation. Something else must therefore have been intended in the short above-the-line insertion. Offhand, it looks like a tiny version of καί found elsewhere in the text and closest in its drawing to the one in line 7 after γράμματα. Before πρωτοκωμή(του) there is not enough space for τοῦ αὐτοῦ, but α[ὐ]τοῦ looks just possible, all of which would if correct lead to reading σί(του) (ἄρτ.)] ,Α (ὑπέρ) α[ὐ]τοῦ πρωτοκωμ(ήτου) `καί' Σινβίχε(ως), "1,000 [artabas of wheat] in behalf of him, village headman, and (sc. the village of) Sinbichis." For the separate booking of village and village officials in a near contemporary Hermopolite tax account, see, conveniently, as if in illustration of the earlier observations about the relationships among different types of tax accounts, 463, and, specifically for villages and their *protokometai*, col. 2.1, 3 and 6, 8. A letter of course is not an

²⁰ M. Drew-Bear, *Le nome hermopolite. Toponymes et sites* (Missoula 1979) 159–160.

account, but **487** in its later lines is full of accounting notations (ciphers, abbreviations, symbols).

Line 10] ξωζ ἄρτι σί(του) (ἀρτάβαι) ,Βφ . †: The line's recording of artabas of wheat occupies only half the available horizontal space while the vertical space between it and line 9 is tighter than that between all the other lines. By use of abbreviation and symbol and by reduction of spacing the writer – perhaps a second hand if not the first hand cramped up – must have been trying to save room as he closed in on the letter's conclusion, but he left himself with a longer blank than needed. The bottom edge of the papyrus has been straight cut in such a way as to amputate all of line 10's descenders, including that of its concluding chrim. More to the point, although *tau* in its initial form in this hand is almost identical with *gamma*, the supposed interior τ in ἄρτι looks more like γ. The abbreviation stroke through *iota*, thereby producing γί[(vovται), is presumably lost below the papyrus's bottom edge. This may also have happened with the tail of *rho* (cf. line 8), but it is perhaps preferable to consider *rho* as the cipher for 100, preceded by *alpha* for 1,000, giving a sub-total additional to that just posited for line 9, though not together (1,000 + 1,100) adding up to line 10's grand total of 2,500. The traces just after the lacuna do not look to me like ξωζ. Suggested revision:] . ην . ,Αρ, γί[(vovται)] σί(του) (ἀρτάβαι) ,Βφ . †. There is a space unaccounted for between the artaba-symbol and ,Β where the upper layer of the papyrus seems to have flaked off, and a puzzling symbol after φ. This consists of a dot beneath a straight stroke. It corresponds to no known numerical cipher and because the stroke is written on a slant rather than flat, it is not likely to be a mistaken repetition of the artaba-symbol (cf. editor's note ad loc.). Perhaps instead the dot should be taken as a “minute” *omicron* and the stroke as a mark of abbreviation and the combination read as ὀ(μοῦ),²¹ despite its positioning after rather than, as customary, before the calculation it marks as an arithmetical total.

This review, which ends after struggling to resolve a few difficulties in two of its texts, began by teasing out some of the larger questions that emerge from the documents presented in *P.Heid.* 11: the chronological fuzziness that characterizes most of them and the resulting problem for historians; the relationship between various types of tax accounts and receipts; the possibility that scrap papyrus was more used in the seventh and eighth centuries than earlier; the relevance of **501** for Fayyūmic history.

²¹ Cf. N. Gonis and F. Morelli, “Making Sense of the Numbers: Three Money Accounts from Seventh-Century Fayyūm,” *BASP* 58 (2021) 398.

One is also led to wonder whether, based on this volume alone, use of the Coptic language in certain settings necessarily implied a monastic connection of one sort or another. These demanding pieces edited so capably by Lajos Berkes offer much to think about on these and other issues. For this he merits our collegial praise and thanks.

Loyola University Chicago

James G. Keenan

Sabine Huebner, *Papyri and the Social World of the New Testament*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019. xv + 206 pages. ISBN 978-1-108-55645-3.

The field of New Testament research has benefited greatly from the expertise of interdisciplinary studies. Sabine Huebner's *Papyri and the Social World of the New Testament* makes another significant and accessible contribution to the interpretation and understanding of New Testament literature by offering a multifaceted approach that examines the socio-historical world of the New Testament – almost exclusively the gospels, through the lens of papyri from the Roman period. Huebner's book stands in a tradition begun by A. Deissman's *Licht vom Osten. Das Neue Testament und die neuentdeckten Texte der hellenistisch-römischen Welt* (4th ed., Tübingen 1923).¹

The first chapter ("Egypt and the Social World of the New Testament") sets up the aim of the study. Huebner rightly points out how most historical examinations of the New Testament build their cases from literary sources to understand the everyday life and customs of the time. While this approach has its own value, Huebner explains that many of the statements about everyday life and experiences are reported by the elites of the time. As such they may not reflect the views of those who live at the lower rungs or margins of society (p. 1). Huebner, instead, demonstrates how the historical background of some New Testament passages can be better understood through the study of papyri. Huebner takes New Testament passages and issues (some that are well-known, such as the Good Samaritan and the problem of the dating of Jesus' birth) and clearly articulates the various ways papyri can serve to illuminate their interpretation.

Chapter II ("The Social Milieu of Early Christians in Egypt: Who Were the First Readers of the New Testament Gospels?") is an excellent beginning to show how informative papyri can be for understanding the historical setting of the New Testament. One of the enduring questions about New Testament texts is who their immediate and later readers were. The canonical Gospels, for example, except for Luke, offer no explicit evidence about who their readers were.² Generally, scholars have

¹ See also G.B. Bazzana, "New Testament Studies and Documentary Papyri: Interactions and New Perspectives," *Papyrologica Lupiensia* 22 (2013) 7–34. One can also mention the ongoing series *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity* and *Papyrologische Kommentare zum Neuen Testament*.

² The Gospel of Luke (and Acts) designates Theophilus as its intended recipient, but without personal details (Lk 1:3; Acts 1:1). The New Testament epistles mention names and congregation locations, but not many specifics about who the figures were. The book

to attempt to extrapolate information from the texts and their later reception by Christian communities to deduce who their initial readers were. Due to the anonymity of some of the writings of the New Testament, the task of knowing who the audience was is even more daunting. Huebner's presentation helps to alleviate some of the questions by demonstrating who some of the *later readers* of these texts were (in this case, the Gospel of John).

Huebner introduces a single papyrus letter, *P.Bas.* 2.43 (third century CE) and uses it to answer several questions about early Christian readers in Egypt and their social environment. One of Huebner's main points asserts that the text is the earliest Christian documentary papyrus, which she argues is from around 230 CE. The early witness of this papyrus offers insight into specific historical questions, especially regarding the spread of Christianity in the Egyptian "hinterland."

Huebner explains how the people mentioned in the text (Arrianus and Paulus) can tell us about the status of ancient readers in Roman Egypt. Details in the letter, such as the use of the *nomen sacrum* (sacred name) at the end, help to uncover who these characters were and what they experienced. The presence of other later Christian readers in Roman Egypt is also described using the Basel text by connecting the figures mentioned in the letter with literary sources (e.g., Eusebius) to show their status and function in society. The identification and social placement of the figures in the letter is one of the most valuable aspects of the chapter. Huebner, for example, demonstrates how the details in the letter about Arrianus and Paulus relate to names in other papyri (through prosopography) and literary sources, which help to identify who they were (e.g., positions they held in society) and what type of Christians were reading texts like those found at Oxyrhynchus. Additionally, the identification of the people and where they fit in the social spectrum is used to offer an explanation about their education and how they may have acquired knowledge about Christianity.

The section on the *nomen sacrum* argues that the last line of Basel text, which in Greek reads "in the Lord," was an indication of Christian beliefs and knowledge of Christian scripture for the writer. Although this idea is certainly possible, it seems to claim more than the line in the letter can bear for the writer (Arrianus). Huebner explains that knowledge of the *nomen sacrum* at the end of the letter equates to, or at least insinuates, knowledge of Christian texts, such as the Gospel of John; however, this

of Revelation mentions "John" as its author but which John (the Apostle or Elder) is a point of confusion even in Patristic sources (Rev 1:9).

could also be a common phrase that was taught and used without knowledge of precise Christian texts (p. 22).

Chapter III (“‘In those days a decree went out ...’: The Herodian Kingdom and the Augustan Provincial Census System”) focuses on different ways to understand the historical background of the census and especially its use in Luke 2:1–5. Huebner raises several questions that address the history proposed in the third Gospel and how to reconcile its elements with what was known and practiced at the time. The available evidence, ranging from papyri (e.g., declarations, censuses, tax lists, and edicts), Latin annals (Tacitus), Patristic writings (Chrysostom), and Josephus are marshalled to address long-held historical difficulties and peculiarities related to the census in Luke’s account. Huebner provides a thorough description of the necessary details to situate the census in Luke’s narrative, as well as in periods before and after. The historical specifics mentioned in Luke, mainly the date of the census, who carried it out (Quirinius or Saturninus), and why someone like Joseph would need to return to their hometown for registration are evaluated and reconciled through historical literary sources.

The main dating issues in Luke 2:1–5 are when Augustus may have ordered a census, Herod’s death in 4 BCE, when Quirinius governed Syria (6 CE), and their connection to Jesus’ birth. The glaring problem is the dating gap between what is reported in Matthew about Jesus being born during Herod’s reign (Matt 2:1) and a census administered by Quirinius seemingly around the same time. Scholars have noted that historical sources outside of Luke do not place Quirinius as governor of Syria until after Herod’s death. Huebner offers a convincing resolution to this chronological quandary by presenting the historical data of the time, through literary sources (Patristic writers, such as Justin and Tertullian play a major part), to demonstrate how a census could be held by Quirinius during the time of Augustus and Herod. Huebner, in addition to considering the dates of these historical figures, factors in other significant census details, such as the type of census (e.g., imperial, provincial, and client state), who could carry one out (particularly their official titles and responsibilities), and how it functioned to explain its place in Luke. Likewise, Huebner’s discussion on censuses adds veracity to Luke’s narrative and grounds the reasons for Joseph and Mary’s journey from Nazareth to Bethlehem in historical probabilities through the judicious use of census documents on papyrus. The resolutions are a satisfyingly fresh take on longstanding complex problems.

Chapter IV (“‘But these words seemed to them an idle tale’: Discrimination and the Struggle for Women’s Equality in Early Christianity”)

deals with the various ways of how women were portrayed and treated (inside and outside of Christian communities) in Roman Egypt. The chapter is particularly important for contextualizing the status of women as depicted in the New Testament. Prominent passages that describe women as being “weaker” or in subjugated roles to their male counterparts are confronted with a more nuanced view.³ Huebner’s presentation allows for a flexible understanding of the social levels and limits that women held across landscapes.

Huebner makes use of the *Gospel of Mary* as one of the main sources for this chapter. The first part of the chapter situates the discovery and fragmentary preservation of the Gospel of Mary (in its different states and languages) and connects it with Roman Egypt. For Huebner, the Gospel of Mary preserves early ideas and attitudes about women in the Christian Church, particularly in Egypt. Mary’s (of Magdala is assumed) role is one who understands Jesus’ message and more importantly, teaches his disciples. Huebner explains the gender roles of the time and how Mary’s character counteracts some of the views that would later dominate in ecclesiastical communities.

The section on “Women in Early Church Leadership Roles” is a strong practical example of how later church interpretation and theology could diminish the freedom some women experienced. Huebner explains how the broader freedoms of women in Roman Egypt did not necessarily result in greater clerical participation or opportunities for them. Instead, the papyri (third to fourth centuries CE), surprisingly, do not attest to women holding clerical offices. The entire chapter is effective for tracing the evolution of women’s roles in antiquity and in ecclesiastical traditions, particularly in Christian communities around Egypt.

Chapter V (“‘The Carpenter’s Son’: The Family and Household of a Craftsman”) opens with a call back to Jesus’ immediate family (parents and siblings) and discusses a variety of issues related to demographics. Huebner uses documentary papyri (e.g., census documents and contracts) and ostraca to offer historical facts about occupations (the craftsmen and apprentice are central here), family constitutions, educational opportunities, and familial obligations (e.g., mother and son). As with the other chapters, this one is especially adept at demonstrating the usefulness of the various kinds of papyri for uncovering historical elements not explicitly mentioned in the Gospel narratives.

³ Several passages in the New Testament have been used to subjugate women based on their gender and prohibit them from holding some ecclesiastical offices (e.g., 1 Cor 14:34; 1 Tim 2:12; 1 Pet 3:7).

Background for carpenters is notably significant as Jesus was known as the “carpenter’s son” (Matt 13:55). Facts about Jesus’ family, specifically his father, are sparse.⁴ The discussion about carpenters helps to fill in details about what a carpenter’s household may have entailed. The sections on “The Trade of Carpenter in the Roman World” and “A Craftsman’s Household,” for instance, use census documents and contracts to offer examples of daily and personal elements, such as duties, compensation, titles, and mobility. Carpenters, for example, were called *tekton* or *architekton*, were paid fifty denarii (from paylists), and worked with an assortment of wood items (e.g., roofs and chariots). The occupational aspects of carpentry are also valuable for understanding the professional training that Jesus likely received as he was known as a carpenter (Mk 6:3).

Jesus’ own family dynamics (mentioned in Matthew 13:55) are treated using information found in census documents (e.g., family sizes, ages, occupations, and mortality rates). Jesus’ household, which according to Matthew included father, mother, four brothers and an unknown number of sisters, is contrasted with familial numbers found in surviving census returns (representing four hundred households). The comparison mainly focuses on ages in the family, mortality rates, and life expectations for daughters and sons. Jesus’ family description (five sons plus daughters) in comparison to family numbers in the papyri, is considered rare. Aside from the few passages that mention Jesus’ family members in passing, the Gospels are oddly quiet about them. Huebner’s discussion offers comparative insight into the type of household Jesus was raised in.⁵

Lastly, this chapter raises the question of Jesus’ education (mainly as an apprentice to a craftsmen) and asks how likely or common it was for a carpenter’s son to have the ability to read or write. Jesus’ education is a fascinating topic due to Gospel passages that depict him interacting with

⁴ The *History of Joseph the Carpenter* is clearly written to answer early Christian curiosities about Jesus’ earthly father and family. The story serves as a precursor to how Joseph met Jesus’ mother Mary, while also providing him a “righteous” backstory. The gospel also explains where Jesus’ siblings come from (they are children from Joseph’s previous marriage), thereby ensuring Mary’s virgin status. *The Protevangelium of James* is another work that offers a pious backstory for Jesus’ mother Mary, why she was chosen to give birth to the savior of the world, and how she met Joseph.

⁵ Jesus’ family members are mentioned in several passages, but the Gospels do not offer many specifics about them. Jesus’ four brothers are named (James, Joses, Judas, and Simon) but his sisters are not given names or a definite number (Mk 6:3; Matt 12:46, 13:55; Jn 6:42; Gal 1:19). His father and mother are identified but all that is said about his father is that he was a carpenter (τέκτων) and was a descendant of the messianic line of Israel’s King David (e.g., Matt 13:55; Lk 1:27).

teachers (Luke 2:46) and writing with his finger on the ground (John 8:6–8), which both indicate some form of education. Jesus' education, however, is never described in the canonical Gospels, so it remains a point of speculation for New Testament scholars.⁶ Huebner notes the episode of Jesus reading the Isaiah scroll in the synagogue (Luke 9:16–17) and offers a plausible explanation to the elusive question of how he (and others) may have achieved these abilities. Papyri are presented to demonstrate the writing capacity of everyday people, such as merchants and craftsmen, and what educational options (e.g., tutors) were available to them.

The sixth chapter (“‘In those days Mary set out ...’: Travel by the Lower Classes in Roman Times”) asks several questions related to how traveling was conceived and undertaken in Roman Egypt. The main questions addressed include occasions for travel, travel routes, women travelers, mode of transportation, travel expenses, overnight arrangements, and travel hazards. Huebner uncovers many insightful aspects applying a wide range of sources to fill in the historical gaps that Biblical narratives rarely offer. To answer the questions posed about travel experiences, papyri (e.g., letters and receipts), travel reports (from Apuleius and Horace), narrative accounts from traditional and apocryphal Christian texts (e.g., Acts of the Apostles and Acts of John), as well as later pilgrim reports to holy sites are presented to provide an inside look into the various ways people embarked on travel.

The questions and examples are designed to demonstrate how the nonelite – those who could not afford the luxury of the *cursus publicus* (public transportation) – planned for and navigated the dangers and complexities of commuting. Huebner's aim is to fill in the ordinary circumstances around New Testament narratives that casually mention how characters moved from one place to another. In one example, from the “Good Samaritan” in Luke 10:25–37, Huebner focuses on the “inn” that the Samaritan transports the wounded traveler to. The “inn” (*pandocheion* or *katagogia*) used by travelers and found along travel routes, is described in considerable detail through ancient sources (e.g., Strabo) as having a poor reputation (in some cases). The inn's poor reputation is found in

⁶ How Jesus acquired his knowledge of the Torah, writing, and telling parables is a major interest for scholars and apparently writers in antiquity. The *Infancy Gospel of Thomas*, for example, offers an account of how Jesus, as a child, had a teacher (but knew more than the instructor!) and how he already knew the Greek alphabet. Other figures, such as the philosopher Celsus, mention how Jesus went to Egypt and learned the ability to work miracles (Origen, *Contra Celsum* 1.28).

literary descriptions, such as the apocryphal Acts of John, Apuleius, and the Acts of Thomas, which vividly describe the vices that occur inside (e.g., prostitution).

Huebner presents other examples, such as travel descriptions in New Testament Apocryphal texts, which are also substantiated with other historical remains. The travel route, for instance, taken by Jesus' parents, Joseph and Mary and known as the "Flight to Egypt" (Matthew 2:13–15) is retold in the Pseudo-Gospel of Matthew with expanded features (e.g., about lodging and food) and compared to the travel route of a certain Egyptian named Theophanes (fourth century CE).

Huebner's examples are valuable for connecting the historical circumstances and rigors of travel with their often-abbreviated mention in New Testament narratives. Characters in New Testament texts often appear in different (and distant) locations almost instantaneously. Huebner highlights the physical challenges and preparation that underlies the narrative transitions between locales, while shedding new light on old accounts.

Chapter VII ("In that region there were shepherds living in the fields ...': An Occupation on the Margins of Society") addresses questions that include who served as shepherds, types of shepherds, a shepherd's responsibilities, and their socio-economic status. Huebner employs a host of papyri and classical and Christian literary sources to offer a broad but meticulous image of shepherding during the Roman era (from about the first century BCE to the third century CE). Especially informative are the particulars about a shepherd's employment expectations and working conditions. Huebner uses the papyri and literary sources to elucidate the working relationships shepherds had between landowners and middlemen, specifically what their contractual agreements entailed. Contractual matters, such as a shepherd's pay scale (considered to be relatively low), work hazards, and occupational perks (e.g., profiting off the sale of wool or milk) are elaborated.

The historical realities behind shepherding are considerably useful for interpreting New Testament passages. Huebner's discussion about the background of shepherding, for example, improves the exegetical understanding of Gospel passages, such as the "Good Shepherd" (John 10:11–16). The analysis helps to understand the terminology used for shepherds, the size and composition of their flocks, and categories for shepherds (e.g., head, ordinary, or youth). Shepherd designations, for instance, differ between their position and responsibilities as well as the terminology used to refer to them. Huebner, for example, shows how the papyri distinguish between the Greek uses of *poimen*, *nomeus*, and *archipoimen*.

An additional aspect that made this chapter informative, was how Huebner situated (at the start) the literary and symbolic conceptions of shepherds. Huebner's examination of the sources makes it clear why shepherds became a common analogy for mortal rulers and deities as guardians and caretakers. Conversely, it takes the common conception, notably in the New Testament, of the shepherd as an ideal caretaker and contextualizes it with real life circumstances (e.g., long hours and harsh working conditions), complaints (against flocks grazing in the wrong pastures), and stereotypes (e.g., shepherds were thought to be brigands).

Huebner's presentation is particularly significant for understanding the Shepherd as a metaphor in the New Testament (as well as the Hebrew Bible).⁷ The findings of the chapter give much needed historical texture to parables about shepherds and the theological conception of Jesus as the Good Shepherd. The later ecclesiastical office of Pastor (Shepherd), which does not have a full job description in the New Testament, also receives substantially more historical grounding (e.g., Eph 4:11).

The importance of what Huebner's book accomplishes, combining papyrological evidence and literary sources, cannot be overstated. I agree with many of Huebner's comments in the "Afterword" about the importance of bridging the gaps between the fields of New Testament, papyrological, and Classical Studies, so that each can benefit and inform the other. I found this book to be refreshing and enlightening. Hopefully, we will see more research that combines the everyday evidence found in the papyri with New Testament literature as well as other ancient works.

University of Michigan

Rodney Caruthers II

⁷ Jesus as the "Good Shepherd" is preceded in the Hebrew Bible with the God of Israel being the image of the good shepherd to Israel that provides, guides, and protects his sheep as opposed to corrupt shepherds that take advantage and endanger them (e.g., Ps 23; Isa 40:10–11; Ezek 34:1–16).

Jean-Luc Fournet, *The Rise of Coptic: Egyptian versus Greek in Late Antiquity*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2020. xii + 206 pages. ISBN 978-0-6911-9834-7.

The origins of *The Rise of Coptic* lie in four lectures given at the Institute for the Study of the Ancient World in 2017. Each chapter focuses on a different aspect of the relationship between Coptic and Greek from the fourth to the early seventh century, with particular focus on the development of legal Coptic across this period and the sociolinguistic processes involved. The volume is completed by three appendices, two of which (1 and 3) collect data discussed in the four chapters, while the other (2) presents examples of fourth-century Coptic letters, with the Coptic text and translation. Throughout the volume, black-and-white images are provided of many of the discussed documents, some of which have not previously been published.

In Chapter 1, Fournet examines the development of written Coptic, dividing texts into “enduring” (that is, literary) and “everyday” writing. While he discusses the former in terms of the development of Coptic (a point that I will return to below), Fournet’s focus is fourth century texts concerning the law and the state. To preserve the sociolinguistic basis of the analysis, archives rather than isolated case studies are discussed. Among these cases, of note are the insights drawn from the as-yet unpublished Coptic texts from Douch (Kharga Oasis), which reveal the concomitant use of Coptic and Greek at the village. Suggestions are made regarding the lack of early Coptic non-literary texts from the Fayum, especially given the volume of earlier Egyptian (Demotic) texts from the region. It is slightly surprising that the discussion does not mention the heavy non-Egyptian presence (e.g., military) in the Fayum during the Roman period and what impact such societal changes may have had on (written) language use here. The general absence of early documents from urban milieus is discussed, an absence that is especially striking given the significant role that the urban elite played in the development and promotion of Coptic, as argued in later chapters. The chapter ends with a brief look at the legal system and use of language in other provinces of the empire, specifically at the situation in the Middle Euphrates and the role of Syriac, in order to contextualise the situation with Coptic more broadly.

Methodological issues are raised that affect the study of early Coptic texts. One point is the issue of genre, including how to identify official from unofficial letters (or what Fournet refers to as “nonregulated epistolary communication”; p. 20), as well as how to treat letters that represent

an attempt at drawing up a legal document (*P.Kellis* 7.123). Fournet also highlights a text-type that has not previously received dedicated scholarly treatment, namely Coptic summaries of Greek documents, of which he collects a dozen examples dated 520–550 (presented in Appendix 1). Moving from the content to the appearance of early texts, Fournet suggests that the “capital letters aspect of Coptic would seem to be the graphically translated acknowledgement of its unsuitability for legal or administrative uses” (p. 18). However, not all late (that is, 8th century and beyond) Coptic legal documents were written in cursive hands, so script does not preclude Coptic language use in this capacity. Furthermore, as Coptic was not permitted to develop into a legal or administrative language in earlier periods, the question should be asked as to whether there was even a need for Coptic scribes to practice their cursive. Fournet’s bold statement, that “palaeography reflects the history of a society and its cultural choices” (p. 18), should perhaps be inverted: the history of a society and its cultural choices impacts its palaeographic choices.

The question of why Greek was preferred to Coptic is the topic of chapter 2, which is explored through the discussion of features particular to Coptic, as well as the institutional position and advantages of Greek. Unlike written Egyptian, which had a significant period when it was not used as a legal language (between the decline of Demotic and development of Coptic), Greek had been used continually for centuries in this capacity. It had come to dominate this written milieu to the extent that non-Greeks recognised its “legitimate hegemony” (p. 65; I would not go as far as Fournet in adding that Greek had a “natural authority” in this respect). What is more, the Church was also Greek-speaking, expanding the domain of Greek language use beyond secular institutions. Among Fournet’s proposals, the least convincing is that multidialectism may have been an obstacle to development of Coptic as a legal language, with dialects distracting from its precision (p. 43). Such dialectical differences certainly existed in Egyptian before Late Antiquity and did not prohibit its legal and administrative use.¹ I am equally dubious about the suggestion that the Coptic superlinear stroke should be assigned to Greek influence (p. 68) and the discussion about Greek loanwords (pp. 70–71), both of which point to the dominant Hellenocentric arguments posited throughout this volume.

¹ One could also look to analogies from contemporary languages in which dialects may have significant lexical and pronounciative differences (e.g., Geordie, Scouse, Brummie, and Cockney in British English) that manifest in private communications as well as the spoken language. However, in such cases the legal register of the language cuts across such differences, and there is no reason why the same would not hold true of Coptic.

Chapter 3 turns to an area in which Fournet has contributed important studies in recent years: Coptic legal documents dating to before the Arab conquest. The range of texts discussed includes: “semi-legal” documents that are reports of private settlements under the authority of an arbitrator (not signed by notaries); what Fournet describes as “relatively unimportant transactions” (on the basis that they are for temporary transactions, although I object to the description, as they were certainly important enough for somebody to record); bilingual documentary exercises; and petitions (or what can be identified as such). Several digraphic scribes, that is, individuals who produced documents in both Greek and Coptic, are also examined, including Dioscorus son of Apollos, on whose work Fournet is a renowned expert. Such men are described as “professional scribes who were not notaries or who were ordinary individuals acting as scribes” (p. 82), a somewhat confusing sentence as it is unclear what “ordinary” would mean in this instance – any literate individual was not “ordinary” in a predominantly illiterate society, and so presumably it specifically means non-professional scribes. A broader issue tackled in this chapter is the development of Coptic legal texts against the political upheaval of the sixth century and the erosion of state justice.² Against this background, Fournet proposes a two-stage process that resulted in the use of Coptic within less formal state proceedings.

The final chapter explores the role of the Church and of monasticism in the growth of legal Coptic, focussing not on the ideological use of language in Egyptian monasteries but on the role they played “in the emergence of an “official” Coptic that moved beyond the boundaries of private epistolary communication” (p. 115). Three case studies are presented, including an unpublished Graeco-Coptic codex in the Louvre and two “poorly known” corpora (perhaps poorly known to Greek papyrologists, but certainly not to those interested in Coptic monasticism or papyrology). The discussion of the codex includes extracts of the text, which provide a tantalising glimpse into what these eight wooden tablets have to offer the study not only of the role of Coptic at this time, but of monastic economies and the history of monasticism in Atripe. The two other corpora are Theban. The first corpus is that of the wills of the superiors of the monastery of St Phoibammon, written in Greek and Coptic.³ Fournet notes how, while the Coptic documents depend to a large degree on their

² On which, see also G. Ruffini, *Life in an Egyptian Village in Late Antiquity: Aphroditō before and after the Islamic Conquest* (Cambridge 2018).

³ On the wills, the doctoral thesis of Esther Garel, which Fournet references throughout this section, is now published as E. Garel, *Héritage et transmission dans le monachisme égyptien* (Cairo 2020), reviewed below, pp. 433–439.

Greek equivalents, the Greek testament of Abraham, bishop of Hermonthis, is closer to Coptic wills than earlier Greek ones, challenging earlier descriptions of the document. The second corpus also concerns Abraham and comprises the texts related to his episcopal position. Fournet identifies almost half of this archive as being legal documents (the rest are letters), which represent a linguistic transition from Greek to Coptic as well as new contexts of use, with documents designed for civil society adapted for church activities.⁴ These two Theban corpora take the volume to its chronological endpoint, the Arab conquest, which Fournet marks as a significant watershed moment, after which “Coptic no longer encountered any obstacles to its autonomy in the legal domain” (p. 147; see similar pp. 76–77). While considerable work remains to be done on the role of Coptic in the post-conquest period, this statement is an oversimplification. It is possible that we witness a different (and intentional) approach to language use after the conquest, which permitted rather than restricted the integration of Coptic in the legal and administrative domains.

Together, these four chapters contain considerable volumes of material that raise interesting and thought-provoking propositions and methodological considerations, some of which will promote further analysis and debate. I would like to address a couple of points in particular. The first concerns the development of Coptic, which Fournet assigns to the Christianization of the country (p. 5), while also relegating earlier developments in the language and script to the side-lines (Old Coptic is mentioned fleetingly on pp. 5–6⁵). Written Egyptian had struggled with how to integrate Greek long before the appearance of the biblical texts that Fournet discusses (pp. 7–9), as indicated by the Narmouthis ostraca, a single example of which is shown in Fig. 3 but not discussed in the text. On the other hand, both Egyptian and Greek speakers had tackled how to transcribe Egyptian into Greek since the Ptolemaic period.⁶ Rather than trigger such a script “reinvention” (p. 5), the rise of Christianity occurred at the right time to take advantage of the significant developments that had been

⁴ Current work on the Abraham corpus, including the publication of new texts, may add to this dataset; see recently R. Dekker, “Coptic Ostraca Relating to Bishop Abraham of Hermonthis at Columbia University,” *BASP* 57 (2020) 75–115.

⁵ On Old Coptic and the use and development of Egyptian scripts in the Roman period, see now E.O.D. Love, *Script Switching in Roman Egypt. Case Studies in Script Conventions, Domains, Shift, and Obsolescence from Hieroglyphic, Hieratic, Demotic, and Old Coptic Manuscripts* (Berlin 2021).

⁶ See, for example, an Egyptian graffito written in Greek script from 189/188 BCE at the temple of Seti I at Abydos; P.W. Pestman, J. Quaegebeur, and R.L. Vos, *Recueil de textes démotiques et bilingues* (Leiden 1977) no. 11.

ongoing for centuries, which – while not systematic – were more than isolated *ad hoc* “experiments” and represent a genuine wider movement towards script change.⁷ Ultimately, the main focus of this volume is on documents written after the completion of this developmental phase, but while Fournet highlights the multiple and complex processes involved in the use of non-literary Coptic from the fourth century, such oversimplification of its early stages – especially for readers unfamiliar with the Egyptian language before the third century – is marked.

A more significant point, fundamental to the volume’s aims, concerns the treatment of the sociolinguistic aspects of the study. The central importance of this approach is emphasised from the very beginning of the volume, the goal of which is to “develop a genuine sociolinguistic account of bilingualism in Egypt during Late Antiquity” (p. 2). Throughout the four chapters, the discussion is at its strongest when specific documents and individuals are in focus. However, the brevity with which many of these examples are discussed (e.g., the Kellis texts on pp. 13–14) means that limited social data is provided. Furthermore, in many cases the social context of the material simply is not known. As a result, there is a tendency to lose this social grounding and talk more generally about “Coptic” and “Greek.” The languages themselves rather than language users are given significant agency at certain points, e.g., “Coptic attempted to undermine the monopoly that the Greek language had held” (p. 2) and “Coptic tried to gain its autonomy” (p. 50). Such statements also serve to place the two languages in opposition, as combatants vying for supremacy in Egypt; despite a statement on p. 148 that emphasises this was not the intention, the book’s own subtitle is “Egyptian versus Greek.” When groups are mentioned, they often appear as shadowy figures: the “inventors”, “promoters”, and “developers” of Coptic (pp. 66 and 74). This issue is one that plagues any attempt at a sociolinguistic account of historical language use. In the face of such methodological difficulties, the integration of approaches from historical sociolinguistics would have provided a more robust theoretical framework for dealing with this problem. Nevertheless, Fournet’s overall argument about the role of a Christian elite in the development and control of written Coptic is an alluring one. In other respects, I find certain statements more problematic, namely language use and the relationship between ruler and ruled. Particularly striking is Fournet’s

⁷ See already M. Choat, “Coptic,” in C. Riggs (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt* (Oxford 2012) 623: “‘Coptic’ may, however – and indeed should – be taken to include all attempts at systematically transcribing Egyptian into Greek. In this case, its history is much older than the mid-third century.”

rejection of the connection between linguistic prestige and colonial power: "I have trouble understanding why the concept of prestige has been severely criticized by certain linguists ... as if it were perverted by a colonialist vision" (p. 50, n. 39). There is no perversion. Different types of prestige exist within speech communities, and when prestige is placed on the language of the colonisers then it is indeed a question of the colonial exertion of control over the indigenous population. The intentional suppression of Coptic, as discussed elsewhere in the volume (see especially p. 64), is a colonial act, and one that afforded prestige to the language of the conquerors.

Over the course of only four chapters, Fournet brings together a wealth of material and proposes several approaches to the understanding of the changing role of Coptic, in an official capacity, from the fourth to early seventh century. However, four chapters is insufficient space to address all the complex points raised, as well as to provide detailed context to enable the sociolinguistic approach for which the author strives. While this results in critiques of his arguments, as the above discussion demonstrates, *The Rise of Coptic* represents a significant contribution to our understanding of the position of Coptic during Late Antiquity. Throughout, Fournet is able to draw upon considerable unpublished material that provides a glimpse of exciting opportunities for the future, emphasising that this volume is the beginning rather than the end of discussions on this matter.

Manchester Metropolitan University

Jennifer Cromwell

Esther Garel, *Héritage et transmission dans le monachisme égyptien. Les testaments des supérieurs du topos de Saint-Phoibammôn à Thèbes* (P.Mon.Phoib.Test.). Bibliothèque d'études coptes 27. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 2020. xvi + 350 pages. ISBN 978-2-7247-0760-1.

The monastery of “the holy victorious martyr Abba Phoibammon” at Deir el-Bahri, on the Theban west bank, has made an outsized contribution to our knowledge of the society of Upper Egypt in the last decades of Roman rule and the first century and a half after the Arab conquest. Although its remains, still standing in the nineteenth century, were obliterated during the excavation of Hatshepsut’s temple at the end of that century and survive only in archival photographs, many papyrus documents in Coptic had come onto the antiquities market already by the 1850s and were soon acquired by collections in and outside Egypt. These are the legal documents, largely of the eighth century, archived in the monastery’s library by residents of the village of Jeme. Clandestine excavations also yielded numerous ostraka, as at many other monastic sites of the West Bank.

The library also contained the archives of the monastery itself, dating back to the end of the sixth century when the monastery was built. A remarkable dossier from these archives is the subject of Esther Garel’s book: the wills of the first four heads of the monastery, Abraham, Victor, Peter, and Jacob. The first of these, the Greek will of Bishop Abraham, was published already in the first volume of *P.Lond.* and is relatively well known, but the remaining three, in Coptic, have had diverse fates. The last, that of Jacob, was published by Crum in *P.KRU* (no. 65), but only a small fragment of the will of Victor appeared as *P.KRU* 77, solely on the basis of an 1894 publication by V. Loret; the rest had disappeared from view after being in Lyon. Peter’s, initially entrusted for publication to Charles Kuentz (who sent a mediocre transcript to Crum), had vanished at an unknown date; its publication had passed to Pierre du Bourguet, who also did not publish it, but fortunately he had given a set of photos to Martin Krause. The rest of Victor’s will was rediscovered in the Sorbonne in 2007 by Jean Gascou, who entrusted it to Garel for publication. Krause also passed the photos in his possession on to Garel. It has thus been possible for her to reunite the entire dossier and provide a complete text and translation of the surviving texts for the first time. It is an extraordinary achievement and a contribution of the first order to the study of Egyptian monasticism in this period. It does not, of course, stand in isolation, and Garel

with exemplary scrupulousness documents what she owes to the generosity and scholarship of others: Martin Krause, who long pointed out the need for such an edition and made this one possible, and Jean Gascou; her predecessors in the study of the Coptic wills, Arthur Schiller and Artur Steinwenter; the study of Bishop Abraham by Renate Dekker; and work on language and culture by Sebastian Richter, Jean-Luc Fournet (the director of the dissertation from which the book grows), Arietta Papaconstantinou, and others, as well as Maria Nowak's studies of wills in the papyri. But the achievement of this book is hers.

The structure of the book is straightforward: five chapters of introduction, followed by the editions of the four texts in chronological order, two appendixes, an index to the texts, bibliography, and plates, which include the four wills (oddly not labeled with the numbers they are given here) as well as *P.KRU* 105 and *P.Herm.* 25, along with two maps. The organization is clear and cross-references are numerous; still, at times I missed a subject index to the volume, and an index of Coptic and Greek texts cited would also have been useful.

Chapter 1 describes the dossier and the different paths taken by the individual items, along with a history of the mishaps that have caused it not to be fully published until now. Garel points out that legal questions have dominated the limited discussion to date of Abraham's will and of the Coptic wills too. She therefore turns in the long Chapter 2 to the juristic aspects. Although Late Antique wills in Greek are "relativement rare," she is somewhat skeptical that the use of wills was in decline in the period. Their basic structure remains a Greek formulary in its evolved Roman form, but (following Maria Nowak) she points out that the loss of the Roman concept of *hereditas* conceptually undermined the entire institution, even if notaries kept up with changes in imperial legislation, as they seem to have done. Wills are thus a curious combination of legal formulas and irrelevancies or contradictions.

One such contradiction is central to understanding the dossier, the introduction of clauses providing that wills were irrevocable, something impossible in Roman law. The growth of paratestamentary forms such as lifetime gifts, property divisions, and settlements is probably connected to this development. Strikingly, many of the wills have formulaic characteristics and terminology completely alien to the genre; this point recurs repeatedly in the commentaries to the individual wills of this dossier, which are in many cases written more in the form of bilateral agreements (*homologiai*) than of unilateral dispositions.

Coptic wills (list on pp. 23–24) are modeled on the Greek but shedding some clauses and adding narrative sections. They follow standard

opening formulas until after the conquest, at which point regnal and consular formulas are dropped. Prolix reflections on the ephemerality of life and impending divine judgment are added. The Roman unitary conception of the heir is gone, and no distinction is really made between heirs and legatees, although a sort of principal heir is sometimes recognized in the conclusion of the will. Penal clauses, both worldly and spiritual, are added. The number of witnesses varies; they often sign in order of importance or seniority. The bilateral character of many wills may reflect what local notaries were capable of writing more than any theoretical conception of the document.

Monastic wills have their own set of distinctive practices, as they aim to provide for spiritual succession as well as control of the material possessions of the monastery. And they clearly embody a view of the successor as something different from a normal heir. This concept is most clearly expressed in lines 59–61 of Peter's will, which Garel translates as follows: "Car le *topos* n'est pas laissé en héritage, mais celui qui se trouvera dans le *topos* assurera à un moment donné (καίρός) sa *leitourgia* et toute sa gestion, à l'intérieur et à l'extérieur, c'est à lui qu'appartient le *topos*." But even without a knowledge of the full dossier, Arthur Schiller had already in 1926 (in his unpublished Berkeley doctoral dissertation) argued that the duties imposed on heirs in monastic wills made them more analogous to trustees of charitable trusts (in modern Anglo-American law) than to heirs; or more generally, as Garel says, to fiduciaries. The quasi-bilateral character of the wills has some sense in such a situation, as a trustee must agree to serve. Garel cites *O.Crum* 132 in this connection: In this letter, we are told that Abraham made the *topos* master of his possessions coming from his parents, whereas in the will Victor is made the heir. The strong suggestion is that Victor's inheritance from Abraham is not personal but institutional. This text and *P.Mon.Epiph.* 257 point to the legal effectiveness of the monastic will; it was not just a gesture but could be enforced.

A final section in this chapter discusses the spiritual testament as a literary genre. Steinwenter had already pointed to the will of Epicurus, really a *donatio mortis causa*, as a point of reference. The recipients there have a role as trustees, aiming to preserve the community and its base of operations for future generations. The farewell discourses attributed to monks in lives and other hagiographic texts also offer some points of comparison.

In Chapter 3 we turn to the history of the monastery and its institutions. A key question is the date and character of *P.KRU* 105, which she reedits in Annexe 1; in this document, as Krause showed, the village of Jeme recognizes the property rights of the superiors of the monastery to the territory it occupied in the abandoned temple of Hatshepsut and its surroundings.

Garel dates it to the end of the sixth century, citing the appearance of one of the witnesses in *P.Herm.* 25, which she convincingly redates to this period. Garel follows Krause in thinking that Abraham was originally based in the older monastery of St. Phoibammon, but the patriarch Damian saw this as too remote a site for the effective exercise of the office of bishop (*O.Lips.Copt.* 10, reprinted as Annexe 2). Abraham then asked Jeme for the rights to build on the much more accessible site of the ruined temple (*P.KRU* 105), and subsequently designated Victor the priest as his successor (text 1). In this reconstructed narrative, we catch in motion a small part of the process by which Damian built an episcopal hierarchy for the Severan church.

Victor is a key figure, and Garel looks to the ostraka to try to reconstruct his role and activity; she has identified seventy texts (list, 67–69) relevant to him. While Abraham lived, he was his close collaborator, both in his episcopal activity and in the monastery. We see him as an arbitrator and witness. He was apparently *oikonomos* of the monastery (although this may not have been a technical term in this instance), and many texts involve business matters of all sorts, including the lending, copying, and sale of books, among which works of Shenoute figure.¹ Victor was a deacon in *O.Crum* 104, but in other texts he is a priest. His will (2) is the only secure point in the chronology of the dossier, having a precise date to 4 December 634. Garel reconstructs the overall chronology to have Abraham become bishop ca. 595 and die in 621; Victor die ca. 637–640; Peter draw up his will in 675 (an indictional date; 660 is not excluded but less likely); and Jacob draw up his ca. 695.

A final section of this chapter describes the monastery as far as possible. It was probably a *laura*, including a sanctuary (*eukterion*), with relics of the saint and a healing cult. Its property included some “caves” (perhaps pharaonic tombs) used as cells, and a three-story tower in the corner of the temple court on the upper terrace. It also owned houses and agricultural lands, which feature prominently in the ostraka. It is hard to interpret references to *kanon* and *entole* as the sources of rules for monastic behavior; Garel perhaps underestimates the likelihood that a specific formal rule was in use.

Chapter 4 treats paleography, on the basis of the plates and a comparative table of letter forms (103–104). Abraham’s will was drawn up by a *nomikos*, Victor’s by a priest in Hermonthis who was *grammateus* of Jeme.

¹ We may thus catch a glimpse of the process by which the Severan church retrospectively turned Shenoute into a key figure: see my “Shenoute’s Name,” *ISAW Papers* 19 (2020), <http://dlib.nyu.edu/awdl/isaw/isaw-papers/19/>.

Peter's was written by Pisrael son of Psate, who is likely to have been the father of Psate son of Pisrael, a figure well-known to aficionados of eighth-century tax receipts on ostraka, many of which he signs. Jacob's will is the work of Theodoros, *grammateus* of Jeme, who is not otherwise known. The dossier is of some paleographical importance, because of its fairly secure datability and the fact that the Jeme legal documents are otherwise from the next century, leaving the seventh century less well documented. Garel remarks that there is little difference between the styles used for Greek and Coptic sections of the Coptic wills.

Chapter 5 is devoted to language and rhetoric, with considerable reference to works of Fournet, Papaconstantinou, and (above all) Richter. The wills are not of any particular grammatical interest, but as a group they contribute significantly to thinking about the role of Coptic in the Theban region. Few Greek notarial documents of the sixth century survive from this area, but Abraham (as titular bishop of Hermonthis in the Severan church) felt it necessary for his will – but not for the agreement recorded in *P.KRU* 105. Victor's will, in contrast, is the oldest precisely dated Coptic legal document, although there were earlier ones that we cannot date exactly. And Coptic sufficed for transactions that were local inside the Memnoneia and did not involve outsiders. The critical question is the formation of the notaries who drew up the Coptic wills. Words, formulas, and even word order from Greek are found throughout; some even are found in the *Novels* of Justinian and his successors, suggesting that the notaries were very up to date. On the other hand, their overall style is apparently limited to the Theban region, suggesting a deliberate attempt to reinvent a notarial system in this period (as Papaconstantinou argued). In discussing the rhetoric of the wills, Garel cites Richter for some Shenoutian reminiscences. Might one then imagine that this new notarial system was itself driven by the same development of the institutions of the Severan church that Abraham's career attests? The brief conclusion stresses the value of the dossier for the "autonomisation" of Coptic as a legal language, but its apparent regional (and perhaps confessional) character may be cause for some caution in taking this conclusion too far.

The second half of the volume is occupied by the editions of the four texts. These consist of standard elements: lemma,² introduction, table of structure, text, apparatuses (one paleographic, another philological), translation, and line notes. Unfortunately, the translations follow the text rather than being placed on facing pages. The line notes are extremely

² These unfortunately lack the information on collection (where known) and inventory number, for which one must consult the introduction.

detailed (25 pages on 1, for example), with quotation of parallel passages from both the other wills of this dossier and other relevant texts (including patristic authors and the acts of ecumenical councils), as well as justification of restorations and exploration of relevant substantive matters (some already treated in the introductory chapters, such as the prevalence of bilateral contractual language).

Abraham's will (1) is the only one in Greek. About this Garel says (13–14n.), “Dans notre texte, le grec est mentionné relativement au copte, langue dans laquelle Abraham, ne sachant sans doute pas le grec, a dicté son testament.” (Cf. the note to 70–71.) But on p. 124, she had described this dictation as a “fiction:” Abraham did not dictate the will; its verbiage comes in the main, if not entirely, from the notary, even if Abraham must have given the notary the necessary information for drawing up the document. There is no basis for the (admittedly qualified) notion that Abraham did not know Greek. He was no doubt more comfortable in Egyptian and wanted (as the will says) to have it read to him translated into that language, but complete ignorance of Greek is not a necessary correlate.

The wills of Victor and Peter bring to light an important and fascinating episode in the history of the monastery. Victor names three successors, not one: Jacob and Peter “sons of the late David, my brother” and David (a different David, obviously). He does not explain why a troika seemed a good idea, and it turned out not to be. Even before Victor's death, Jacob had left the monastery, the first of three such departures; even after he was accepted back, he and David then left together. Peter, the only one of Victor's heirs still in place, accepted David back under terms that excluded him from economic activity and forbade him to associate with Jacob. But David did not keep his word and was finally excluded. Peter tells us all of this in his will, in order to justify the fact that he alone of the three successors named by Victor is drawing up a document disposing of the succession. It is hard to avoid the supposition that there was contention already in Victor's lifetime over who would lead St. Phoibammon after him, and he tried to avoid the ugly consequences of making a decision by kicking it down the road. In the eventual power struggle, David and Jacob gave Peter the upper hand by breaking their vows and leaving (“As for those who leave their holy *topos*, they shall be excluded from it, in conformity with the monastic canons,” 61–62); Peter was now in sole control and could thus dictate whether and on what terms the others could return, making sure that he would retain power.³ It is in Peter's will that

³ In the note to 59–61, Garel says, “Une fois Jacob et David écartés de la direction, et à plus forte raison exclus du monastère, ils ne peuvent plus faire d'affaires sur les biens et

the key phrase (“la phrase clé du document, et même de tout le dossier”) about the inheritance as a trust cited above is found.

With Jacob's will (4), we come to the end of the dossier. He named Victor son of Theodoros as his successor, and this Victor is attested in that position in the first decade of the eighth century. But we do not have his will, unless it has followed its own crooked path and is yet to be rediscovered. Its formula largely reproduces that of the earlier Victor, having no need for the self-justification that occupies forty lines of Peter's will.

I have been able to signal only some of the points of interest in this book. But it should be evident that it will be required reading for anyone with a serious interest in Egyptian monasticism. The gritty sense of how power operated in a monastery deep in Upper Egypt around the transition from Roman to Arab rule is unique. We may of course hope that the missing physical pieces of papyrus will resurface one day and enable some improvements in the texts; Garel signals a number of passages where the quality of transcripts or photos has frustrated her attempts at reading.⁴ But it is hard to imagine that this edition will ever need to be replaced, and its introduction is now indispensable reading. This is a major work of scholarship and a truly remarkable first book.

*Institute for the Study of the Ancient World,
New York University*

Roger S. Bagnall

n'en sont plus de fait propriétaires.” But surely it is the reverse: it is first their “exclusion” from the monastery (by their own act of departure), that implies their renunciation of their role as directors, and Peter is then left with sole power to determine their future, if any.

⁴ Like any edition, it has passages where a reader may come to a different conclusion than the editor. I will mention just a few points on 1. In l. 2, Garel prints καὶ συνκελλῶ μ[ου], without accent or subscript. The note canvasses several possibilities without reaching any conclusion, but it is hard to see any reason not to accept συγκέλλιος as a variant for σύγκελλος and translate, with MacCoull, “cellmate.” In l. 3, she reads καταπονούμενον in place of Kenyon's καταπονούμενο[ς]. I believe she is right that the trace, ignored by Kenyon, is more compatible with υ than σ. But καὶ τῇ συμπτώσει τοῦ ἐμοῦ σώματος καταπονούμενον hangs without syntax and is hardly felicitous Greek. καταπονοῦμαι normally takes a person as its subject or referent in the papyri, and the phrase works much better if this is the case. Perhaps we are dealing with a scribal error of genitive for nominative. In the notes to l. 5 and ll. 24–26, she points out that ἀμεταμέλητον and χάρισμα are rare in the Greek documents. Surely we have further examples here of theological language making its way into the wills; the expression comes from Rom. 11:29, where it of course refers to God. The ἀμεταμέλητων σου χ[α]ρι[σμά]των of *P.Würzb.* 3 presumably is an allusion to this passage; and cf. *P.Berl.Zill.* 14.27, where χάρισμα occurs in a fragmentary context; the editor says it “ist vielleicht die göttliche Gnade, oder die Amtsgnade, die durch Handauflegung vermittelt wurde” citing 1 and 2 Tim.

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